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The DIVINE RIGHT of
EPISCOPACY,
And the NECESSITY of an
Episcopal Commission

F. O. R.
Preaching *GOD'S WORD,*
And for the valid Ministrations of the
Christian Sacraments,

Proved from the
Holy **SCRIPTURES,**

AND THE
DOCTRINE *and* PRACTICE

OF THE
Primitive Church.

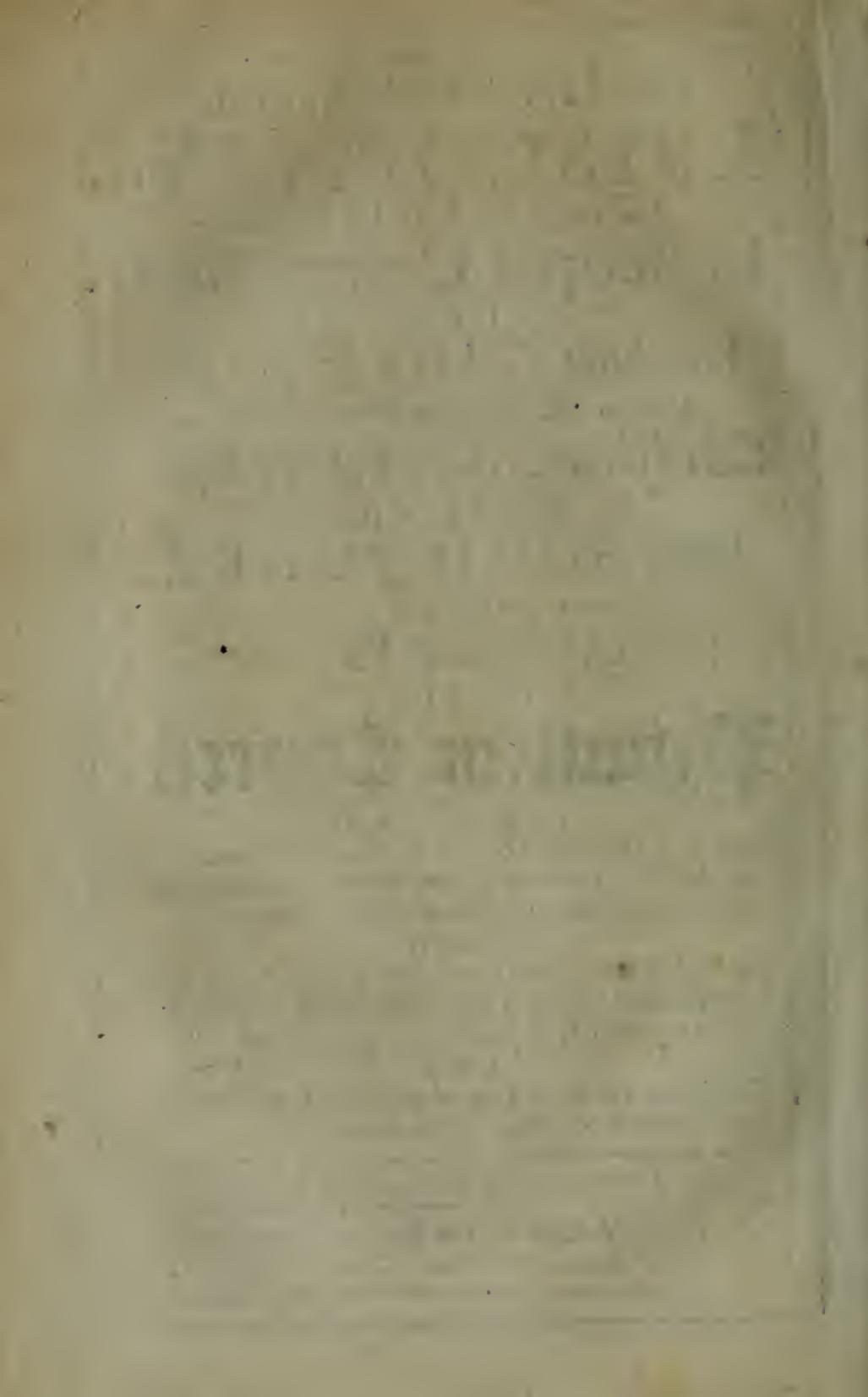
TOGETHER
With an impartial Account of the false Principles
of *Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists,* concern-
ing the Identity of BISHOPS and PRESBYTERS.

ALSO
The valid Succession of our ENGLISH BISHOPS
vindicated, against the Objections of PRESBY-
TERIANS and ROMANISTS.

AND *Ed: Peck*
The *Popish* Fable of the *Nags-Head* Consecration
of Archbishop *Parker* fully refuted.

By *THOMAS BRET*T, L. L. D.

LONDON, Printed for HENRY CLEMENTS, at
the *Half Moon* in *S. Paul's Church-yard,* 1718.





T H E
C O N T E N T S .

OF the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments.

This a Doctrine of the whole Church at the Time of the Council of Nice, and also of the established Church of England, in the Articles of 1562, where it is declared, that no Man can officiate in the Congregation without a lawful Call. And the Word Congregation in that Article is of the same Import with the Word Church at this Time, § 1. Page 1

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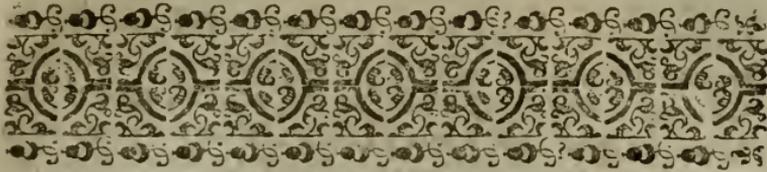
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T H E

Divine Right

O F

EPISCOPACY, &c.

THE Second Point which has been charged as favouring of *Pöpery*, and which I therefore thought fit to speak of in my *Vindication*, is the *Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments.* This was also a Principle of Doctrine unanimously held by the whole Church at the Time of the Council of *Nice*, it was then esteemed a fundamental Principle, without which no Church could subsist, and therefore if ever the several Sects of *Christians* shall be hereafter united, this Principle must be admitted. And indeed the Church of *England* does very plainly hold and maintain this Principle. For (a) she declares that *it is not*

(a) Art. 23.

lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick preaching or ministring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this Work by Men who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard. From hence it is evident that the Church of England esteems a Commission to be absolutely necessary to the valid Ministrati- on of the Word and Sacraments: declaring that every one has not a Right to take this Office upon him till he is called and sent. Also that it is not every Body that can send, but only such as have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation or Church. I say, Congregation or Church, because at that Time when these Articles were framed, the Words Congregation and Church were perfectly synonymous, and signified the same thing, tho' now we have commonly another Notion of them, and suppose the Word Church to be of a larger Signification than the Word Congregation; in the former we include not only one particular Assembly of Men met together in one Place for Divine Worship, but many such Assemblies likewise, thus we say the *English Church*, the *Greek Church*, the *Roman Church*, and the *Catholick Church*; but the latter we confine to a particular Assembly, thus we would say the *Congregation at St. Pauls*, the *Congregation at Westminster-Abbey*, the *Congregation in this or that Parish Church*; but we would not say the *English Congregation*, the *Greek Congregation*, or the *Roman Congregation*, when we speak of any of those Churches at large, nor would we say the *Catholick Congregation* when we speak of the *Catholick Church*. But these Two Words had not these different Senses or Significations at the Time when these Thirty Nine Arti- cles

cles were drawn up and confirmed: The Words *Church* and *Congregation* were then perfectly convertible, and had the same Signification in every respect, as we may in part learn from the next Article, where what is called the *Congregation* in the Title of the Article, is called the *Church* in the Body of the Article: But this is more fully seen in the Translation of the Bible then used. There our Saviour says (b) *Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my CONGREGATION.* It is plain that by the Word *Congregation* is here understood the *Catholick* or *Universal Church* which *Christ* founded, and not any one particular Assembly of Men met together in one Place. Again (c) it is said; *The Lord added to the CONGREGATION such as should be saved.* And (d) *Saul made Havock of the CONGREGATION.* (e) *Herod the King stretched forth his Hands to vex certain of the CONGREGATION.* (f) *And hath made him (that is Christ) above all things, the Head of the CONGREGATION, which is his Body.* Now in all these Places the Word *Congregation* must signify as much as the Word *Church* in its largest Extent. For the Lord did not add to one single Assembly of Men met in one Place, but to the whole Society of *Christians*: *Saul* did not persecute, nor *Herod* vex one particular Meeting of Believers, but the whole Body wheresoever dispersed, and *Saul* particularly carried his Persecution from *Jerusalem* to *Damascus*, that is, from one Province to another, and it is certain the *Christians* of several Provinces must have distinct Assemblies for Religious Worship, and could not meet together in one Place. So also *Christ* is not the Head of one particular Assembly met in the

(b) Matth. xvi. 18. (c) Acts ii. 47. (d) Acts viii. 3.
 (e) Acts xii. 1. (f) Eph. i. 22, 23.

same Place, but of the whole Body of Catholick Christians wheresoever dispersed in all Parts of the World. And indeed I am perswaded that in the *English Bible* then used in the Churches of this Realm the *Greek Word* ἐκκλησία, which is now translated *Church*, was there always translated *Congregation*. It is certainly so rendred in the Places I have cited, and many more. A certain Evidence that in those Days when these Articles were compiled (that is, in the Year 1562) the Word *Congregation* taken in an Ecclesiastical Sense had the very same Signification with the Word *Church*, and was used with the same Latitude. And even in the *Bishops Bible*, which was not published till near Six Years after these Articles, that is, about (g) the Year 1568, tho' the Word ἐκκλησία is there generally translated *Church*, yet it is sometimes translated *Congregation*, even where it cannot be confined to an Assembly met in one Place, as in those Words of our Saviour to St. Peter, it is not rendred as in our present Bibles, *on this Rock I will build my CHURCH*, but *on this Rock I will build my CONGREGATION*. Also above Forty Years after, in the Year 1603, (h) we find the Word *Congregation* used in this Sense in the Canonical Prayer appointed to be used before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, where we are ordered to pray for *the whole CONGREGATION of Christian People dispersed throughout the whole World*.

§ II. I thought it necessary to be thus particular in the Explanation of the Word *Congregation*, and to shew what was the Sense of the Word at the Time when these Articles were drawn up, that I might thereby obviate the Exposition I have

(g) *Strype's Life of A. B. Parker*, p. 272. (h) *Can. 55.*

heard that some have made of this Article, as if the Compilers of it had supposed that there was a Power of Ordination, or a Power of calling and sending Ministers in every Parish, Chapelry, or the like, where a *Congregation of Christians* was regularly assembled for Divine Worship, consequently that in every such *Congregation* there are Persons who have Authority to call and send Ministers, and therefore he that is called and sent by any single *Congregation*, or by Persons appointed in any *Congregation*, that is, in any Parish or Chapelry for that Purpose, is lawfully called and sent to be a Minister according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. But this Objection is of no Weight, because, as I have shewed, the Word *Congregation* at that time had the very same Signification with the Word *Church*, it being generally, if not always, so used in the *English Bible* then read to the People in all Parish Churches, and therefore when it is said *who have publick Authority given unto them in the CONGREGATION to call and send Ministers*, it is just the same as if it had been said *who have publick Authority given unto them in the CHURCH*. It is also certain in Fact, that from the beginning of the Reformation to this Day the Church of *England* never authorized or acknowledged any Minister or others in any particular *Congregation* to have any such Authority, but only in the *Church* diffusive. The Meaning of the Article therefore is plainly this, *It is not lawful by the Law of God for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the CONGREGATION OF Church of Christ before he be lawfully called according to the Law of God, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent according to the Law of God, which be chosen and called to this Work by Men, who by*

the Law of God have publick Authority given unto them in the CONGREGATION or Church of Christ, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard. I have put in the Words according to the Law of God, because it is certain that is meant by the Word *lawful* in this place. For these Articles were not drawn up by the Judges, or by the Parliament, or any Civil Magistrate, who alone have Authority to declare what is *lawful* by the Laws of the Land, but by the Bishops and Clergy assembled in Convocation or Synod, who were ever esteemed to be Interpreters or Expositors of the Law of God, and to have Authority to declare what was agreeable to his Laws, and what not, but never had Authority to declare what is agreeable to the Temporal Laws, and therefore when such an Assembly declares a Matter to be lawful or not lawful, we can understand it to be meant according to the Law of God only. Consequently when they say, *It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick preaching or ministring the Sacraments in the Church*, they could not mean that it was not lawful in this Realm only by Virtue of the Temporal Laws here in Force, because they had no Authority to declare or expound those Laws, but that it was *not lawful* according to the Law of God, and therefore could not be allowed in any Realm, in any Country, in any Church or Society of Christians. And without Dispute it is and must be the *Divine Law* by which all Articles of Religion, as these are, must be tried.

§ III. Indeed it must be confessed that this Article does not tell us how many Orders of Men are appointed to minister the Word and Sacraments, or whether more than one Order of Men may minister these Offices, neither does it inform us

who

who are those that have publick Authority given unto them in the Church to send Ministers into the Lord's Vineyard. However this Article sufficiently teaches that a Commission is necessary on this Occasion, and that there are some Men who have Authority in the Church to give such a Commission. And this the Compilers of these Articles might very well judge to be sufficient, because the Church in her Ordinal had before declared this Matter more particularly. For in the Preface to the Forms of Ordination, it is said, that *it is evident to all Men diligently reading Holy Scriptures and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time, there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, which Offices were evermore had in such reverend Estimation, that no Man by his own private Authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined and known to have such Qualities as were requisite for the same, and also by publick Prayer, with Imposition of Hands approved and admitted thereunto.* And in the Form for the ordering of Deacons, we are taught, that *it appertaineth to the Office of a Deacon in the Church, where he shall be appointed, to assist the Priest in Divine Service, and specially when he ministreth the Holy Communion, and to help him in the Distribution thereof, and to read Holy Scriptures and Homilies in the Congregation, and to instruct the Youth in the Catechism, to baptize, and to preach if he be thereto admitted by the Bishop.* And in the Form of ordering Priests, we learn that *it appertaineth to his Office to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments.* And in the Form for consecrating a Bishop we are taught that over and above what is common to him with Priests and Deacons he is admitted to the Government of the Church of Christ, and is thereby vested with a Power to ordain and send others: And accordingly when a Deacon is to be ordained,

it is said that *when the Day appointed by the Bishop is come, the Arch-deacon or his Deputy shall present unto the Bishop such as desire to be ordained, and after the Bishop has prayed with the Congregation for them, put proper Questions to them, and received proper Answers from them concerning the Nature of the Office whereunto they are at that time to be called, and concerning their Purpose faithfully to discharge the same, he then lays his Hands upon them and ordains them.* The like is also done in the ordering of *Priests*, only here, *the Priests that are present lay on their Hands together with the Bishop.* And so in the Consecration of an *Arch-bishop* or *Bishop*, the Prayers are offered and the Questions put by the *Arch-bishop* or *Bishop* who performs the Consecration, and then he with the other *Bishops* present lay on their Hands and consecrate him. Here then is no Ordination, no Consecration of a Minister can be made according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* but by a *Bishop*: every Person to whatever Order he is to be ordained must be presented to the *Bishop*, he must try, examine and approve him, he must lay his Hand upon him, or ordain him before he can be a Minister of any Order in the Church. And tho' in the Ordination of a *Priest*, the *Priests* that are present lay on Hands together with the *Bishop*, they may not do it without him: The Person to be ordained must be presented to him, he must try and approve him, he must lay his Hands upon him, he must say the Words of Ordination and commit the Charge to him. The *Priests* are subordinate Assistants or Assessors to him, but can do nothing in this Case when he is away.

Since then the Church had been so particular as to this Matter in her Ordinal, and had there so fully declared who were the proper Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and who were autho-
rized

rized to ordain or send these Ministers, there was no Occasion for her to be so particular in her Articles, and it was sufficient there to speak in general Terms, since those who wanted further Information might so easily receive it from the Ordinal.

§ IV. She also declares these three Orders to be of Divine Institution, when she says that *it is evident to all Men diligently reading HOLY SCRIPTURE that there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church*: For the Scriptures are the Word of God, and therefore if these Orders are to be found in the Scriptures and approved by them, then are they approved by the Word of God, and are authorized by God himself. Further, it is declared in the Forms themselves, that every one of these Orders was instituted or appointed by the *Holy Ghost*. Thus in the Form for ordering Deacons, it is said, *Almighty God, which by thy Divine Providence, hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in the Church, and didst inspire thine Holy Apostles, to chose into the Order of Deacons, the first Martyr St. Stephen, &c.* Here it is plainly taught that the Apostles ordained the first Deacons, consequently instituted that Order, by Divine Inspiration. In the ordering of Priests, the Prayer runs thus, *Almighty God, Giver of all good Things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold these thy Servants now called to the Office of Priesthood.* And in the Consecration of a Bishop, *Almighty God, Giver of all good Things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold this thy Servant, now call'd to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop.* Now from this Prayer thus used in every Form of Ordination, it is manifest that the Church believes every one of these Orders to be of Divine Institution, and that she also believes
them

them to be several and distinct Orders. For in the *ordering Deacons* it is declared that the Apostles were inspired to institute that Order, and in the other two Forms that the *Holy Ghost* has appointed, diverse Orders of which, one is called *Priests* and the other *Bishops*: For if the *Bishop* was not of a diverse Order from a *Priest*, but only a different Degree of the same Order as a *Dean* or other dignified Person may be with relation to a *Parish Priest*, he could not need a New Ordination, nor would it be fit to say upon that Occasion that *God has appointed divers Orders*, unless he was then called to one of those divers Orders, and then by adding *Now called to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop* we are plainly taught that a *Bishop* according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* is a diverse Order from a *Priest*. The Preface says *there have been these Orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons*, and the Prayer says *there are divers Orders appointed by the Holy Ghost*, and appoints this Prayer to be used at the Ordination of *Bishops, Priests and Deacons*; a plain Argument that every one of these Orders is appointed by the *Holy Ghost*. It would be absurd, not to say blasphemous, to give it as a Reason why we may expect his Blessing on the Ordination of a *Bishop*, because *he has appointed diverse Orders in his Church*, if a *Bishop* was not one of those divers or distinct Orders. Can any thing therefore be plainer than that the Church of *England* holds Episcopacy or the Order of *Bishops* to be of Divine Institution, and one of those *diverse Orders* which God by his Holy Spirit has appointed? It appears also from the Forms of Ordination, that without a *Bishop* no Person can be ordained either *Deacon, Priest* or *Bishop*, consequently that *Bishops* only are the Men who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation or Church of God, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's Vine-
yard.

yard. And therefore according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* declared by her Ordinal and Articles as they expound each other, *it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation or Church of Christ, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same by some Bishop, that is, before he is Episcopally ordained, and this is the Law of God, who by his Holy Spirit has appointed the Order of Bishops, and directed that only those who are of that Order should ordain others, consequently is a Law not only obligatory in the Church of England, but throughout the whole Catholick Church. And therefore our Church further declares in the Preface to the Forms of Ordination, that no Man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon in the Church of England, except he hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination. That is, the Church of England cannot allow any Man to be a lawful Minister and qualified publickly to preach the Word and minister the Sacraments except he has been Episcopally ordained. The Church of England also further declares (b) that although in the visible Church the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and sometime the Evil have chief Authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own Name but in Christ's, and do minister by his Commission and Authority, we may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word of God, and in the receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Christ's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedness, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminished from such, as by Faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them, which be*

(b) Article 26.

effectual because of Christ's Institution and Promise, although they be ministred by evil Men. Here the Church plainly makes the Validity of the Sacraments depend intirely upon Christ's Commission. For the Reason alledged ~~why~~ they may be received from Evil Ministers, is because such Ministers have *Commission and Authority from Christ*, and that Sacraments so received *are effectual because of Christ's Institution and Promise*, which evidently implies that where there is no such Commission *there is not the Institution and Promise of Christ*, consequently they are *not effectual without the Commission*. Thus the Church of *England* most clearly maintains and asserts both *the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and also the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the Valid Administration of the Sacraments.*

§ V. The Church of *England* therefore cannot be accused of any Defect upon this Head; yet because many who pretend to be zealous and hearty for the Church of *England*, and some who bear the Character of *Priests, nay Bishops* of this Church, and who have been ordained according to the Forms of Ordination here established, and have subscribed to these Articles and to this Ordinal, in which *Episcopacy* and the *Episcopal Commission* are declared so necessary and of Divine Appointment, have nevertheless thought fit to assert publicly, and maintain both in the Pulpit and in Print, that an *Episcopal Commission is not necessary to the Valid Administration of the Word and Sacraments*, I think it very proper to be more particular upon this Head, and to prove this *Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission*, both from the Scriptures and the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church, to the Time of the Council of *Nice*, the Time which I esteem to be the proper Standard by which the

Doctrinē

Doctrines and Discipline of the Church ought to be regulated. Because the Catholick Church was then certainly very pure and uncorrupt, was then diffused into all Parts of the known World, and united in one Communion: And therefore if we ever hope to have it so united again, it must be upon the same Principles, for it never was united on any other, and we have reason to believe never will or can be, because the Principles on which it was then united were not derived from Human Prudence, which is too weak to compass such an Union, but the Doctrine and Practice of *Christ* and his Apostles.

§ VI. First therefore I will shew from *the Scriptures and ancient Authors*, that from the *Apostles Time* there have been these Orders of Ministers in *Christ's Church*, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I confess indeed that these are not every one distinguished in Scripture by these Names, not but these Orders are in the Scripture, and plainly enough distinguished there, and the Names also are in the Scripture, but not each Name particularly and constantly applied to a distinct Order, for as I before observed when I treated on the Independency of the Church, the Names *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are there promiscuously used for the same Order. But our Dispute is not about Names but Things, for if there be Three divers Orders of Ministers in Scripture, which we find to have been instituted by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, to which these Names were either in or immediately after the *Apostles Time* affixed and appropriated, then we may both say that they are of Divine Institution, and also have been from the *Apostles Time*, altho' we do not find every one of the Names so affixed and appropriated. I will therefore as briefly as I can shew from the Scripture that there
were

were Three Orders of Ministers instituted by *Christ* and his Apostles, and then will shew from ancient Authors that the Names *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, have been from the Apostles Times appropriated to those Orders.

§ VII. We read (i) that *John the Baptist* had a great Multitude of Disciples or Followers, whom he converted and baptized, for there went out to him *Jerusalem*, and all *Judea*, and all the Region round about *Jordan*, and were baptized of him in *Jordan* confessing their Sins. (k) But *Jesus* made and baptized more Disciples than *John*. (l) And of them he chose Twelve, whom also he named Apostles, and sent them to preach the Kingdom of God. (m) After these 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. So that during our Saviour's Life here on Earth he had Three Orders of Ministers in his Church: First, *Christ* himself, the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, then the Twelve Apostles, and after them the Seventy Disciples. And the Apostles were plainly superior to the Seventy, being sent out with a larger Commission, being sent into all Parts of *Judea*, wheresoever they found any Encouragement, but the Seventy were confined to go only to those Places where *Christ* himself intended to come. So that the Apostles were plainly authorized to act in *Christ's* Stead, and to receive and admit Converts into his Church; but the Seventy seem to have had no such Power, but were only appointed to prepare the Way for *Christ*, that when he himself came to them he

(i) Matth. iii. 5, 6. (k) John iv. 1. (l) Luke vi. 13.
ix. 2. Matth. x. 1. Mark iii. 13, vi. 7. (m) Luke x. 1.

might find them ready and prepared for him, and then he himself might admit and receive them as his Disciples. Besides, the Apostles are frequently spoken of in all Parts of the Gospel as *Christ's* more immediate Officers, who generally attended upon him, and were Witnesses to all his great and wonderful Works, and whom he frequently employed, but the Seventy are but once mentioned. A sure Argument that the Apostles were of a superior Order to them. But tho' the *Apostles* were plainly superior to the Seventy, and had Authority (n) to preach (o) and baptize, or admit Converts into the Church of *Christ*, yet they had no Authority to commission or send others to do those Things. For as *Christ* alone had Authority to send them, so he alone had Authority to send other Seventy also. And this he takes occasion to let them know at the time of his sending them forth. (p) *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.* Now these Words being spoken both to the Twelve and to the Seventy at the very Time when he gave them their Commission to Preach, was a plain Intimation to them, that if they found the Work too great for them, so as they wanted more Assistance, they should not take upon them to commission others, but desire him who was the Lord of the Harvest to send more Labourers. An evident Argument that whosoever has Authority to minister the Word and Sacraments himself, has not therefore an Authority to ordain and commission others to that Office. Since *Christ* when he gave his Apostles a Com-

(n) Matth..x 7. (o) John iv. 2. (p) Matth. ix. 37, 38.
 Luke x, 2.

mission to do the one, so plainly restrained them from doing the other, and required them to apply to himself on that Occasion as to the Lord of the Harvest. Thus have we plainly found Three Orders of Ministers in the Christian Church whilst *Christ* was on Earth. That is, *Christ* himself the Head and chief Minister or Bishop, then the Twelve Apostles, who were next unto him, answering to the Priests or Second Order, and then the Seventy Disciples, as an Order below the Apostles, and answering to the Deacons. But then it is to be noted, that when our Saviour settled this Oeconomy in his Church, he had confined it to the *Jewish* Nation and Country, for when he sent his Disciples forth to Preach, he charged them, saying, (q) *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.* (r) And being raised up by God to be a Prophet like unto *Moses*, tho' in all respects very far superior to him, he judged it proper whilst he saw convenient to have his Church confined to the *Jewish* Country, to keep strictly to the *Mosaical* Oeconomy in the Government of it, and therefore as *Moses*, to whom he was like, had under him (s) *Twelve Princes, Heads of the Tribes*; and likewise (t) *Seventy Elders*, to whom God imparted of *Moses's* Spirit, that they might help to rule the People under him, so *Christ* also chose *Twelve Apostles*, to answer to the *Twelve Princes*, and *Seventy Disciples*, according to the Number of the Elders. And therefore after the Resurrection, (u) the Apostles being commanded not to depart from *Jerusalem* for some Time, did;

(q) Matth. x. 5, 6. (r) Deut. xviii. 15. Acts vii. 37.
 (s) Numb. i. 4. (t) Numb. xi. 16. (u) Acts i. 4.

by Divine Direction, fill up the Number to Twelve again, when *Judas* by his Transgression had fallen and died, and thereby made a Vacancy; that so long as the Church was confined to *Judæa*, they might preserve an Oeconomy exactly parallel to that settled by *Moses*, even so far as to confine themselves to just the same Number of Officers. But when they had begun to enlarge the Church beyond the Bounds of *Judæa*, and to invite not only *Samaria*, but all the *Gentiles* into it, tho' they preserved the Sacred Oeconomy settled by *Christ*, so far as to retain the diverse Orders of Ministers which he first established, yet they had no longer any Regard to the Numbers *Twelve* and *Seventy*; for *St. Paul* and *St. Barnabas*, and diverse other, were added to the Number of the Apostles, and for the *Seventy*, we hear nothing of them after the Resurrection.

§ VIII. However, as I have already intimated, the Sacred Oeconomy of Three distinct Orders continued in the Church whilst it was under the Government of the Apostles, as it had done whilst under the immediate Government of *Christ* on Earth. For as whilst our blessed Saviour was in his State of Humiliation in this World, there was he himself the Head and chief Governour of the Church, under him the Twelve Apostles, and below them the Seventy Disciples: So when he was gone, the Twelve Apostles succeeded him in the Office of governing, guiding, and directing the Church, without any Superior on Earth, and supplied the Place of their Master, (w) being sent by him as he was sent by the Father, and the Elders and Deacons ordained by them supplied

(w) John xx. 21.

the Places which they and the Seventy held under *Christ* before the Resurrection, before they had received that full Power which he thought fit to confer upon them, when he was about to ascend into Heaven. Wherefore altho' they did not pretend to commission or send any to preach the Word or minister the Sacraments whilst *Christ* was here on Earth, he having, as I have shewed, forbidden them to do it then, and to make their Application to him, if they wanted Assistance, that he the Lord of the Harvest would be pleased to send more Labourers into his Harvest; yet now after the Resurrection being vested with a larger Power, and appointed to supply their Master's Place, as his Deputies and Vicegerents, they in a short Time began to give Commissions and to ordain others to execute the Ministerial Office under them, as they had executed it under *Christ* before his Death and Resurrection. Thus (x) they ordained *Deacons* to take Care of the Widows and the Poor in the daily Ministration: But they ordained them not to that Purpose only, but also to Preach and Baptize. For *Philip*, (y) who was one of these *Deacons*, soon went down to preach at *Samaria*, where he made many Converts, and baptized them, but he could not settle a Church there, he could not lay on Hands either to confirm those whom he had baptized, or to ordain Ministers among them; wherefore he gave Notice of what he had done to the Apostles, and they sent *Peter* and *John*, Two of their own Order, to do those Things which *Philip* could not do. And as they thus ordained *Deacons* to execute such Ministerial Offices as they thought proper to commit to them, so they also

(x) Acts vi. (y) Acts viii. 5, &c.

ordained *Elders, Presbyters* or *Priests* (z) in every City, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own Blood (a). These *Elders* or *Presbyters* (for that is the Word in the Original) are also called *Bishops*, for so (b) St. Paul called the *Elders* or *Presbyters* of *Ephesus* when he sent for them to come to his Episcopal or Apostolical Visitation at *Miletus*, saying, *Take heed therefore to your selves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops*, our Translation reads it *Overseers*, but the Original is *Bishops*. Thus after the Resurrection, as well as before, do we find Three Orders of Ministers in the Church. First the *Apostles*, who were chief Officers or Governors of the Church, who stood in the Place of *Christ*, being sent by him as he was sent by the Father; then the *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, who were next unto them, standing in the Place which they had whilst *Christ* was here on Earth; and lastly, the *Deacons*, answering to the lower Order of the Seventy Disciples.

§ IX. And that these Three Orders of *Apostles*, *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, were every one intituled to be perpetually continued in the Church, is also to be proved from the Scriptures and ancient Authors. That the *Apostolical* or highest Order, which was appointed to supply the Place of *Christ* himself after his Ascension, was intended by him not for a Temporary, but a perpetual Institution, is evident from the Commission he gave them after his Resurrection. For (c) having singled out the Eleven Apostles, (d) out of above Five Hundred, to whom he appeared at

(z) Acts xiv. 23. (a) Acts' xx. 28. (b) Acts xx. 17, 28.
(c) Matth. xxviii. 16, &c. (d) 1 Cor. xv. 6.

once after his Resurrection, and appointed them alone to meet him at a Mountain in Galilee, he spake unto them; saying. *All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth.* And having thus declared his own Power, he commits it to them, and says, *Go ye therefore, as my Deputies and Vicegerents, and disciple all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo I am with you alway, even unto the End of the World, Amen.* In which last Words he plainly shews that their Office was intended to be continued *alway, even unto the End of the World,* and he confirms this Promise with an *Amen,* thereby testifying that he would verily and indeed fulfil it. Now it was plainly the Apostolical Office which our Saviour here promised he would be alway present with, to ratify and confirm their Ministrations. For it was only the Eleven Disciples or Apostles, whom he had before sent, as he was sent by the Father, to whom he made the Promise. And that the Promise was made to the Office or Order with which he had vested them, and not to their Persons, is evident, because otherwise his Promise must have failed at their Deaths, and consequently he was so far from continuing with them to the End of the World in the Discharge of this Office, that he did not continue with them an Hundred Years, for all these Eleven Apostles were dead in less than that Time. But some pretend that the Words which we here translate *the End of the World,* signify no more than *the End of that Age.* But if they are understood to signify no more, then the Commission to disciple by Baptism, and to teach what *Christ* had commanded, must end with that Age also, and then *Christianity* must have ceased with that Age, so that ever since our

Preach-

Preaching has been vain, and your Faith also vain; for it has since had no Promise of *Christ* to depend upon, if this Promise is to be extended to no longer Time; and that is not *Faith*, but *Presumption*, which is not founded upon any Promise. But if the Promise is to be extended to the End of the World, and that it must be, or there can be no Christianity in the World, then must the Office, the Apostolical Office or Order, to which it was made, continue so long. For *Christ* did not say, *I am alway present to ratify and confirm these Ministrations by whomsoever performed*, but *I am with you alway; with you whom I have sent, as I was sent by the Father, with you whom I have appointed to disciple all Nations by Baptism, with you whom I have appointed to teach all Things which I have commanded, and will ratify and confirm what you do in these Ministrations, that is, you who are commissioned for that Purpose.* Therefore the Office, the Apostolical Office, to which this Commission was given, must continue for the Ministry of these Ordinances, or there is no Promise that these Ordinances shall be effectual to any after the Death of those Persons to whom this Commission was particularly given. But if the Ordinances continue, then the Commission also is continued, for the Promise is not made to the Ordinances, but to the Commissioners in the Ministration of those Ordinances: And therefore if those who have not the Commission undertake to administer them, there is no Word of Promise to make such Ministrations effectual.

§ X. That the Office of *Presbyters* or *Elders*, called also *Bishops* in the Scripture, was intended to continue always in the Church, is evident from

their (e) being ordained in EVERY Church; for an occasional Temporary Officer needed not to be ordained κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, throughout the Church. But there being (I think) none who hold the Necessity of any Ministers at all, but who allow the Order of *Presbyters* to have been instituted for a perpetual standing Office in the Church, I need not give my self the Trouble to prove it very particularly. The same may be said also of the Order of *Deacons*, whom (f) we likewise find in the several Churches founded by the Apostles.

§ XI. Thus have we Three Orders of Ministers in the Scripture, appointed and settled by Christ and his Apostles, for the perpetual Government of *Christ's* Church, and to minister his Word and Sacraments unto the People committed to their Charge. Whilst *Christ* was here on Earth, there was he himself the Supreme Head and Governour of his Church, and under him the Twelve Apostles and Seventy Disciples, to assist him in the Ministration of the Divine Ordinances, in such manner as he was pleased to appoint and direct them. And neither the Apostles nor the Seventy Disciples, whilst he was here with them, had any Power or Authority to send others to minister in Sacred Offices, but if they found the Work too much for them, were directed to apply to him who was the Lord of the Harvest, and intreat him to send more Labourers into his Harvest. But when he ascended into Heaven, then the *Apostles* being made his Vicegerents, and sent by him as he was sent by the Father, ordained *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to assist them in their Ministry, as they and the Seventy

(e) Acts xiv. 23. (f) Philip. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

assisted *Christ* himself whilst he was here on Earth. And as they did nothing whilst *Christ* was with them on Earth but by his Direction and Appointment, so after his Ascension the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* did nothing but as under them, and according to their Direction and Appointment. And as they and the *Seventy*, so long as *Christ* was with them in this World, did not take upon them to commission others to assist them in the Ministry; so neither after the Ascension did the *Presbyters* or *Deacons* take upon them to commission others, but that was done by the Apostles only, or by such as they appointed to succeed them in the Apostolical Office; whom they ordained, not to minister^o under them, as the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* did, but to labour with them, as their Associates or Equals. Such an one was *Titus*, whom (g) *St. Paul* calls his *Partner* and *Fellow-helper*. Such were (h) *Sosthenes*, (i) *Timothy*, and (k) *Silvanus*, whom *St. Paul* joins with himself in the Inscription of several of his Epistles, which would have been very absurd in an authoritative Epistle (and all *St. Paul's* are such) if their Authority had not been equal to his own. Such also was (l) *Epaphroditus*, whom he expressly calls an *Apostle* tho', as I have before observed, our Translation renders it *Messenger*) as well as his *Brother* and *Companion in Labour*, and *Fellow Soldier*, Titles which he gives not to (m) the *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* of *Philippi*, but only to him who was their Apostle or chief Pastor. Now when *St. Paul* wrote to any Churches in general, or particularly to the *Bishops*, or *Presbyters*, and

(g) 2 Cor. viii. 23. (h) 1 Cor. i. 1. (i) 2 Cor. i. 1.
 Philip. i. 1. Col. i. 1. Philem 1. (k) 1 Theff. i. 1. 2 Theff.
 i. 1. (l) Philip. ii. 25. (m) Philip. i. 1.

Deacons of a Church, as when he wrote to the *Philippians*, he gave no Directions concerning Ordination, nor told them who or what Persons were proper to be chosen and admitted into the Ministry, which he, that is so particular in other Matters, would not have omitted, if it had belonged either to the People in general, or to the *Bishops*, or *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in particular to have appointed or ordained such Ministers. But when he wrote to *Timothy* and *Titus* (who, as I have shewed, were of the Apostolical Order) then he gives full Directions concerning Persons to be ordained, and lets them know whom they ought to admit into the Ministry, directing (n) *Timothy* to lay Hands suddenly on no Man, and telling *Titus* (o) that he left him in Crete to ordain Elders in every City. Now it cannot be thought that St. Paul would have been so particular upon this Subject in his Epistles to these Two Persons, who were, as I have shewed, of the Apostolical Order, and should say nothing of it in any other of his Epistles, if it had not belonged to Men of the Apostolical Order particularly, and to no others, to ordain *Bishops*, or *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. For had any such Authority belonged to the whole Body of *Christians* in any Church, as some have pretended it does, can we think that amongst so many Epistles as we have in the New Testament sent to several Churches, we should not have one Word concerning Ordination in any of them, but only in the Two Epistles to *Timothy*, and in that to *Titus*? This, I think, is a very reasonable Argument. However, it is plain, even to Demonstration, that the Apostles, and Men of the Apostolical Order, had this Authority to ordain

(n) 1 Tim. v. 22.

(o) Tit. i. 5.

and send others: And there is not the least Intimation in Scripture that any others, whether *Deacons* or *Presbyters*, had any such Authority, since we find no others to have exercised it, nor any Direction given to others about it. It is also manifest, that whilst our Saviour was on Earth, only he could send Labourers into his Harvest, and that the Apostles alone (being sent by him as he was sent by the Father) had that Authority after his Ascension, and there is not the Shadow of any Proof that they committed this Authority to *Presbyters*; for Authority to minister the Word and Sacraments, was no Authority to commission others to perform those Offices, since, as I have shewed, the Apostles had Authority to minister the Word and Sacraments whilst *Christ* was with them, but not to send others for that Purpose. There being therefore demonstrative Proof that the Apostles, and those whom they had ordained to the same Order with themselves, were authorized to ordain or send Ministers, and nothing like a Proof that any others could do it, we may very fairly affirm, that it does not appear from the Scriptures, that any inferior Order could ordain. And for as much as the Apostles were called and sent by *Christ*, and appointed by him to be a perpetual standing Order of Ministers in his Church, whom he has promised to be with alway, even unto the End of the World, which has been also fully proved, it is certain that their Office, which we now call by the Name of *Episcopacy*, is of *Divine Right*, being an Office instituted by *Christ* himself, who is *very God* as well as *very Man*, to be the ordinary, standing, permanent Ministry in his Church, to which the chief Government of the Church was by him committed.

§ XII. But for as much as there were some Things peculiar to the Twelve Apostles, which were not communicable to their Successors, such (p) as to have been *from the beginning Eye Witnesses and Ministers of the Word*, (q) *to have heard from the beginning, to have seen with their Eyes, to have looked upon, and with their Hands to have handled the Word of Life*: (r) And also to have been *Witnesses of his Resurrection*: To which we may add that particular Divine Inspiration which they received by the Holy Ghost, (s) *whom the Father sent in Christ's Name to teach them all things, and to bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever he said unto them*, whereby they were rendered infallible in the Account which they gave of the Life and Acts of *Jesus Christ*, and in the Doctrines which they delivered to the World by Preaching or Writing, and therefore their Books contained in the New Testament are received by the Church as the Word of God, being written by the infallible Directions of his Spirit. For this Reason, and upon Account of these incommunicable Privileges of the first *Apostles*, those who succeeded them in their Office of governing the Church, humbly abstained from the Name *Apostles*, and contented themselves with the Name of *Bishops*, which (as I have before observed) was in the Scripture Language given to the Second Order, who were then promiscuously called either *Bishops* or *Presbyters*. For immediately after the Death of *St. John* (the last Survivor of the 12 Apostles) we find the Three Orders distinguished by the Names of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, as

(p) Luke i. 2.
(s) John xiv. 26.

(q) 1 John i. 1.

(r) Acts i. 22.

they are to this Day; and the same Power in the Government of the Church which our Saviour exercised, and did not communicate to his Apostles till after his Resurrection, is expressly declared to have been in the Bishop, and the Presbyters are said to possess the Place which the Apostles held under *Christ* whilst he was here conversant with them: And the Bishops are asserted to be the Apostles Successors in that Power which they had vested in them by *Christ*, when he was going to leave them after his Resurrection, and the Presbyters are declared to be under them. This I shall briefly prove by some few Instances from the Fathers which lived before the Council of *Nice*. I say, *some few Instances*, because if I should go about to collect all the numerous Instances which may be produced to this Purpose from the Fathers of the three first Centuries only, I might write a Volume upon this one Head: But this has been already done by so many excellent Pens, that I may well content my self with a few plain Instances, referring those that require more to the many larger Volumes which have been written on this Subject of the Divine Right of Episcopacy.

§ XIII. I shall begin with the Testimony of St. *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was Contemporary with St. *John* the Apostle. For St. *John* (t) died at *Ephesus* about the Year of our Lord 104, and St. *Ignatius* (u) suffered Martyrdom about Three Years after, in the Year of our Lord 107, having been Bishop Forty Years, so that he was also Contemporary with many other of the

(t) Cave Hist. Lit. Vol. 1. p. 10.
Vol. 1. p. 26.

(u) Cave Hist. Lit.

Apostles also. In his Passage from *Antioch* to *Rome* (whither he was carried to be thrown to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, for his bold Confession of the Christian Faith before the Emperor *Trajan*) he wrote Seven short Epistles to severai Churches, diverse of whose Bishops came to visit him, and supply his Wants upon the Road. In which Epistles he asserts the Divine Right of Episcopacy as fully as may be. (w) In his Epistle to the *Magnesians* he says, *I admonish that you study to do all things in the Unity of God, the Bishop presiding in the Place of God, and the Presbyters in the Seat of the Apostles, and the Deacons most dear to me having the Ministry of Jesus Christ committed to them.* And to the *Trallians* he says, (x) *And for as much as you are subject to your Bishops as to Jesus Christ, you seem to me no to live according unto Men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for you, that believing in his Death you may avoid Death. It is therefore necessary that as you do already, so you should do nothing without your Bishop: But be subject also to the Presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our Hope, in whom may we be found conversant. It behoves also the Deacons, being the*

(w) Παλαιῶ ἐν ὁμινοία Θεῷ συνεδέξασθε πάντα πράσαν, περκαθημεν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τόπον Θεῷ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ εἰς τόπον συνεδέξασθε τῷ ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῷ διακόνῳ, τῷ ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστωμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Ad Magnes.* § 6.

(x) Ὅτι ἂν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσασθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, φαίνεσθε μοι κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τῷ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀποθάνοντα, ἵνα, πισθίσασθε εἰς τὸ θάνατον αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἀποθάνειν ἐκρούγητε. Ἀναγκαῖον ἔν ἐσιν, ὡσπερ ποιεῖτε, αἰεὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μηδὲν πράσαν ὑμᾶς. Ἄλλ' ὑποτάσσασθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διαγοντες εὐεδοσάμεθα. Δεῖ ὅ καὶ τῷ διακόνῳ, ὄντες μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ πάντα τρυφῶν πᾶσιν ἀρέσκων. Οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσιν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρετοῦν. *Ad Tral.* § 2.

Ministers of the Mysteries of Jesus Christ, by all means to please all. For they are not Ministers of Meat and Drink, but Ministers of the Church of God. And again, (z) Likewise all of you reverence the Deacons, as the Command of Jesus Christ; and the Bishop, as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father: And the Presbyters, as the Council of God, and the Society of Apostles. So to the Smyrneans he says, (a) All of you follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as the Command of God. Nothing can be plainer from these Passages, than that the Bishop in St. Ignatius's Days, that is, at the latter End of the Apostolical Age, was as plainly distinguished from the Presbyters and Deacons, as Christ was from his Apostles whilst he was conversant with them on Earth, the Bishop having the chief Government of the Church, as Christ had whilst on Earth, and the Presbyters and Deacons were Ministers under him as the Apostles were under Christ. And yet from these very Passages (b) have the Presbyterians pretended to prove that the Power of Ordination is lodged in the Hands of Presbyters, as Successors to the Apostles. For thus they argue, How great soever the Ignatian Prelate may be thought to be, the Presbytery is, by the very same Author, represented as succeeding to, and coming in the room of, the Apostolical College. This is a Concession we are well contented with, and think

(z) Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρέψιδωσαν τὸν Διακόνον ὡς ἐβίβλην Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸ πατέρα τὸν ἢ πρεσβυτέριον, ὡς σωτέριον Θεῶν, καὶ ὡς σωτέρισμον ἀποστόλων. *Ad Trall.* § 3.

(1) Πάντες τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸν ἢ διακόνον ἐντρέψιδε, ὡς Θεῶν ἐντολήν. *Ad Smyrn.* 8.

(b) Truth tried, &c. by John Withers, Exon. Printed 1710, P 79.

we need no other to prove the Validity of a Presbyterian Ordination. But the Gentleman who wrote thus, did not consider that when *Ignatius* makes the Presbyters Successors to the Apostles, he at the same time makes the Bishop the Successor of *Jesus Christ*, and I have proved from the Scriptures that the Apostles had no Power to ordain whilst *Jesus Christ* was with them, that is, so long as they were meer Presbyters, and not advanced to the Dignity of Bishops, or chief Governours of the Church, as they were after the Resurrection. Consequently that *Ignatius* makes not Presbyters Successors of the Apostles, as they were Governours of the Church, and had the Power of Ordination, but only as they were Assistant Ministers under *Christ*, and when they had not that Power. But as the *Apostles* were after vested with the Fulness of Spiritual Power, he speaks of himself, and consequently of other *Bishops*, as bearing their Character. Thus in the Inscription of his Epistle to the *Trallians* he tells them, that * he salutes them in Fulness, in the Apostolical Character, speaking of himself, as vested with Apostolical Power, consequently a Successor to them, and of the same Order.

§ XIV. And as *St. Ignatius*, the Contemporary of the *Apostles*, shews that the Bishops stood in the Place of *Christ*, that is, were vested with the same Authority which he conferred upon his *Apostles* when he sent them, as the Father sent him, whereby they became his first Successors; and also in the Place of the *Apostles*, as they succeeded to *Christ* in the Government of the Church; so the

* Ἦν καὶ ἀπαύξωμα ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, ἐν Ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι.

following Fathers speak of the *Bishops* as the Successors of the *Apostles* in the chief Government of the Church, which was committed to them by *Christ*, and by them to the *Bishops*. Thus (c) *Irenæus*, who lived not long after *St. Ignatius*, being made Bishop of *Lyons* in *France* about the Year 167, says, *We can number those who were instituted Bishops in the several Churches by the Apostles and their Successors, even to our selves.* And then giving us a Catalogue of the *Bishops* of *Rome* from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, who were joint Founders of that Church, down to *Eleutherius*, who was Bishop there at the time he wrote: He tells us also, that *Polycarp*, whom he saw in his younger Years, was instructed by the *Apostles*, and conversed with many of those who saw our Lord, and was made by the *Apostles* Bishop of *Smyrna*. (d) Again he says, *The Doctrine of the Apostles, and the ancient State of the Church throughout the World, and the Form of the Body or Church of Christ, according to the Successions of the Bishops, to whom they delivered that Church which is in every Place.* And again (e) *All these are much later than those Bishops to whom the Apostles delivered the Churches.* And that by *Bishops* in these Places he means an Order of Men superiour to *Presbyters*, is manifest from his naming *Polycarp* amongst them, thereby plainly teaching us that the others

(c) *Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & successores eorum usq; ad nos. Irenæ. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

(d) *Apostolorum doctrina, & antiquus Ecclesiæ status in universo mundo: & character corporis Christi secundum successiones Episcoporum, quibus illi eam, quæ in unoquoq; loco est, Ecclesiam tradiderunt. Iren. lib. 4. cap. 63.*

(e) *Omnes ii, valde posteriores sunt quam Episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesias. Iren. lib. 5. cap. 20.*

were

were all of them such Bishops as *Polycarp*. Now that *Polycarp* was superior to the Presbyters, and the Head or Chief over a Presbytery, is evident from his Epistle to the *Philippians*, when he sent them the Seven Epistles of *St. Ignatius*, Four of which were written by that glorious Martyr in his House, Two more were written to himself and his Church of *Smyrna*, and the other was written to his Neighbour Church of *Philadelphia*; so that he could not but be able to procure genuine Copies of every one of them. (u) This Epistle of *St. Polycarp* begins thus: *Polycarp* and the Presbyters that are with him, to the Church of God which dwells at *Philippi*. This Inscription plainly teaches us that *Polycarp* was Chief above a Company of *Presbyters*, and *St. Ignatius*, who was some Time in his House, in his Epistle to him (w) stiles him *Bishop*, saying, *Ignatius*, who is also called *Theophorus*, to *Polycarp Bishop of the Smyrneans*. And that he was such a Bishop as *Ignatius* says stands in the Place of God or *Christ*, is evident, not only from what I have quoted before from that Father out of his Epistle to the *Smyrneans*, over whom *Polycarp* was Bishop, but also from this very Epistle to *Polycarp* himself, wherein making an Apostrophe to his Flock, he says, (x) *Hearken to your Bishop, that God may also hearken unto you. My Soul for theirs who are subject to the Bishop, the Presbyters, and the Deacons,*

(u) Πολύκαρπος ἡ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῆ ἐκκλησίας τῆ Θεῆ τῆ πατρικῆς Φιλίπποις.

(w) Ἰγνατίου ὁ ἡ Θεοφόρος Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων.

(x) Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέειπε, ἵνα ἡ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. Ἀνίσχυρον ἐγὼ τῶ ὑποτασσόμενων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις ἡ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέγιστον ἧσίοιο χάριν ἐν Θεῷ. *Ignat. ad Polycarp. § 6.*

and

and may I have the same Portion with them in the Lord. I have been the more particular upon this Point, to prove *Pölycarp*, and consequently the rest of those Bishops whom *Ireneus* names as Successors to the Apostles, to have been such Bishops as *Ignatius* speaks of, who had so plainly an Authority above Presbyters, excelling them both in Order and Dignity, and to whom the chief Government of the Church belonged, so that nothing could be done in the Church without the Bishop, because the *Presbyterians*, from their great Masters *Blondel* and *Salmasius*, have endeavoured, from the Authority of *Ireneus*, to reduce these Bishops, whose Succession he speaks of, down to the Rank of *Presbyters*, because he sometimes calls them so. Thus (z) *Mr. Withers* speaks, after having made *Ignatius* a *Presbyterian*, as has been already observed, and says, *A second Witness to the same Purpose is Ireneus, Bishop of Lyons, who flourished in the Second Century, who thus expresses himself when disputing against the Valerian Hereticks. When (says he) we challenge those who are Enemies to Tradition, to have recourse to that Tradition which is derived from the Apostles, and which by a SUCCESSION OF PRESBYTERS is preserved in the Churches; will they say that they are wiser not only than Presbyters, but even than the Apostles themselves? If any thing can be more express and positive, 'tis the Assertion of the same Author, who in another place affirms, That Men ought to obey those Presbyters that are in the Church, even those who have their SUCCESSION FROM THE APOSTLES, who, with the Succession of Episcopacy, have received the certain Gift of Truth, according to the good Pleasure of the Father. In which*

(z) *Truth tried*, p. 80:

Quotation there are these two things plainly affirmed: First, That Presbyters are Successors to the Apostles. Secondly, That their Succession, and the Succession of Episcopacy, is the same thing, and by consequence that according to their original Institution they were the same with Bishops; tho' Custom and the Consent of Churches has since made so great a Difference. 'Tis further remarkable that this venerable Author is looked upon by our Brethren as an eminent and topping Prelate; and therefore cannot be suspected of Partiality in favour of an inferior Order, or of any Design to derogate from the Dignity and Honour of his own Character. But Mr. Withers might have known, if he had been pleased to have examined those who had written on the other side, that this Argument of his had received a very full Answer long before he produced it, and particularly from Dr. Parker Bishop of Oxford, in his Account of the Government of the Christian Church for the first 600 Years, where that Learned Prelate having shewed, that (a) as soon as the Apostles were withdrawn, and so the Name of an Apostle began to be laid aside, the Name of Bishop was appropriated to their Successors in the Supremacy; so that we find not one Writer after the Apostles Time that doth not very carefully distinguish the Names of Bishop and Presbyter, the one as peculiarly appertaining to the Supreme Order, the other as to the Inferior, so as never to give the Name of Bishop to a Presbyter, or of a Presbyter to a Bishop, proceeds to answer such Instances as are here brought by Mr. Withers; and says, I know indeed that Blondel, Salmasius, and Daille, that Geneva Triumvirate, or Confederacy for the Subversion of the ancient State of the Christian Church, have, after their usual manner, raked together vast

(a) pag. 54, 55, 56.

Heaps of Instances out of the Writers of the two first Ages, in which the Name Presbyter is applied to Bishops; but they all depend upon one small Quibble, or equivocal Sense of the Word, as it sometimes signifies Age, and sometimes Office: For there is not one Instance in which they give the Title of a Presbyter to a Bishop of their own Time, and whenever they speak of them, appropriate it to subordinate Presbyters, to express their Distinction from Bishops; but when they speak of Bishops of former Times, they give them sometimes the Appellation of Presbyters, as it is equivalent to that of Ancients, and signifies not their Office, but their Antiquity in the Church, and so might be given not only to all Orders of the Clergy, but to the Laity, and the whole Body of Christians, by whom the Apostolical Tradition was any way conveyed down to after Ages. And it was upon that Occasion that they used this Word, to shew the Certainty of the Conveyance of the true Christian Doctrine from the Apostles, in that they received it from the Ancients that received it from them; in this Sense, and in this only, do they use the Word, as it denotes not their Office, but their Age. This one short Observation is a clear Answer to all their voluminous Heaps of Collections, that tho' they make a great Shew to the Ignorant with the Length of their Train, yet they all run upon this poor and dull Mistake, as will appear more fully when we come to Particulars. In the mean time it is enough to our present Purpose, that the Episcopal Succession to the Apostles is so unanswerably proved and attested by the most ancient Writers of the Church; and that without Ambiguity or Equivocation in their Words. And then in particular as to the forecited Words of Irenæus quoted by Mr. Withers, he says (b) What, cannot a Man prove the Certainty of the Tra-

(b) p. 101, 102.

dition of the Church, as Irenæus often doth, by the undoubted Testimony of the Ancients, but they must all immediately be transformed into Presbyters? And that he so frequently gives them that Title in respect of their Antiquity, not their Office, is so evident from the Passages themselves, that it is a burning Shame for Learned Men to persist so stubbornly in so thick a Mistake. Otherwise it is certain that he never confounds either the Name or the Office of Presbyter and Bishop, and derives the Succession of proper Bishops from the Apostles, such as the Bishops of Rome and Polycarp, who had their Presbyters under them, as is evident from the Inscription of Polycarp's own Epistle, and the Proceedings of the Presbytery at Rome against Marcion; neither indeed could he confound the Names, who so well knew the Distinction of Offices, as having been first a Presbyter himself, and then a Bishop. What an endless Outcry do these Men keep up with Irenæus's Presbyters, as if they alone had been immediate Successors to the Apostles, and he had known no higher Order of Men called Bishops, when himself was advanced from the lower Order of Presbyter to that of a Bishop, when he has so often expressly distinguished them? so that if he had expressed himself carelessly, and sometimes called a Bishop a Presbyter, it were nothing but wilful Perverseness from thence to conclude that he knew no Difference between them, and plainly to give the Lie to his own Declaration of his own Sense; but when there is not one Passage in all his Writings in which he stiles a meer Presbyter a Bishop; and when every Passage in which a Bishop is stiled a Presbyter, so apparently explains it self to be understood of their Age, not their Office; after this to interpret it of their Office, plainly shews that Presbytery has no other Way to preserve it self, than by putting Tricks upon Antiquity. From what this Learned Prelate has therefore said, it is evident that Mr. Withers has given

us a wrong Translation of the Passages he has cited from *Irenæus*, and that the Word he renders *Presbyters* should be rendred *Ancients*, and then his whole Argument from *Irenæus* falls to the Ground. It is also observable that Mr. *Withers* himself represents *Irenæus* as an eminent and topping Prelate, and one that cannot therefore be suspected of Partiality in favour of an inferior Order, or of any Design to derogate from the Dignity and Honour of his own Character. But if he had such a Character, and had such an inferior Order of Presbyters subject to him, and was an eminent and topping Prelate, could he think himself and his Inferiors to be of the same Order? If this is not a Contradiction, I will not pretend to say what is.

§ XV. The next Author I shall produce, is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who flourished in the latter End of the Second Century, about the Year 192, and shall begin with that very Passage which Mr. *Withers* (c) quotes to prove this Father also to have been a Patron of Presbytery. I shall therefore first recite his Words. *A third Witness, who speaks the Language of the former, is Clement of Alexandria, who also flourished in the first Ages of Christianity. Having spoken of Judas his Election to the Apostleship, and his unworthy Conduct in it, he proceeds in these following Words: Wherefore Matthias, tho' he was not chosen together with the rest, when he had approved himself worthy to become an Apostle, was substituted in the room of Judas. And it is possible even NOW for those who exercise themselves in the Divine Command, who live knowingly, as becomes the Gospel, to*

(c) *Truth tried*, p. 80, 81.

be enrolled in the *Number of the Apostles*. This is a real Presbyter of the Church, and a true Minister of God's Will, if he does and teaches the Things of God; nor is he esteemed a just Man because he is a Presbyter, and ordained by Men; but because he is a just Man, therefore he is taken into the Presbytery. *In the first of these Sentences this Learned Author takes it for granted, that in the Age in which he lived, some Men might be reckoned in the Number of the Apostles; by which he must understand their Successors in the Gospel Ministry, they themselves being dead some Scores of Years before. In the next Sentence he describes the Man that deserves so high a Character, and that is the Presbyter, who adorns his Function by a wise and holy Conversation. And it is evident to any one that consults this Passage, that the Presbytery, in the latter part of it, answers to the Catalogue of Apostles in the former; and this being granted, we need no more to prove the Validity of a Presbyterian Ordination. But if this be not granted, then it proves no such thing. For if he had not misrepresented the Passage, by putting the now ambiguous Word Minister instead of Deacon into it, there would have been no Colour for Wyre-drawing it to his Meaning. And it is plain that this was not done by Mr. Withers inadvertently, but with Design, for when he quotes this Passage in the Greek in his Margin, just where the Word Διάκονος, Deacon, should come in, he puts an &c. and so gives us but one half of the Original, for fear the Reader, who might understand that Language, might be thereby undeceived, and see that Clemens here speaks of all the Three Orders, the Bishop, who is the Person he speaks of, as who may be now enrolled in the Number of Apostles, and after him the Presbyter, and then the Deacon. And the Words immediately following this Passage quoted by*

Mr.

Mr. *Withers*, plainly shew that the Person whom he speaks of as *taken into the Presbytery*, is not taken into the highest Order: saying, (d) *And altho' he be not honoured with the first Seat here on Earth, yet he shall sit upon one of the four and twenty Thrones, judging the People, as John says in the Apocalypse.* And a little after he says again, (e) *For here also in the Church the Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are, as I think, Imitations of the Angelick Glory.* So that *Clemens* plainly acknowledges and speaks of all the Three Orders, and also says expressly that the *Presbyter* does not sit in the highest Seat, consequently that the Person he speaks of as *enrolled in the Number of the Apostles* must be the Bishop, notwithstanding Mr. *Withers* by a partial Citation of it would wrest it to the *Presbyter*.

§ XVI. I shall mention but one Passage more from Mr. *Withers*, because the rest of his Citations are from Authors after the Time of the Council of *Nice*, which is the Period I have fixed for my present Enquiries. He says then, (f) *I shall next present the Reader with a Passage to be found in the Constitutions commonly called Apostolical, pretended to be drawn up by St. Clement their Disciple. 'Tis agreed on all hands that they are not so ancient as the first Compiler of them would fain persuade the World: Du Pin supposes that their first*

(d) Κἄν ἐνταῦθ' ἐπὶ γῆς προσωκαθεδεῖα μὴ τιμηθῆ, ἐν τοῖς ἐκκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι καθεδραῖς θρόνοις, ἃ λαὸν κείρων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 6. p. 667. B.

(e) Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσωκαὶ, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα οἶμαι Ἀγγελικῆς δόξης. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 6. p. 667. D.

(f) Truth tried, p. 81.

Appearance in the World was in the Third or Fourth Century. I shall not therefore cite them as the Words of St. Clement, but as the Sense of the Church in that Age in which they were received; but thus they express themselves: Let the Presbyters (say they) be esteemed as those who are in the PLACE of us the APOSTLES. These Words are so plain, that they need no Paraphrase, and effectually confirm the thing for which they are produced. But if we look into the Place which he has cited, we shall find that they make just as much for his Purpose as the Passages cited by him from Ignatius, which I have before considered, and of which they seem to be a Transcript. For in this very Place where they make the Presbyters to be Successors of the Apostles, they make the Bishops the Successors of Jesus Christ. And in this Sense the greatest Zealots for Episcopacy maintain Presbyters to have succeeded the Apostles, that is, to have succeeded to the Place which the Apostles had under Christ whilst he was with them on Earth, that is, whilst they were neither the chief Governors of the Church, nor had any Power to ordain or send others. But they that can make Ignatius and the Apostolical Constitutions the Patrons of Presbytery, may make even what I now write to be a Defense of Presbytery. For as Ignatius, so the Apostolical Constitutions, are very full of the Authority of Bishops above Presbyters, and teach us also, that after a Man had been ordained a Presbyter, he must be ordained again by another Form before he could be a Bishop, even as it is at this Day.

§ XVII. *Tertullian*, who was himself a Presbyter of Carthage, and flourished together with *Clemens Alexandrinus* about the Year 192, challenges the Hereticks to shew their Succession from
the

the Apostles, as the Catholick Church could do by a Succession of *Bishops*, saying, (g) *Let them set forth the Original of their Churches: Let them turn over the Register of their Bishops, and so going down by Successions from the Beginning, shew that he who was the first Bishop, had one of the Apostles, or of the Apostolical Men who was in full Communion with the Apostles, for his Author and Predecessor. For in this manner the Apostolical Churches bring down their Registers, as the Church of the Smyrneans had Polycarp placed over them by John, as the Church of the Romans had Clement ordained by Peter: As the other Churches also set forth those who were made Bishops over them by the Apostles. And that Tertullian looked upon Bishops as an Order superior to Presbyters, and consequently means such Bishops in this place, is evident from his distinguishing the Three Orders in other Parts of his Work, and particularly in his Book concerning Baptism, where he says, (h) *The chief Priest, which is the Bishop, has the Right to give it, and after him the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the Bishop's Authority, for the Honour of the Church. In which Words he not only plainly teaches that there**

(g) *Edant ergo Origines Ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesie Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyræorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum: proinde utiq; ut ceteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. Tertull. de præscript. advers. Hæret.*

(h) *Danti quidem habet jus summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie honorem. Tertull. de Baptif.*

were these Three Orders in the Church, but also declares the *Bishop* to be the *Chief*, and that neither *Deacons* nor *Presbyters* could baptize, or consequently perform any other Ministerial Duties, but by an Authority derived from him.

§ XVIII. *Origen*, who lived a while after *Tertullian*, and was the Scholar of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, flourishing about the Year 230, teaches, that *Bishops* are set over us by God, and consequently have a Divine Right to their Office: For speaking of our Saviour's Obedience to his Mother and her Husband, he says, (i) *If Jesus the Son of God was subject to Joseph and Mary, shall not I be subject to the Bishop, who is ordained by God to be my Father? Shall not I be subject to the Presbyter, who by the Divine Vouchsafement is set over me?* Here the *Bishop*, as distinguished from the *Presbyter*, is positively asserted to have been ordained by God. *Origen* was also himself a *Presbyter*, and tho' ill treated by his *Bishop Demetrius*, yet never pretended to be his Equal.

§ XIX. *St. Cyprian*, who was *Bishop of Carthage* about the Year of our Lord 250, is so full upon this Subject, that a Man may write a Volume out of his Works alone, shewing *Bishops* to have been appointed by God to be the chief *Governors* of the Church, to have succeeded the *Apostles*, and to have an Authority over *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, even such an Authority, that neither *Deacons* nor *Presbyters* can administer any Divine Ordinances but in Sub-

(i) Si Jesus filius Dei subjicitur Joseph & Mariæ, ego non subjiciar Episcopo qui mihi a Deo ordinatus est Pater? Non subjiciar Presbytero qui mihi Domini dignatione præpositus est? *Orig. Hom. 20. in Matthæ.*

ordination to them. This any Man will be soon convinced of, who shall give himself the Trouble to read a Book called *The Principles of the Cyprianick Age*, and another called *The Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age*, both written by the late Right Reverend and Learned Mr. *John Sage*, a Scotch Bishop. And therefore I shall content my self to give two or three Citations from this Father, desiring those who would have further Satisfaction in this Matter, to consult those two very excellent and learned Treatises. *Rogatianus* (an African Bishop, and consequently a Suffragan to St. Cyprian, who was Primate of that Province) wrote to desire his Advice how to deal with one of his *Deacons*, whom he found rebellious; St. Cyprian in his Answer to him has these Words: (k) *Deacons ought to remember that our Lord chose APOSTLES, that is, BISHOPS and RULERS; and that it was after our Lord's Ascension that Deacons were made by the APOSTLES, for the Service of THEIR EPISCOPACY, and of the Church: Wherefore as WE (Bishops) ought to do nothing against God, who makes BISHOPS; so neither ought Deacons to do any thing against Us (Bishops) by whom they are made. It is necessary therefore that your Deacon, concerning whom you write, should acknowledge the Honour of the PRIEST, and make Satisfaction to the BISHOP his RULER in the humblest manner.* Again,

(k) Meminiſſe autem Diaconi debent quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt, Episcopos & Præpoſitos Dominus eligit; Diaconos autem poſt aſcenſum Domini Apoſtoli conſtituerunt Episcopatus ſui & Eccleſiæ miniſtros: quod ſi nos aliquid audere contra Deum poſſumus qui Episcopos facit, poſſunt & contra nos Diaconi a quibus ſunt. Et ideo oportet Diaconum de quo ſcribis agere audaciæ ſuæ pœnitentiam, & honorem ſacerdotis agnoſcere, & Episcopopo Præpoſito ſuo plena humilitate ſatiſfacere. *Cypr. Epiſt. 3.*

writing to *Cornelius Bishop of Rome*, he says (l) *This, Brother, is and ought to be our principal Labour and Study, even as much as we are able, to take care that that Unity may still obtain which was delivered by our Lord and by his Apostles to Us (Bishops) THEIR SUCCESSORS.* And as he thus speaks of *Bishops as Successors to the Apostles*, and superior to *Deacons*, so he also shews that they are superior to *Presbyters* in several Places, and particularly where he says, (m) *How great reason have we to be afraid of the Wrath of God, when some Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor of their OWN PLACE, nor thinking on the future Judgment of God, nor considering that they have a BISHOP now their GOVERNOR, are bold to assume all to themselves, to the Contempt and Reproach of their GOVERNOR, a thing never heretofore attempted under any of my Predecessors.* And in another place he also says, (n) *I hear nevertheless that there are some Presbyters neither mindful of the Gospel, nor considering what the Martyrs have written to us, and not reserving to the BISHOP the Honour of his Priesthood, and of his Chair.*

(l) Hoc enim vel maxime, Frater, & laboramus & laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam quantum possumus obtinere curemus. *Cyprian. Epist. 42.*

(m) Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neq; futurum Domini iudicium, neq; nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum, cum contumelia & contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vendicent. *Cyprian. Epist. 16.*

(n) Audio tamen quosdam de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii memores, nec quid ad nos Martyres scripserint cogitantes, nec Episcopo honorem sacerdotii & cathedræ reservantes. *Cyprian. Epist. 17.*

§ XX. *Firmilian*, the Contemporary of *St. Cyprian*, and Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, speaks of Bishops also as Successors to the Apostles, saying, (o) *The Power of remitting Sins was given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they founded, and to the BISHOPS WHO SUCCEEDED TO THE APOSTLES BY A VICARIOUS ORDINATION.*

§ XXI. In the famous Council of *Carthage*, held by *St. Cyprian* to debate concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, where were present a great Number of Bishops of the Provinces of *Africk*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*, together with their Presbyters and Deacons, we find several in those Debates speaking of the *Succession of Bishops*, and of the *Episcopal Authority*, as of what was known to all, and a Matter not questioned by any. Thus (p) *Fortunatus a Thucabori* says, *Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built his Church upon a Rock, and not upon Heresy, and gave the Power of baptizing unto BISHOPS.* In these Words he plainly teaches us that *Bishops*, as distinct from *Presbyters* (for there were Presbyters and Deacons too present in the Council) were then esteemed to be the same Order with the *Apostles*, and consequently their Successors, for that Commission which our Lord gave to his *Apostles*, he here says was given to *Bishops*, which

(o) Potestas ergo remittendorum peccatorum Apostolis data est & Ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt. *Inter Epist. Cyprian. Epist. 75*

(p) Jesus Christus Dominus & Deus noster, Dei Patris & Creatoris filius, super Petram ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, non super Hæresim, & potestatem baptizandi Episcopis dedit. *Concil. Carth. inter oper. Cyp. num. 17.*

had been an odd way of arguing, unless *Apostles* and *Bishops* had then been looked upon as the same. (q) *Confessor Venantius a Timisa* said, *Christ our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his Spouse (the Church) to Us (Bishops)*. For tho' *Priests* and *Deacons* were present to hear the *Debates*, yet none but the *Bishops* spoke in this *Council*, therefore by the Word *Us* in this place he must mean the *Bishops*, and thereby asserts them to be *Successors* to the *Apostles*, for it was to the *Apostles* that *Christ* committed the *Care* of his *Church*. *Confessor Clarus a Muscula* giving his *Suffrage*, said, (r) *The Sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, sending his APOSTLES, and to them alone committing the Power given him by his Father: To WHOM WE (Bishops) have SUCCEEDED, governing the Church of our Lord with the SAME POWER*. Nothing can be plainer than this *Testimony*, that in that *Age* *Bishops* were esteemed to be the *Successors of the Apostles*, and to be vested with the same *Power* which our *Saviour* committed to them just before his *Ascension* into *Heaven*.

§ XXII. The *Apostolical Canons*, which, as *Bishop Beveridge* has learnedly proved, contain a *Collection of Canons* made in the *Three first Centuries*, and before the *Council of Nice*, speak of the *Three Orders of the Clergy*, still retained in the *Church of England*, and speak of the *Bishop* all along as superior to the other two, and

(q) *Christus Dominus & Deus noster ad Patrem proficiens, Sponsam suam nobis commendavit Ibid. num. 49.*

(r) *Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus eadem potestate Ecclesiam gubernantes. Ibid. num. 79.*

as chief Governour of the Flock of *Christ*. I shall cite only a few of them on this Occasion, as they lye in the learned Mr. *Johnson's* Translation, in the Second Volume of the *Vade Mecum*. The first Canon is this, *Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops, a Priest by one Bishop, and so likewise a Deacon, and any other Clergyman*. From whence (as the judicious Translator well observes) we may find, that *the Three holy Orders retained in our Church, were then also distinguished from each other as they now are; and that the Power of Ordination was reserved to the Bishops only*. Also, that *tho' it be the present Practice of the Church of England for all the Priests that are present to lay on Hands at the Ordination of a Priest, yet 'tis clear from this Canon that this is not essential to conferring of Priests Orders*. *Titus by himself was to ordain Priests in every City of Crete, and so was Timothy at Ephesus*. The Twelfth Canon says, *If a Priest or Deacon leaving his own Parish (that is, the Diocese to which he belongs) go to continue in another without his Bishop's Consent, let him only communicate as a Lay-man*. This shews that the Bishop had an Authority over *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and that they might not leave him without his own Consent. The Twenty-fourth Canon says, *If a Priest, despising his Bishop, gather a separate Congregation, and erect another Altar, being not able to convict his Bishop of any thing contrary to Godliness and Righteousness, let him, and the Clergymen that conspire with him, be deposed, and the Laymen be suspended from Communion, after a third Admonition from the Bishop*. From whence it appears that *Priests* or *Presbyters* could not officiate in any Divine Offices but in Subordination to their Bishop, and that if they did otherwise they forfeited their Character, and were to be degraded. The Thirty-second Canon is also full to this Purpose:

pose: *Let the Priests and Deacons do nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of the Bishop; for with him the People of God are entrusted, and of him the Account will be demanded.* The Forty-seventh Canon says, *If any Clergyman do unjustly calumniate a Bishop, let him be deposed: For it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the RULER OF THY PEOPLE.* This plainly shews, that in the Opinion of the Church in those Ages the Bishop was esteemed to be the chief Spiritual Governour of the Flock, and to hold the same Place in the *Christian Church* which the High Priest had in the *Jewish Church*, since they apply the same Words to him which *St. Paul* applied to the *Jewish High Priest*.

§ XXIII. All the Councils which we meet with in the History of the Church, as well before the great and general Council of *Nice* as afterwards, were held by *Bishops*; and tho' *Presbyters* and *Deacons* were allowed to be present at them, and to subscribe to the Decrees, yet they were not allowed to enact authoritatively, as the *Bishops* did, but all they did here, as well as in other Places, was in Subordination to their *Bishops*. I shall take notice of three or four of these Councils, which we shall find were all held by *Bishops* presiding over several Churches. (s) Thus *Eusebius* tells us, that when the Controversy was on foot, about the Time when *Easter* ought to be celebrated, there were several Councils of *Bishops* held in several Places on this Occasion, as in *Palestine*, where *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, presided. Another at *Rome*, under *Victor* the Bishop there. Another of the *Bishops* of *Pontus*, over whom *Palmas*

(s) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5: c. 23, 24.

was President, as being the most ancient and venerable amongst them. Another of the Churches of *Gallia*, of which *Irenaus* had the Oversight. Another of the Churches of *Osroena*, and the Cities in those Parts. Another of the Church of *Corinth*, under *Bachyllus* their Bishop, and a very great Number of others in other Parts, who all declared that *Easter* ought to be kept on the Sunday. On the other side, the Bishops of *Asia*, under *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, were for keeping *Easter* on the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, whether that happened on a Sunday or not. Now we may infer from these Councils, which were all held in the Second Century, that is, in the very next Age to the Apostles, that all Churches in all Parts of the World were governed by *Bishops*, and that when any Controversies happened, the *Bishops* met to decide them. In the next Century, about the Year 243, (t) we find a Synod of *Bishops* assembled at *Bostra* in *Arabia* to condemn the heretical Doctrines of *Beryllus* the Bishop of that Church, where indeed they admitted *Origen* a *Presbyter* to enter the Lists and dispute with *Beryllus*, which he did so effectually as to convince him of his Error, which was more than the Bishops who had before engaged him were able to do. Yet *Origen* was not therefore ever esteemed as a *Bishop*, but lived and died a *Presbyter*: A sure Argument that it was not the Learning or Eminence of any *Presbyter* that caused him to be stiled a *Bishop*; for *Origen* was apparently more eminent than any of the *Bishops* assembled in this Council, since their Names are all buried in Oblivion, but his still remains. And he was also more learned than any of them, since he was

(t) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 33.

able to convince an *Heretick*, whom they had before tried to convince in vain. (u) In the Years 265 and 270 were Synods held at *Antioch* against *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of that Church, who was there deposed for *Heresy*, and *Domnus* substituted in his Place, of which the Bishops assembled on that Occasion gave an Account by a Synodical Letter to the Catholick Church, in which the Three Orders of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, are mentioned in the Inscription of the Epistle, as those who were then of greatest Eminence in the Church. In the beginning of the next Century, about the Year 314, we have the famous Synod of *Arles*, (w) summoned by the Emperor *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* tells us, at which were three *British Bishops* present, out of every Province one, (x) *Eborius* Bishop of *York*, *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, and *Adelphius* Bishop of another City, which our Antiquaries are not fully agreed about, but the most probable Conjecture is *Lincoln*, *Sacerdos* a Presbyter and *Arminius* a Deacon accompanying them and attending on them. This Testimony I have produced to shew that we had the Three Orders of *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons* in the *British Churches* in those early Ages of Christianity, as well as in all other Churches. And, as (y) Bishop *Stillingfleet* says, *I see no reason to question a Succession of Bishops here from the first founding of a Christian Church, there being no other Church in the Christian World which derived from the Apostles, which had not a Succession of Bishops from them too; and we cannot trace the History of other Churches far-*

(u) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 28, 29, 30.

(w) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 10. c. 5.

(x) Cave Hist. Lit. Vol. 2. p. 105. *Stillingfleet Orig. Brit.* p. 74, &c. *Bingham Orig. Eccles.* Vol. 3. Part 2. p. 482.

(y) *Stillingfleet Orig. Brit.* p. 75, 83, 85.

ther than we can do that of their Bishops. As for Instance, the first Conversion of the Churches of Africa is much in the Dark, but as soon as we read any thing considerable of them, we meet with a Council of Bishops, viz. of Agrippinus and his Brethren, out of the Provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania; and he was not the immediate Predecessor of St. Cyprian (but a long Time before him) who suffered in the Persecution of Valerian, Anno Dom. 258. And Tertullian puts the Proof of Apostolical Churches upon the Succession of Bishops from the Apostles: Which were a senseless way of proceeding, unless it were taken for granted, that wherever the Apostles planted Churches, they appointed Bishops to take Care of them. Aliho' therefore, by the Loss of Records of the British Churches, we cannot draw down the Succession of Bishops from the Apostles Time, yet we have good reason to presume such a Succession, when upon the first summoning a Council by Constantine, three British Bishops appeared, one out of every Province, as they did in other Parts. And their Succession was not in the least disputed among them, they subscribing to the Sentence and Canons as others did. And what Canons did then pass, did no doubt as much concern the British Churches to observe, as any other Churches whose Bishops were there present. And in those Canons they distinguish the Three Orders of the Clergy very plainly, some Canons relating to Bishops; and others to Priests and Deacons. As particularly it is decreed Can. 19. That no Bishop shall consecrate another alone, but he ought to take Seven with him, or at least Three. Which, as this learned Bishop observes, shews the Number of Bishops then in the Western Provinces, and so in Britain at that time. For we find by other ancient Canons, that a Bishop was to be consecrated by all the Bishops of a Province, or at least by Three. We may therefore from hence collect that there were

commonly about Eight Bishops in these Provinces; one of whose Sees being vacant, the other Seven were to consecrate another. There being therefore Three Provinces in that Part of *Britain* which was subject to the *Roman Empire*, the Number of Bishops here was about 24. Very near the same Number we still have. After the Council of *Arles*, the same Emperor summoned the great Council of *Nice*, to which, (z) as *Eusebins* tells us, he summoned all the Bishops ἀπασταχῶθεν ἔ πανταχῶ, from all Places, and from all the Provinces of the Empire. And consequently from *Britain* as well as all the rest. And he also says, (a) those that were summoned did come according to Appointment with great Readiness, not only for the sake of the Council, but of the Emperor. And he after says, that the most eminent Bishops of all Churches, as well those of Europe as Asia and Africa, did come to *Nice*. Also *Constantine* himself, in his Speech to the Council, when he comes to exhort them to agree to the keeping of *Easter* all on the same Day, (b) says, I know your Wisdom will easily consent that that shall be observed, which is already observed with one Consent in the City of *Rome*, in *Italy*, in *Africa*, in *Egypt*, in *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *BRITAIN*, in *Libya*, and in all *Græcia*, in the *Asiatick* and *Pontick Diocese*, and in *Cilicia*. Would *Constantine* have named *Britain* particularly among the other Provinces, whose Bishops we certainly know were present in this Council, if *Britain* had not sent Bishops thither as well as the other Provinces, to give a Testimony concerning the Faith and Practice of the *British* Churches? The *British* Bishops

(z) Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 6.

(a) Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 6.

(b) Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 18.

were present at the Council of *Arles*, which was before this of *Nice*, and at those of *Sardica* and *Ariminum*, which were after it: Can we then think they were not present at this, which was much more general than any of the other? These I think are convincing Arguments, when there is nothing to be said on the other side to shew they were not there, since *Athanasius's Synodicon* has been so long lost, wherein all their Names were set down who were then present; and that Catalogue of them, if it was distinct, which *Epiphanius* had seen, as (b) Bishop *Stillingfleet* observes. So that it does not appear that their Names were omitted in the List of the Subscribers, there being no such List now in being that we have any Account of. Now in this Council (besides what History tells us of *Priests* and *Deacons* which accompanied their *Bishops* thither) we have these Three Orders of the Clergy named and distinguished in the Canons themselves. Thus in the 15th Canon 'tis decreed that neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, remove from City to City. And in the 18th 'tis said, neither Canon nor Custom permits that Deacons, who have not Power to make the Oblation, should administer the Body of Christ to Priests, who have that Power: Let the Deacons therefore keep within their proper Bounds, and receive the Eucharist either from the Bishop, whose Attendants they are, or from the Priests, and after them. Thus we see that at the Time of this great Council, there was but one Bishop in a Church, and several Priests and Deacons, for the Bishop is here spoken of in the Singular Number, and the others in the Plural.

(b) Orig. Brit. p. 91.

§ XXIV. And now I trust I have proved *the Divine Right of Episcopacy*, having so plainly shewed that *Bishops* (as distinct from *Presbyters*) having a Power to rule and govern *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as well as the People committed to their Charge, and also to ordain *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, and thereby preserve the Gospel Priesthood in a continued Succession to the End of the World, is an Order or Office instituted and appointed by God himself: That it was God who ordained and sent his Son our Saviour *Jesus Christ* to be the first great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls. That he, whilst he was here on Earth, and exercised his Authority and Ministry Personally amongst Men, had Two Orders of Ministers under him, the *Twelve Apostles* and the *Seventy Disciples*: And that neither of these had during that Time any Authority to commission or ordain others to that Ministry unto which they were appointed; but if they found themselves too few for that great Work, they were to pray him, the Lord of the Harvest, to send more Labourers into the Harvest. That a little before his Ascension into Heaven he enlarged the Commission of his *Twelve Apostles*, and sent them, as the Father had sent him, whereby they also received Authority to send others, which they could not do before. And accordingly they did so, and as our Lord whilst here on Earth appointed Two Orders of Ministers to assist him, and to act under him in such manner as he thought fit to send or employ them; so the Apostles supplying his Place after his Ascension, appointed Two Orders of Men to act under them, who were called in the Scripture Language *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*; but these had no Power to ordain and send others. Therefore that the Succession of

Ministers might not fail and die with the *Apostles*, before they left the World they ordained others also to their own Order, who were also in the Scripture Language called *Apostles*, such as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Silvanus*, *Epaphroditus*, *Archippus*, &c. who were authorized, as the *Apostles*, to ordain others, and to rule and govern the inferior Ministers, and to continue their Succession in this manner to the End of the World. That after the *Apostles* Time these Successors of their Order abstained from the Name *Apostles*, and took that of *Bishops*, which has ever since continued, and the Three Orders from those Days have been known by the Names of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. That the Fathers of the three first Centuries, and the Councils held in that Time, down to the Council of *Nice*, have all taken notice of these Three Orders, and of the Order of *Bishops*, as the Chief of them. That such as have spoken of the Succession of these Orders, have spoken of *Bishops* as Successors to the *Apostles*. Or where any of them have spoken of *Presbyters* as Successors to the *Apostles*, they have in the same place asserted the *Bishop* to be the Successor of *Jesus Christ*, who ordained and sent the *Apostles*, and during whose Life on Earth the *Apostles* had no Authority to commission others. So that those who make *Bishops* to have succeeded to *Jesus Christ*, and to supply his Place, and those who make them to succeed the *Apostles*, do not disagree in their Testimony, nor with the holy Scriptures; for the Scriptures teach us that the *Apostles* succeeded to *Christ*, and therefore if the *Bishops* succeed the *Apostles*, they must succeed *Christ* also. And when any of them say that the *Bishop* is in the Place of *Christ*, and the *Presbyters* in the Place of the *Apostles*, then they plainly teach that the *Presbyters* do not stand in the Place

of *Apostles*, as the *Apostles* stood in the Place of *Christ*, and consequently are not their Successors, as they were Successors to him, but only that they bear the same Relation to the *Bishop* that the *Apostles* bore to *Christ* when he lived with them, as in the Primitive Times the *Bishop* lived with his *Presbyters*. I might proceed and shew, that from the beginning of *Christianity* to the Time of *John Calvin*, that is, for above 1500 Years, we find no Church without its *Bishop*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, nor any Allowance of any Ordination but by a *Bishop*; but having fixed upon the Age when the Council of *Nice* was celebrated as a proper Standard, by which all subsequent Practices are to be judged, I shall proceed no further upon this Point, but go on to the other part of this Proposition.

§ XXV. In the next place I will shew the Necessity of an *Episcopal Commission* to the valid Administration of the Sacraments. This must be soon evident to every one that considers what a Sacrament is, and whence it has its Effect. Now our Church defines a Sacrament to be *an outward and visible Sign of an inward and spiritual Grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a Pledge to assure us thereof.* It teaches us also that *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* are such Sacraments. Now whence do these Sacraments receive their Validity? Certainly not from any thing that is naturally intrinsic to the outward visible Sign, but from the Institution of *Jesus Christ*. Water is in it self a weak and beggarly Element, and in its own Nature no more capable of washing away Sins than the Blood of Calves, or of Goats, or of any other Animal which was wont to be sacrificed under the Law. Bread and Wine have no more natural

Resemblance to the Body and Blood of *Christ*, than any other sort of Meat or Drink, and consequently cannot more naturally represent them. But as *Christ* has appointed *one Baptism for the Remission of Sins*, and as he has also appointed *Bread broken and Wine poured out to represent the breaking of his Body and the shedding of his Blood*, and has also ordered that we should eat this Bread and drink this Cup in Remembrance of him, and has promised that whosoever does so shall partake of his Body and Blood, shall be one Flesh and Blood with him, whosoever is baptized or washed with Water according to his Ordinance, and whosoever eats of the Bread and drinks of the Cup which he has appointed to be eaten and drank, receives the Remission of Sins, and becomes one with *Christ*, and *Christ* with him. But then it is not every Kind of Baptism or of washing with Water that will have this Effect: It is not every Kind of eating Bread and drinking Wine that will make us Partakers of the Body and Blood of *Christ*. It must be done according to his Institution, or it is not the Sacrament which he has ordained. Now when *Christ* ordered Baptism to be administered to all Nations, when he appointed that all should eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup, he did not only ordain in what Manner or with what Form of Words these Sacraments should be celebrated, but likewise directed what particular Persons should celebrate them. Thus when he ordered all Nations should be made Disciples by Baptism, (c) he did not indiscriminately command all Persons that should know how to recite the Form of Words with which Baptism was to be administered, to baptize, but the *Apostles* only,

(c) *Matth.* xxviii, 16 &c.

whom he chose out of a vast Multitude of his Disciples, and to them particularly, as I have before observed, he gave Commission to *go and disciple all Nations, baptizing them*. So also when he instituted the *holy Eucharist*, he did not commit the Ministrations of it to all his Disciples, (d) but only to *the Twelve*. And to them only he said (e) **THIS DO**, that is, consecrate Bread and Wine, and distribute it, as I have now done, *in remembrance of me*. But if he had designed to give the same Power and Commission to all that believed on him, he would not have excluded or shut them out of his Company when he gave these Commissions to administer both his Sacraments. For the *Apostles* on neither of these Occasions met our Saviour by Accident, but by Appointment: When he gave them the Commission to baptize, they came to meet him at a Mountain in *Galilee*, where he had appointed them; when he authorized them to minister the holy Eucharist in remembrance of him, they were assembled by his Direction to celebrate the Passover with him. Whereas if he had intended to have commissioned more for either of these Purposes, he could as easily have ordered more to have attended him upon either of these Occasions. But by not requiring their Attendance, and at the same time requiring that of the *Apostles*, he plainly excluded all the rest, and shewed that his full Purpose and Intention from the beginning was to give the Commission for the Ministry of both these Sacraments to the *Apostles* only, and to no other.

(d) Matth. xxvi. 20. Mark xiv. 17. Luke xxii. 14.

(e) Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

§ XXVI. I know it is objected that a bare Omission in this Case does not amount to a Prohibition, and therefore since our Saviour only forbore to command, but did not prohibit his other Disciples to administer his Sacraments, we have no Ground from Scripture to say that none but Bishops, as Successors to the Apostles, may minister them, or that if any others do it, they are invalid, and of no Effect whatsoever. But we answer, that an Omission in this Case does amount to a Prohibition. For wherever a Commission is necessary to authorize an Act, whosoever is left out of the Commission, is unauthorized, and therefore cannot perform that Act so as to make it valid. Thus for Instance, a Commission is necessary to authorize any Persons to list Soldiers to serve his Prince, and he who has not a Commission, tho' he should never so formally list Men into the Service, and should exercise and train them up to all the Discipline of War, this might indeed fit and qualify them for good Soldiers, but they would be no more entred into the Service of the Prince, than if they had not been listed at all. They could challenge none of the Rights or Privileges of Soldiers, nor if they run from their Colours could they be punished as Deserters. They must be listed again by a proper Officer, or they will be no more than other common Subjects: nay, both they, and he that pretended to list them, will be in a worse Condition than other Subjects, and liable to the Prince's just Anger for pretending to be Officers and Soldiers without any Commission. And yet I never could understand that a Prince when he granted a Commission to levy Men, or any other Commission whatsoever, did expressly or in direct Terms forbid any other to do what he authorized those to do whom he did commission. For
 a Com-

a Commission is always given to authorize a Man to do that, which without such Commission neither he nor any one else has otherwise a Right to do. And thus our Saviour when he sent his *Apostles* to minister the Sacraments, gave them a Commission to do that which neither they nor any one else had otherwise any Right to do. For to disciple Persons in Christ's Name, and so to enter them as Soldiers into his Service, and to make them Partakers of his Body and Blood, was a Right which neither they nor any else had a Title to, but by Commission and Authority from him. Therefore those that were not authorized by his Commission, could have no Right at all to baptize or minister the Eucharist; for the not putting them into the Commission was both an Exclusion and a Prohibition also in such a Case. And therefore if a Man not so commissioned should take upon him to baptize, or admit Men into his Church to be his faithful Soldiers and Servants, tho' they should otherwise instruct them never so well in all the Articles of Faith and all the Duties of Christianity, yet would they not thereby make them true *Christians*, and give them a good Title to the Promises of *Christ*, because they had no Authority from *Christ* to make them Members of his Body. For being not authorized by his *Commission* to admit Members into his Church, their Acts of this Kind must be null and void, since there is nothing to make them valid, the bare Acts themselves being of no Worth or Efficacy; but merely as *Christ* instituted them, and no Person having any Right whatsoever to minister them but merely by his Commission. There was therefore no occasion for our Saviour to prohibit others from administering his Sacraments, since the authorizing some and not others was it self in the nature of the thing as full a Prohibition

hibition, as if he had forbid them to do these things in exprefs Words.

§ XXVII. The only Argument that I have heard given as a Reason why Lay-men may minister such Ordinances, is, *that otherwise a Man may happen to die before he can receive them from a Clergyman: And is it not better that a Lay-man should administer them, than that a Man should go out of the World without them?* But where does the Scripture teach us that God will accept of such Ministrations in Cases of Necessity? Is there any Promise of God for it? If there is not, we have no Ground to believe it. For Faith is and must be founded upon some Promise. For when *Christ* says, (f) *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved*, he plainly means, he that shall believe what he and his Apostles had and should preach as the revealed Will of God: not what any one should believe upon the Dictates of his own Phantasy, or upon meer Human Reason, without any Authority from the Word of God whereon to ground his Belief. For when we build our Hopes upon what has no Foundation in the Word of God, this is not *Faith*, but *Presumption*: And the Scripture teaches (g) that *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God*. So that according to the Scripture there is no Faith but what is derived from God's Word. And the same Scriptures also teach, (h) that *whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin*. Now the Promises of God with relation to the *Sacraments*, at least as to the Sacrament of *Baptism* (as I have before shewed) are not made to the Act it self, but to the Persons by whom that Sacrament is ordered to be admi-

(f) Mark xvi. 16. (g) Rom. x. 17. (h) Rom. xiv. 23.
nistrated.

nistred. For *Christ* does not say, *I am with the Act of baptizing or washing in the Name of the Father, &c.* But he says, (i) *Lo, I am with You always, with You my Apostles, with You whom I have commissioned to minister Baptism, and with Your Successors, to the End of the World.* The Promise being therefore not made to the bare Baptism or washing with Water, but to the *Apostles* and their *Successors*, who were commissioned to minister that Sacrament, those that are not baptized by Persons so commissioned, have no Promise to depend upon, that they have received *Christ's* Baptism: And therefore for any to believe that they have received it, is not *Faith*, but *Presumption*, and being *not of Faith*, *St. Paul* tells us *it is Sin*. It is *Sin* in the Person who pretends to administer it, for he takes upon him an Office unto which God has not called him; he acts without Authority, and presumptuously supposes God will ratify that which he has given him no Commission to do: It is also *Sin* in the Person who receives it from one whom he knows to have no Commission to give it, for he also is presumptuous, and expects a Blessing where God has made no Promise of any. Since then it will be *Sin* both in the Giver and Receiver to have the Sacraments pretendedly given and received by and from such as have not received Authority to administer them, there can be no Necessity to warrant such Lay-Ministrations, because no Necessity can warrant the Commission of a Sin.

§ XXVIII. But particular Cases are also put upon this Occasion: *As, suppose an Heathen on board a Ship, where no Clergyman can be had; should*

(i) Matth. xxviii. 20.

by Discourse with some Christians he finds there, be converted to the Christian Religion, and should then fall sick, and at the Point of Death earnestly desire Baptism, must those good CHRISTIANS who converted him, suffer him to die unbaptized? May they not in such a Case venture to administer that Sacrament to him? But the Answer already given to the general Argument, is also a full Answer to this particular Case. None of them can administer it to him, neither can he receive it from any of them without Sin. And therefore even such Necessity cannot warrant the Action. All that is to be done in such a Case is, that these good *Christians* who have converted this *Heathen*, ought to let him know, that how beneficial soever Baptism would be to him, yet for as much as they have no Commission to administer it, they cannot help him to the Benefits of that Sacrament. But however since it proceeds from no Fault of his own that he must go out of the World without it, he may nevertheless have a good Hope in God thro' the Merits of *Jesus Christ*; for tho' God hath obliged us to the Use of Ordinances, in order to obtain Salvation, yet he has not tied himself up to those Means, as if he was not able to save without them. That he had therefore better die without any Baptism at all, than to receive such pretended Baptism, as it would be Sin for them to give or him to take. That God saw his earnest Desire of Baptism, that he saw his Faith and Repentance, which were his Qualifications for it, that he knew he wanted not Baptism thro' any Fault of his own, but merely because he could not procure any one who had Commission to administer it; that the Scripture it self taught us, that a Man might be saved without actually receiving this Sacrament, when the not receiving it proceeded from no Contempt of the Ordinance,

nance, but merely from the want of an Opportunity to have it administred. That the penitent Thief was not baptized, and yet went with our Saviour into Paradise, notwithstanding our Lord had long before that Time declared Baptism necessary to Salvation, when (k) he said to *Nicodemus*, that *except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*: That those Persons the Apostle speaks of (l) *who wandred about in Desarts, and in Mountains, and in Dens and Caves of the Earth, of whom he says the World was not worthy*, were all that Time destitute of the Divine Ordinances, such of them as belonged to the *Jewish Church* before *Christ* came into the World, were driven from the Temple and the Altar, and kept from offering the legal Sacrifices, by which Remission of Sin was then ordinarily to be obtained; and such as afterwards belonged to the *Christian Church*, many of which were forced to live in the same manner, as Ecclesiastical History teaches us, during the Ten severe Persecutions they suffered under the *Heathen Emperors*, and the other Persecutions which many afterwards suffered under the *Arian Emperors*, were a long Time destitute of the Word and Sacraments, and yet did not miss of Eternal Salvation, because they could not participate of the Sacraments before they went out of the World; for if they had, the Scripture would never propose them to us for Examples. I confess indeed that *St. Augustin* (if we may depend upon a Citation of *Gratian*, said to be taken from his Works) does determine this Case

(k) John iii. 5.

(l) Heb. xi. 38.

otherwise, and says, (m) that if there was but one Person in the Ship who had been baptized himself, he ought to baptize him. For which he gives no other Reason but this, that no Body can say that he is to be deserted, who being in imminent Danger of Death, desires to be baptized. Which is very true, in case any one was present who had a Commission to baptize; but if there be no one present who has such a Commission, then the Man cannot be said to be deserted by any of them; for he cannot be said to desert another, who has no Power to help him. But St. Augustin's Opinion, and that of those who have since followed him, is plainly founded on a Mistake of Christ's Commission to baptize. They all along suppose the Validity of Baptism to depend upon the Element of Water and the Form of Words in the Name of the Trinity; whereas the Promise of Christ's perpetual Presence with the right Administration of this Sacrament, is not made to the bare Act of baptizing in the Name of the Father, &c. but to the Minister whom he has commissioned to baptize. For he does not say (as I have more than once observed already) *I am with the Act of Baptism performed in this Form now prescribed, but lo, I am with You alway, with You whom I have commissioned, when You perform this or any other Part of that Ministry which I have committed to You.* Any other pretended Baptism therefore ministered by such as have no Commission, is destitute of this Promise, and being so, is of no Effect or Validity, for it is not *Christ's Baptism*, but a *Baptism of Human Invention*. And if it be not *Christ's Bap-*

(m) Non enim potest quisquam dicere, relinquendum esse illum qui morte imminente baptizari desiderat. *De cons. erat. Dist. 4. Cap. 36.*

tism, it cannot make the Receiver a *Christian*, nor can it be of any manner of Benefit to him, but leaves him just in the State he was in before, or, indeed puts him into a worse Condition; for if he knowingly received it from one who had no Commission to minister it, he is guilty of giving his Assent to the Profanation of that sacred Ordinance. And what is said of *Baptism*, the same may be also said of the other Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, and of all the other Ordinances, which we learn from the Scripture to have been ministered only by the *Apostles*, and such as they ordained for that Purpose. If those Ordinances cannot be received in a regular Method from Persons duly authorized to minister them, they are not to be received at all; for we have Authority from Scripture to satisfy us, that God will accept us when we want his Ordinances without any Fault of our own, but we have no Warrant to receive them otherwise than he has appointed.

§ XXIX. Another Case we find (n) put by King Henry VIII. to his Divines among the Questions concerning the Sacraments, which is, *whether (if it fortun'd a Christian Prince learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but Temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they should preach and teach the Word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no? Also whether it be fore-fended by God's Law, that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism, and others unministered) that*

(n) Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Vol. 1. Record Book 3. Num. 21. Quest. 13, 14.

the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no? We may easily see the Design and End of these Queries, for if a Prince, or other Lay Power, have Authority in Cases of Necessity to make Bishops and Priests, then are they Judges of such Necessity, and consequently may do it whenever they see convenient. Now to these Queries the Bishops and Divines of that Time returned different Answers. Archbishop Cranmer answers positively, that it is not against God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do; and there be Histories that witness, that some Christian Princes, and other Lay-men unconsecrate, have done the same. But he tells us not what those Histories are, nor where to find them. But Lee Archbishop of York answers, To the first part of this Question, touching teaching and preaching the Word of God in case of such Need; we think that Lay-men not ordered not only may, but must preach Christ and his Faith to Infidels, as they shall see Opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win Miscreants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the wise Man saith, God hath given Charge to every Man of his Neighbour; and the Scripture of God chargeth every Man to do all the Good that he can to all Men: And surely this is the highest Alms, to draw Men from the Devil the Usurper, and bring them to God the very Owner; wherefore in this Case every Man and Woman may be an Evangelist; and of this also we have Example. But touching the second part, for Case of Necessity, as we find neither Scripture nor Example that will bear that any Man, being himself no Priest, may make, that is to say, may give the Order of Priesthood to another, and Authority therewith to minister in the said Order, and to use such Power and Offices as appertaineth to Priesthood grounded in the Gospel: So we find in such Case of Need what hath been done in one of the anti-

ent Writers: *Altho' this Authority to ordain, after the Form afore-mentioned, be not to Lay-men expressly prohibited in Scripture, yet is such a Prohibition implied, in that there is no such Authority given to them in Scripture or otherways; for so much as no Man may use this, or any other Authority which cometh from the Holy Ghost, unless he hath either Commission grounded in Scripture, or else Authority by Tradition, and ancient Use of Christ's Church universally received over all.* These are the two opposite Opinions given in these Cases, to one of which the other Answers were generally agreeable, tho' some, as Dr. Coren particularly, avoided to give a direct Answer, and say, *That in such a Case I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; so that either he himself should be made a Bishop, by internal Working of God (as Paul was) or some of his Subjects, or else God would send him Bishops from other Parts; and as for preaching of the Word of God, the Prince might do it himself, and other of his learned Subjects, altho' they were no Priests.* But as these Divines give no Authority, nor other Proof for their Opinions, but deliver them barely as their own particular Opinions, for that reason the Answers they have severally given are also of no Authority, further than we can confirm any of them by Scripture, or the Practice of the ancient Church. Tho' before I do that, I think convenient to observe, that these Cases, as they are put, neither have happened in the World, nor indeed is there any *Probability*, I may say *Possibility*, that they ever should happen. The first Case supposes a *Christian Prince* to conquer a Nation of *Infidels*, and to have only *Lay-men* with him. But did ever any Prince, *Heathen* or *Christian*, go forth with an Army without any *Priests* in it of his own Religion? Or was it ever read or heard of a *Christian King* that had no *Christian Priests* in his

his Army? Or did ever any conquering Prince cut off all Communication, or suffer it to be cut off, between his own Country and that which he conquered? And if his Communication with his own Country was not cut off, he could not want *Christian* Priests. So that the Supposition is altogether unreasonable. And the like may be said in the other Case. For what can be a more unreasonable Supposition, than to suppose that all the *Bishops* of a Region or Country should die so just together as to break the Succession so entirely, as that one shall not be left to preserve it? Nay, the Question goes further, and supposes all the Priests to be dead likewise. I do not deny but such a thing may be: All the Bishops and Priests too may die, or be banished out of some particular Country or Kingdom; but I deny that such a thing can reasonably be supposed under a *Christian* King: Such an one will not extirpate his Bishops and Priests either by Death or Banishment; and if they be not so extirpated by Violence, the Succession cannot fail in any Country whatsoever; for so long as Bishops and Priests are permitted to live in Security, and receive Protection from the State, they will take care to continue the Succession there, so that the Word shall never remain there unpreached, nor the Sacraments unministr'd. The Cases therefore being built upon such unreasonable Suppositions as never have yet happened, neither can reasonably be supposed ever to happen, it is evident that they were proposed with a Design to bring the *Bishops* and *Divines*, to whom they were proposed, to give such Answers as might tend to place the Spiritual as well as the Temporal Power in the Crown. A thing which King *Henry VIII.* plainly aimed at when he took that strange and unheard of Title, SUPREAM HEAD OF THE

CHURCH. But the *Bishops* and *Divines* not coming entirely into his Sentiments, he never thought it proper to attempt to make *Bishops* or *Priests* by his own Authority, but left them to be consecrated and ordained in the same manner as they were before. I shall therefore briefly examine the two opposite Opinions, and enquire which is the right.

§ XXX. The one Party says, *That Lay-men in these Cases have Authority to minister the Sacraments, and to make Priests.* But what reason have they for it? Or what Authority from Scripture or Primitive Practice? even none at all that I can find. Archbishop *Cranmer* indeed does say, that *there be Histories that witness that some Christian Princes, and other Lay-men unconsecrate, have done so.* But he tells not where those Histories are to be met with, nor gives any one Instance. And I am very confident that no History before his Time witnesses any such thing as he here pretends they do. Therefore till such Example is produced, I shall not trouble my self to make Enquiry after it. And *Heath* Bishop of *Rocheſter* plainly says upon the Occasion, *I never read these Cases, neither in Scripture nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Answer for all such Questions, viz. Necessitas non habet legem.* And the other Doctors, who give their Opinion on Archbishop *Cranmer's* side, generally found it upon *Necessity.* So *Dr. Redmayne* says, *I think they might in such Case of NECESSITY.* So *Dr. Symmons* likewise, *I think that in such a NECESSITY.* *Dr. Cox* also, *In these Cases of EXTREME NECESSITY.* And *Dr. Day* says, *The same NECESSITY standing.* The only Plea therefore which is made for this Opinion being NECESSITY, I shall examine that Matter, and very briefly

briefly shew the Weakness of it. Now what is this NECESSITY which is here given as a Reason why Lay-men may minist'r the Sacraments, and make Bishops and Priests? It is this, either Lay-men must do this, or else they must live without a Priesthood, and without the Sacraments. But then here arises another Question, Will those Persons ordained by Lay-men be Priests? Or will their Ministrations be Sacraments? Lay-men may happen (and indeed have presumed) to take upon them to set apart such as they judge fit to minister in sacred Offices; but for as much as Lay-men have no Authority from God to do this, the Persons so set apart by them can be none of *God's Priests*: For St. Paul speaking of the Priesthood says expressly, (o) *That no Man taketh this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* If any one therefore is called to the Office of a Priest otherwise than God has appointed, let what *Necessity* soever be pleaded for such a Call, he is plainly none of *God's Priest*. And to say that *Necessity* will warrant such a Calling, is to set up *Necessity* in the Place of God. And we have an Instance in Scripture parallel to one of King Henry the VIIIth's Cases. When the Ten Tribes revolted from the House of David, and set up Jeroboam to be their King, (p) *the Priests and the Levites that were in all Israel, resorted to Rehoboam, out of all their Coasts. For the Levites left their Suburbs, and their Possessions, and came to Judah and Jerusalem.* By which means this Kingdom was left destitute of *Priests*, and was exactly in the same Condition that a Country must be in, if all its *Priests* should die, as King Henry's Question supposes. Neither was it possible for Jero-

(o) Heb. v. 4.

(p) 2 Chron. xi. 13, 14.

boam to get true *Priests* of God any where else, for they were all gone into an *Enemies Country*, from whence he could not fetch any of them back again. And the Land was left (q) without a *Sacrifice*, without an *Ephod*, and without a *Teraphim*. They had no *Priest* (r) whose *Lips* should keep *Knowledge*, and from whose *Mouth* they should seek the *Law*. They had no *Priest* (s) who should offer their *Sacrifice* for them, and make an *Attonement* for their *Sin*. What then could the *King* and *People* do in this *Case*? They must either live without a *Priesthood*, and without a *Sacrifice*, or they must make *Priests* for themselves. And accordingly (t) the *King* took *Counsel*, and made *Priests* of the lowest of the *People* which were not of the *Sons of Levi*, (u) whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the *Priests*. I know it may be said that *Jeroboam* did also set up *Calves* at *Dan*, and at *Bethel*, and that is to be accounted his great *Sin*, by which *God* was so provoked to *Anger* against him. But altho' that was an exceeding great *Sin*, and might of it self have justly drawn down the *Fierceness* of *God's Wrath* upon him, yet his taking upon him to make *Priests* (notwithstanding the great *Necessity* he might plead for doing it) is by the *Scripture* particularly assigned as the *Cause* for which he fell under the severe *Displeasure* of *God*. (w) And this thing became *Sin* unto the *House* of *Jeroboam*, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the *Face* of the *Earth*. Since therefore *Jeroboam* and his *People* lay under a *Necessity* of living without a *Priest*, and without an *Altar*, or else of making *Priests*, and offering

(q) Hof. iii. 4. (r) Mal. ii. 7. (s) Levit. i. 4, 5.
 (t) 1 Kings xii. 31. (u) 1 Kings xiii. 33. (w) 1 Kings
 xiii. 34.

Sacrifices themselves; and God in that Case shewed so great Displeasure towards them, because in that *Necessity* they did take upon them to make *Priests*: it is plain that when God lays a People under such a *Necessity*, it is his Will that they should content themselves without *Priests*, and without such Offices and Ordinances as *Priests* alone can minister, till he himself find the Means to supply them. Therefore when God thought fit to permit the Temple at *Jerusalem* to be destroyed, where, and where only, the People might offer their Sacrifices, which were to the *Jews* what our Sacraments are to us, the *Jews* in their Captivity did not pretend to offer any Sacrifice at all, and God, who knew the *Necessity* they then lay under, accepted them without those Sacrifices, and in his own good Time restored their Land and their Temple to them again, and made good all his Promises to them. But *Jeroboam* and his People, because they would not be contented to wait God's Time to be restored to the Liberty of sacrificing at the one Altar which by God's Command was fixed in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, nor stay till they might have the Convenience of carrying their Offerings to the *Priests*, who were all gone thither, but because for the present they could not with Safety let the People go to worship at *Jerusalem*, they erected new Altars at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and made new *Priests*, therefore God never restored them to the true Worship and the true Priesthood, but let them go on in the Way that they had chosen for themselves, till he cast them entirely out of his Sight. This Query being therefore plainly answered in Scripture, so directly contrary to Archbishop *Cranmer's* Opinion, and that of those who sided with him, we may safely conclude that the Judgment he and they gave upon this Case was

wrong,

wrong, and is not to be followed. I know indeed that it may be said that *Jeroboam* was not a *Christian* King, and therefore the Parallel is not good; for it does not follow that because a *Jewish* King might not make a Priest in Case of *Necessity*, that therefore a *Christian* King may not. But it may be answered, that the Case is the same, because the Reason is the same. That the *Jewish* Church was at that time the Church of God, as the *Christian* Church is now: And that the Reason why *Jeroboam* sinned in making *Priests*, was, because no Man could have that Honour, unless he was called of God, as was *Aaron*. God had himself appointed the Way by which *Priests* should be made, consequently whoever made *Priests* in any other Way, did not make such *Priests* as God would allow or approve of. And the Case is the very same now under the *Christian* State and the *Christian* Oeconomy; for *St. Paul* appliés those very Words to *Christ* and the *Christian* Priesthood, and shews, that *Christ* was called of God, as was *Aaron*; and I have already shewed that *Christ* made the *Apostles* his Successors, and that *Bishops* were Successors to them. And therefore for any *Christian* King, or other Lay Power, to pretend to make *Bishops* and *Priests*; tho' in a Case of the greatest seeming *Necessity*, will be the Sin of *Jeroboam*, who made *Israel* to sin. The same *St. Paul* also teaches us, that the Sins, and the Punishments consequent upon them, which we meet with in the Old Testament, are to stand for Examples to us *Christians*, to prevent our doing the like, when he says, (r) Now ALL these things happened unto them for Ensamples, and they are written for our Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the

(r) 1 Cor. x. 11,

World are come. It is true, he does not in that place or elsewhere speak particularly of the Sin of *Jeroboam*, but (s) *St. Jude* sets before us the Sin of *Corah* for an Example to us *Christians*, which was a Sin of the same nature with that of *Jeroboam*; for (t) *Corah* sought to get the Priesthood by a Lay Power, by the Vote or Election of the Congregation. Now how could *Christians* be guilty of this Sin, as the Apostle plainly supposes they may, and therefore warns them against it, if any Lay Power amongst *Christians* had Authority to make *Bishops* and *Priests*? And if *Christians* may be guilty of the Sin of *Corah*, as *St. Jude* evidently teaches us that they may, then may a *Christian King* also be guilty of the Sin of *Jeroboam*, if he takes upon him to make *Priests*, tho' in a Case of extreme Necessity, as *Jeroboam* did. As therefore *Jeroboam's Priests* under the Law were only nominal, not real *Priests*, for God never accepted them as his *Priests*; so if a *Christian Prince* or State, or any other Lay Power whatsoever, should take upon them to make *Bishops* and *Priests*, or appoint Persons to perform those Offices by any other Names or Titles, such as *Ministers of the Gospel*, or *Ministers of God's Word*, these Persons so appointed neither could nor would be *God's Ministers, Bishops* or *Priests*, any more than *Jeroboam's* were. They would have no Authority from God (u) to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his Name. It is true *Jeroboam* and his *Priests* did offer Sacrifices upon (w) the Altar which he had erected. But those Sacrifices were so far from being acceptable to God, from rendring him propitious and graci-

(s) *St. Jude, ver. 11.* (t) *Num. xvi. 11.* (u) *Deut. x. 8.* (w) *1 Kings xii. 32, 33.*

ous unto *Jeroboam* and his People, that they immediately provoked God (x) to send a Prophet to denounce Vengeance against him and his People. And when this would not prevail with them to cease from this Wickedness, but *Jeroboam* still went on to make of the lowest of the People Priests of the high Places, God by the Mouth of his Prophet *Ahijah* (y) renewed his Threatning, and said, *Behold, I will bring Evil upon the House of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the Wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the Remnant of the House of Jeroboam, as a Man taketh away Dung, till it be all gone. Him that dieth of Jeroboam in the City shall the Dogs eat; and him that dieth in the Field shall the Fowls of the Air eat: For the Lord hath spoken it. For the Lord shall smite Israel as a Reed is shaken in the Water, and he shall root up Israel out of this good Land which he gave to their Fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the River, because they have made their Groves, provoking the Lord to Anger.* And what was here threatned, was afterwards fulfilled. (z) For *Baasha* the Son of *Ahijah* conspired against *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, and slew him, and reigned in his Stead. And it came to pass when he reigned, that he smote all the House of *Jeroboam*; he left not to *Jeroboam* any that breathed, until he had destroyed him, according unto the Saying of the Lord which he spake by his Servant *Ahijah* the *Shilonite*: Because of the Sins of *Jeroboam* which he sinned, and which he made Israel to sin, by his Provocation wherewith he provoked the Lord God of Israel to Anger. And as the Prophecy was thus fulfilled with regard to *Jeroboam* and his

(x) 1 Kings xiii. 1. &c.

(y) 1 Kings xiv. 5, 10, 11, 15;

(z) 1 Kings xv. 27, 28, 29, 30.

Family, so was it afterwards fulfilled with regard to his whole Kingdom. For (a) *the Lord rejected all the Seed of Israel, and afflicted them, and delivered them into the Hand of Spoilers, until he had cast them out of his Sight. For he rent Israel from the House of David; and they made Jeroboam the Son of Nebat King: And Jeroboam drove Israel from following the Lord, and made them sin a great Sin. For the Children of Israel walked in all the Sins of Jeroboam which he did, they departed not from them: until the Lord removed Israel out of his Sight, as he had said by all his Servants the Prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own Land to Assyria unto this Day, and never returned from that Captivity. This was the Effect of a King's taking upon him to make Priests upon pretence of Necessity, it brought utter Destruction upon him, his Family, and his People. And therefore by Parity of Reason (for these things, as I have shewed, were written for our Example and Admonition) if a Christian King, tho' urged thereto, as he may think, by great Necessity, shall take upon him to make Bishops and Priests, the pretended Sacraments and Services which such Mock-Bishops and Priests should offer, would be so far from answering the End and Design for which Christian Sacraments and Services were appointed, they would be so far from rendring God propitious and gracious to the People who should receive them at their Hands, that they would tend to pull down his Judgments upon them: They would be so far from procuring Remission of Sins, the great End for which the Christian Ordinances were appointed, that they would aggravate and encrease them. God, who has shewed us*

(a) 2 Kings xvii. 20, 21, 22, 23.

by the Examples of those who wandred in Deserts and Mountains, and in Dens and Caves of the Earth, as I have already observed, that he both can and will save us without Sacrifices or Sacraments, where he by his Providence has put it out of our Power rightly to partake of such Ministrations, has also taught us by this and other Examples, that he will not have his Ordinances profaned, or offered to him by *Priests* that are not of his own Appointment; no, not altho' they should be appointed by *Kings* and *their People*, and in Cases of very great *Necessity*. For what *Necessity* can be greater than that of *Ferobam* and *his People*, who had not a true *Priest* left amongst them? Nay, *Saul* had also the Plea of *Necessity* (b) for offering a burnt Offering himself. For this was the Excuse he made to *Samuel*, saying, (c) *Because I saw that the People were scattered from me, and that thou comest not within the Days appointed, and that the Philistines gathered themselves together to Michmash: Therefore said I, the Philistines will come down now upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made Supplication unto the Lord: I forced my self therefore, and offered a burnt Offering.* Yet all this *Necessity* which he here pleaded in his own Behalf, could not be accepted. (d) *And Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: Thou hast not kept the Commandment of the Lord thy God which he commanded thee: For now would the Lord have established thy Kingdom over Israel for ever. But now thy Kingdom shall not continue.* Thus this King's taking upon him to execute the *Priest's* Office in a Case of *Necessity* (at least he thought it to be so) instead of procuring a Blessing to him

(b) 1 Sam. xiii. 9.

(c) 1 Sam. xiii. 11, 12.

(d) 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14.

and his Family, it directly brought a Curse upon it, and induced God from that time to resolve to settle the Crown upon another. From hence therefore I conceive that those *Bishops* and *Divines* were greatly mistaken, who in Answer to King *Henry* the VIIIth's Queries, did assert, *That Lay-men in Cases of Necessity have Authority to minister the Sacraments, and to make Priests.* For as much as the Scripture teacheth us that God has always punished Lay-men, even Kings, or Persons vested with the Supreme Civil Authority, who have attempted either to make *Priests*, or to minister such Divine Ordinances as were the *Priests* Peculiar. Indeed there are no Instances of this nature in the *New Testament*, because we do not there meet with any Lay-men that either attempted to make *Priests*, or to minister in the *Priest's* Office. But for as much as we find these things in the *Old Testament*, which is no less the Word of God than the *New Testament* it self, and tho' the *Mosaical* Law is not now binding to us, it being declared in the *New Testament* to be cancelled by *Christ*; yet since (e) whatever things were there written afore-time, were written for our Learning; And that the *Jewish* Church was designed to be an Example to the *Christian*, for *St. Paul* says, (f) these things were our Examples, and they are written for our Admonition, the *Old Testament* is still a Guide to us in all parallel Cases. And I have shewed that *St. Paul* also makes it so in the Case of the *Priesthood*, when he says, no Man taketh this Honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was *Aaron*. Which he applies to the *Priesthood* of *Christ*, who was so called. And therefore these Instances of *Jeroboam* and of *Saul*

(e) Rom. xv. 4.

(f) 1 Cor. x. 6, 11.

are, and ought to be, Examples to Christian Kings, and other Lay-men, to teach them, that they can neither make *Christian Bishops* nor *Priests*; nor yet themselves execute any of those Offices which *Christ* committed to his *Apostles*, and their Successors, whatever *Necessity* they may suppose there is for their so doing. And that if a Kingdom should ever be reduced to the State supposed in King *Henry's* Queries (which can scarce happen to any *Christian* Kingdom) they must be contented to live without the Sacraments till such time as they can procure *rightful Bishops* and *Priests* from other *Christian* Countries, but must by no Means, or upon any Pretence whatsoever, take upon themselves the Ministration of the Sacraments, or go about to consecrate *Bishops* or *Priests* to perform those Offices.

§ XXXI. Having therefore shewed that the first Opinion given by some of these *Bishops* and *Divines* to King *Henry's* Queries, was not orthodox and agreeable to the holy Scriptures, I shall now proceed to prove, that the other Opinion given by *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, and by *Dr. Edgeworth*, was orthodox, and both agreeable to the Scriptures and to the Practice of the Primitive Church, viz. That in such a Case as is here supposed, *Lay-men* not only may, but ought to preach *Christ* and his Faith to *Infidels* as they shall see Opportunity to do the same, but may not either minister the Sacraments themselves, or give the Order of Priesthood, or Authority to minister in the said Order, and to use such Powers and Offices as appertaineth to Priesthood grounded in the Gospel. For altho' this Authority to ordain be not to *Lay-men* expressly prohibited in Scripture, yet such a Prohibition is implied, in that there is no such Authority given them in Scripture or otherwise. But here it is to be observed,

served, that when we say *Lay-men may and ought to preach*, we take the Word *Preaching* in the largest Sense of it, as it signifies any Kind of teaching, or recommending, or pressing Christianity, because in this Sense it is a *natural Duty*. Thus Fathers are obliged to teach and instruct their Children, Masters their Servants, and School-masters their Scholars: thus one Neighbour may and ought to instruct another, as there may be fit Occasion for it: Thus even (g) *Women*, who are commanded to *keep Silence in the Churches*, and whom St. Paul says (h) *he cannot suffer to teach*, may on proper Occasions, and at proper Times, preach to or instruct not only their Children, Scholars, or Servants, but even their Neighbours, tho' Men of Understanding and Learning. For thus *Priscilla*, as well as *Aquila* her Husband, (i) *preached to or instructed Apollos*, who was before an *eloquent Man, and mighty in the Scriptures, and expounded unto him the Way of God more perfectly*. And therefore when we grant that *Lay-men may and ought in the proposed Case to preach to Infidels, and endeavour to draw them to the Belief of the Christian Faith, and instruct them in the Articles of Religion, it does not therefore follow that they may preach to them as a Bishop or Priest may and ought to do*. For there is and must be a Difference between the *Preaching of a Lay-man* and the *Preaching of a Priest*. The *Lay-man* can only teach or instruct as a *Lay-man*, in a natural Capacity, such as every Man, Woman and Child has to discourse of such Matters as they understand, and to acquaint their Neighbours with what will be for their Benefit. And

(g) 1 Cor. xiv. 34.
xviii. 24, 26.

(h) 1 Tim. ii. 12.

(i) Acts

such a natural Right has every good *Christian* who happens to be in an *Infidel* Country, to acquaint the Inhabitants thereof, with the Nature and Design of *Christian* Religion, to let them know what are the Promises and Threatnings of the Gospel, who *Christ* is, and what his Doctrine, what Men ought to believe and do to procure Eternal Salvation. And this he is also obliged to do, where he has a fair Opportunity, and meets with those that are willing to be instructed by him. And this he may do either in ordinary Conversation with particular Persons, or in a set Discourse to a Multitude or Assembly of many together. But then he can do no more than barely acquaint them with these great Truths, and when he has prevailed with them to believe what he has taught them, he can proceed no further. He may let them know that they ought to be admitted into the *Christian* Church or Society by Baptism, and then to receive Imposition of Hands for the obtaining larger Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and after that receive the Communion of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*, that so they may be one with *Christ*, and *Christ* with them; but he can no more minister any of these Ordinances to them, than they may to one another. He can only tell them that there is such a Society as the Church of *Christ*, but he cannot make them Members of it. So that the most that *Lay Preaching* can effect with regard to *Infidels*, is to convince them of their Errors, and bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth, and work in them a Disposition to become Members of the Church; but the *Lay-man* cannot invite them to come to him to be made Members: But he must direct them to wait with Patience till *Christian* Priests may be procured for that Purpose.

§ XXXII. But the *Christian Priest* preaches to them in another manner, and speaks not as the *Lay-man*, barely in his *natural Capacity*, to acquaint them with the Truths himself has learned, and which it will be for their Benefit to know; he comes to them (k) as the *Minister of Christ*, and a *Steward of the Mysteries of God*, (l) he preaches to them with the Character and Authority of an *Ambassador for Christ*, who stands in *Christ's* Stead, praying them to be reconciled to God, as tho' God himself did beseech them by him, (m) God having given to him the *Ministry and Word of Reconciliation*. He not only acquaints them with the *Doctrines of Christianity*, and endeavours to convince them of the Truth of them, but he also speaks to them with the Authority of a Man that stands there in *Christ's* Stead, as his commissioned Officer appointed for that Purpose, and exhorts them forthwith (n) to *repent, and be baptized every one in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins, that they may receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost*; and that, being admitted into the Church, they continue stedfastly in his *Doctrine and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers*. And that they be (o) *Followers of him, as he also is of Christ*. And this authoritative Instruction, which is accompanied with Power to make it effectual, and to confer the full Benefit of the Gospel Promises on those that receive it, is what the Scriptures call by the Name of *Preaching*, expressed in the Original by the Words *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, κηρύσσειν, or καταγγέλλειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, χειρὸν, λόγον, &c.* which Words in the *New Testament* are never used but

(k) 1 Cor. iv. 1. (l) 2 Cor. v. 20. (m) 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. (n) Acts ii 38, 42. (o) 1 Cor. xi. 1.

to express *teaching with Authority, and by Commission*, which therefore he that is a meer *Lay-man*, and has no *Commission*, cannot do. And therefore when we say a *Lay-man may preach*, we take the Word *Preaching* not in the Scripture Sense, but according to the modern Latitude of the Word, in which it is applied to any Kind of Instruction. For taken in the strict Sense of the New Testament, no *Lay-man*, or Person uncommissioned, can properly be said to preach, for as much as *Preaching* requires a *Mission*, as *St. Paul* tells us, when he says, (p) *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* Which plainly implies that no *Man* may *preach*, in the Scripture Sense of the Word, with the Authority of an Ambassador for *Christ*, except he have a *Commission* for that Purpose according to *Christ's* Institution. The *Lay-man* therefore, being uncommissioned, can only tell Infidels the glad Tidings of the Gospel, and persuade them to believe it, as any *Man* may tell another what himself knows and has experienced to be true: But the *Priest*, who is commissioned, not only tells them this, and persuades them to believe it, but also does it in an authoritative manner, not only persuading them to believe the Gospel, but acquainting them also that he has Power to receive them into the Christian Church and Society, that he comes with a *Commission* from *Christ* to do so; whereas the *Lay-man*, when he has persuaded them to believe, can go no further, but only exhort them to wait for a *Priest*, who may admit or receive them into *Christ's* Church by Baptism, and then take the Spiritual Rule over them, as their Pastor or Governour, (q) whom the Scripture requires them to obey.

(p) Rom. x. 15

(q) Heb. xiii. 17.

§ XXXIII. We have but Two Instances in ancient History of the Conversion of any Nation of Infidels, which was begun by *Lay-men*, both which are referred to by *Dr. Edgworth* (who agreed with Archbishop *Lee* in his Answer to the Queries now under Consideration) and happened in the Reign of *Constantine*, the first *Christian* Emperor, and a little after the Council of *Nice*: In both which Conversions the Proceeding was agreeable to what has been already said. (r) Two Christian Youths, *Edefius* and *Fruventius*, being taken Captives by some *Indians*, were presented to their King, who being pleased with the Boys, after they had been some Time in his Court, preferred them to Places of Honour there, making *Edefius* his Butler, and *Fruventius* Keeper of his Records. The King dying soon after, did by his Will give them their Freedom. But the Queen Regent thinking them the fittest Persons about the Court for that Purpose, committed the Education of the young King to them, and desired them not to leave her till her Son came of Age. And being in great Favour with the Queen Regent and the young King, they, especially *Fruventius*, had very great Power, and the chief Management of all Affairs. Having therefore so great an Authority and Interest in the Government, they enquired amongst the *Roman* Factories in that Place, what *Christians* they had amongst them: And having found some, *Fruventius* acquainted them with the State of himself and his Friend, and desired them to look out for some convenient Place where they might assemble

(r) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 19. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 23. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 23.

together to say their Prayers, after the manner of the *Christians*. And in a little time after he himself built an Oratory for that purpose. And having converted several of the *Indians*, admitted them to pray with them. But when the King came of Age, and had taken the Government upon himself, *Fruментius* and *Edefius* desired Leave of him to return into their own Country, according to their Contract with the Queen Regent. Which having with some Difficulty obtained, they departed. *Edefius* returned to his Friends and Relations at *Tyre*, but *Fruментius* having the Conversion of this Nation more at Heart, went to St. *Athanasius* at *Alexandria*, and gave him an Account of what he had done, desiring him to send a Bishop and Clergy to that Country, who might perfect what they had so happily begun. *Athanasius* thinking no Person so fit for that Office as he that had lived so long amongst them, and so well understood their Language and their Customs, consecrated *Frumentius*, who being thus ordained a Bishop, returned again to the *Indians*, where he built many Churches, and performed all the Functions of a good Bishop, till in time the whole Nation was converted to the *Christian* Faith. Here we may observe, that *Frumentius* and *Edefius*, tho' in a Case of great Necessity, yet presumed not to take upon them the Priest's Office, or to execute any Part of it. They built an Oratory indeed, where they met, with such *Christians* as they could find, to say their Prayers together; but Prayer, either publick or private, is a natural Duty, and not a meer positive *Christian* Institution. It is what every Master of a Family is obliged to see performed in his own House; and tho' when there is a Priest, it ought to be performed by him, as he is the Head or Chief of every Assembly (wherein

(wherein he is present) in Things pertaining to God; yet where no *Priest* can be had, the Duty ought not to be omitted, because natural Duties are what every Man has both a Right and Obligation to perform in a proper and decent manner. Wherefore if no *Priest* can be had, a Congregation of Lay-men may appoint whom they think fit to perform that Office in their Assemblies for religious Worship, that so those Assemblies may be regular and orderly. Thus far therefore *Fruventius* and *Edecius*, together with such *Christians* as they could find in *India*, proceeded. They also taught and instructed the *Indians* as they had Opportunity in the Principles of *Christianity*, and having brought them to believe in *Christ*, admitted them to their common Prayers. But having proceeded thus far, they attempted to go no further; they neither preached to them with the Authority of *Priests*, nor baptized, nor laid their Hands upon any, nor ministred the holy Eucharist to any, neither did they elect or appoint any to be *Priests*, or to officiate as *Priests*, but thought it proper to wait till they could procure *Bishops* and *Priests* regularly called to that Office. And having at last obtained Leave to go Home to their own Country, *Fruventius*, who had the Conversion of this Nation most at Heart, instead of returning with his Companion into *Phœnicia* to his Relations, thought fit to go first to *Alexandria*, as the Place which lay most convenient to send a *Bishop* and *Priests* to those *Indians*. And being there thought the fittest Person to be made their *Bishop*, he quitted all Thoughts of going Home to his Friends, as *Edecius* had done, and returned back to the *Indians* with that Character, and then compleated that Work which he was before incapable to do. Then he baptized, laid on Hands, or confirmed, ministred

ftred the holy Eucharift, ordained *Priests* and *Deacons*, and fettled a compleat Church amongst them, none of which things were attempted by him before.

§ XXXIV. The other Instance, which happened about the same time, is related concerning the *Iberians*, (*s*) a Colony of the ancient *Spaniards*, fettled upon the Borders of the *Euxine Sea*. A *Christian* Woman had been taken Captive by some of this Nation, and lived many Years amongst them. There were no professed *Physicians* in this Country, but the Custom was when any one was sick, they sent for such Persons as they supposed might have any Skill or Experience concerning the Distemper they laboured under, and asked their Advice. Or when it could be done with Safety, the sick Person went or was carried from House to House, to see if any of the Neighbours could direct him to a proper Cure for his Distemper. This Captive Woman living among these *Barbarians*, led a very strict and mortified Life, spending much Time in Fasting and Prayer, which was taken notice of and much wondred at. The King's Son, being an Infant, fell into a grievous Illness; the Nurse was ordered to carry him about to several Women, to see if any of them could cure him, and amongst the rest he was carried to this Captive, a great many Women accompanying the Nurse, to see what this Stranger could do on such an Occasion. She told them that she knew not what Medicines were proper for the Disease, and therefore could prescribe none; but I know, says she, that *Christ*,

(*s*) Socrat. lib. I. c. 20. Theod. I. I. c. 24. Sozom. I. 2.
e. p.

whom I worship, is able to cure this, or any other Disease, without the Help of Medicines, and I will pray to him to heal the Child. And as soon as she had finished her Prayers, the Child was healed. Not long after the Queen her self fell sick, and this good Woman cured her in the same manner. The Queen returned her many Thanks, and the King ordered her to be richly rewarded; but she refused the Gifts, and told the Queen, that it was not she that had restored her Majesty's Health, but *Christ*, the Son of God, who made the World; and exhorted her to believe in him, and to worship him. In a Day or two after the King being hunting, of a sudden there fell such a thick Mist, as he lost Sight of his Company and his Way, and knew not whither to turn himself: In this Perplexity he called upon the Gods he worshipped, and implored their Assistance, but all to no purpose; upon which he bethought himself of the Captive Woman, and having prayed to her God, the Mist was immediately dispersed, and he saw his Way plain, and returned Home. He presently sent for the Woman, and enquired after her God: And both he and his Queen were instructed by her in the *Christian* Faith. Then he calls together the Chief of his Subjects, both Men and Women, who being assembled in distant Places, he acquaints the Men, and the Queen and the Captive tell the Women what had happened, and upon what Occasion they thus called them; and having also given them an Account of the *Christian* Faith, exhorted them to embrace it. And having learned of the Captive Woman how and in what Form the *Romans* built their Churches, he ordered one immediately to be built. And then sent Ambassadors to the Emperor *Constantine* the Great, desiring a strict League with him, as a
Christian

Christian Prince, and intreating him to send him a *Bishop* and *Priests* to officiate and settle a Church in his Country. *Constantine*, as it became a pious *Christian* Emperor, readily complied with this religious Request, and ordered a learned and pious Man to be consecrated a *Bishop* for that Nation, and sent him to the *Iberians* with many rich Gifts.

§ XXXV. Now this Case is exactly parallel to one of King *Henry's*, for here was a *Christian* King without so much as one *Christian* Priest in his Dominions. For I think I may very well call him a *Christian* King, who so well understood the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, as to be able by his Discourse to convert his Nation. If it be said that he was not baptized, the same may be said of *Constantine* himself, who was not baptized till a little before his Death, and yet no Body scruples to speak of him as a *Christian* Emperor long before that Time. However, according to the Notions of those who think an *Episcopal* Commission not to be necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments, he might have received Baptism from the Captive Woman by whom he was converted, and being so made a compleat *Christian* according to their Notion, he might by his own Royal Authority have made *Bishops* and *Priests*. But the Church in those Days, that is, about the Time of the Council of *Nice*, had never heard of any such Doctrine, nor knew or thought of any other Way of making a *Priest* but by the Hands of a *Bishop*; and therefore this King sent to the Emperor *Constantine* to desire a *Bishop* might be sent him, which was accordingly done, and by that *Bishop* the Church was settled among the *Iberians*.

§ XXXVI. Thus

§ XXXVI. Thus we see that Archbishop *Cranmer's* Notions which he had concerning *Episcopacy* and *Ecclesiastical Offices*, were not agreeable to the *Doctrine of the Primitive Church*, and therefore when he saw the Answers made by the opposite Party, and had duly considered their Opinion, he no longer insisted upon the *Latitudinarian* Answers he had here given, but went over to them, and the *Necessity of Episcopal Ordination and Succession* was at that time laid down as the received *Doctrine of the Church of England*, as Bishop *Burnet* tells us, who says, (t) *That in Cranmer's Paper some singular Opinions of his about the Nature of Ecclesiastical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible Modesty, so THEY WERE NOT ESTABLISHED AS THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH, BUT LAID ASIDE AS PARTICULAR CONCEITS OF HIS OWN: And it seems that afterwards he changed his Opinion, for he subscribed the Book that was soon after set out, WHICH IS DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THOSE OPINIONS set down in this Paper.* This I thought myself obliged to take notice of, to do Justice to the Memory of that Prelate, that I might shew, that howsoever being so long an Agent for his King among the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, he had there imbibed some *Erastian, Latitudinarian* Notions, yet he was by no means tenacious of them; and tho' he set them down as his Opinion in the Answers he gave to King *Henry's* Queries, yet when he had better considered the Matter, he altered his Mind, and readily subscribed the contrary *Doctrines*. And therefore those who urge Arch-

(t) Hist. of Reformat. Book 3. Anno 1540, pag. 276, 4th Edit.

bishop *Cranmer's* Authority, as the Author of the Rights and others have done, to prove that there is no Necessity of an *Episcopal Commission* for the valid Administration of Sacraments, would do well to consider, that this was not that Prelate's settled Judgment, and howsoever he did once give it under his Hand as his Opinion, yet he did not continue long in that Mind, but subscribed the contrary Doctrine soon after. Tho' if this had been his fixed determinate Judgment, it had been of no Weight: Because it is directly contrary to the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, and to the Doctrine and Practice of the truly Primitive Church, from the beginning of *Christianity* to the Time of the Council of *Nice*. And I may also add, from that Time to the Reign of King *Henry VIII.* when these Queries were first started. For tho' *Aerius* in the Fourth Century did maintain that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were the same, and consequently that one *Presbyter* might ordain another, (u) for which he was condemned as an *Heretick*; yet he never proceeded so far as to affirm that there was no Difference between a *Layman* and a *Priest*, or to say that *Lay-men* in the Absence of a *Priest* might administer the Sacraments, or that a Company of *Lay-men* might make *Priests* amongst themselves, and *Necessity* would be their Warrant for so doing; or that the *Apostles* themselves made *Bishops* and *Priests*, only because there was at that time no *Christian Prince* to do it. These were such wild and extravagant Doctrines as came not into the Thoughts of the Ancients, but were reserved for the Invention of these later AND MORE REFINED Ages of the World! And therefore being such late Doctrines,

(u) Epiphan. Hæret. 75.

they must be false, for *Truth* is always *most* ancient, and *Falshood* is always *novel*, and of a later Date. But however late this and some other modern Doctrines may be, the Holy Spirit of God foresaw them, and therefore took care to make such Provision against them, that all Persons might see on which side the Truth lay, if they would impartially examine and enquire after it; and the HOLY SPIRIT did particularly reveal to the *Apostles*, that there would Disputes arise concerning Episcopacy, and therefore directed them to settle the Orders of the Church in such manner as might tend to make those inexcusable who should begin these Disputes, as we learn from the Testimony of St. *Clement*, St. *Paul's* Contemporary, and *Fellow-Labourer*, (x) as he himself calls him. For in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* (which he wrote (y) as Dr. *Milles* says, a little after the Death of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and before either St. *John's* Epistles, or Revelation, or Gospel, were written, and consequently before the Canon of the *New Testament* was compleated, which Epistle (z) in the first Ages was wont to be read in the Churches, as *Eusebius* tells us) he positively says, (a) that the *Apostles* knew from the Lord *Jesus Christ*, that Contests would arise concerning the EPISCOPAL NAME, and for this Cause, having perfect Knowledge

(x) Philip. iv. 3. (y) Prolegom. in Nov. Test p. 16.

(z) Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 16.

(a) Καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τὸ Κτεῖς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὅτι εἶς ἔσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἐπισκοπῆς. διὰ ταύτην ἐν τῇ αἰτίαν, πρὸς γινώσκωσι εἰρηρότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τὸν παρερημύς, καὶ μετὰ ἐπινομίῳ δεδωκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξων ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες, τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Clement. Epist. ad Cor. § 44.*

of these things, they did ordain those whom we have mentioned before; and moreover, did establish the Constitution, that other approved Men should succeed those who died, in their Office and Ministry. Is not this as direct a foretelling as can be of the Heresy of *Aerius*, which was not started till 300 Years after this was written? Is not this as direct a Prophecy of what was vented by *Luther* and *Calvin* 1500 Years after the writing this Epistle, concerning the Identity of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*? And is it not likewise as direct a Caution against those new and strange Doctrines? It is also as direct against Archbishop *Cranmer's* Answers to King *Henry's* Queries. For he says, that the *Apostles* having a perfect Fore-knowledge that such Contests would happen about the *Episcopal Name* or *Order*, took the best Care to prevent it, by establishing *Bishops* and *Pastors*, to succeed each other in a continued Succession. But Archbishop *Cranmer's* loose Opinions broke in upon this Succession, and plainly tended to bring in another Priesthood, which had no Succession at all to be derived from *Christ* and his *Apostles*: And consequently being not agreeable to this Apostolical Constitution, could be no *Christian Priesthood*. Such things as these could not be foretold but by the Spirit of God. Since therefore we have seen the Prophecy fulfilled, tho' so many Years after, let it work in us a full Conviction, that these Disputes which have risen amongst us concerning *Episcopacy*, are not agreeable to the Will of God: That the *Apostles* endeavoured to prevent them, by a firm Settlement of the *Episcopal Succession*; consequently that those who have raised these Contests about the *Episcopal Name*, and endeavour as much as lies in them to overthrow this Apostolical Settlement, by pretending that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are the same, or by plead-

ing that there may be Cases of *Necessity* which may authorize those who are not successively ordained to the *Episcopal Office*, to exercise the Functions of a *Bishop*, are plainly condemned by the Spirit of God, who, as *St. Clement* testifies, forewarned the Apostles of such Gainsayers, and directed them to provide against it, by establishing a Succession, which, by the Blessing of God, has still continued in this Church of *England* particularly, notwithstanding all the Opposition has been made against it, and by the Grace of God I trust will continue to the End of the World.

§ XXXVII. Yet further to clear this Point of the *Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*, I will produce some more particular Authorities from the Scriptures and ancient Fathers for this Purpose. I shall begin with a Text already quoted from *St. Paul*, (b) *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* Now the Word *Preaching*, as I have before observed, cannot in this place signify the bare publishing or telling what the Gospel contains, the bare telling or acquainting People that *Christ* came into the World to save us from our Sins, to purchase an eternal Inheritance for us, and that if we will be Partakers of this Inheritance, we must believe in him, and be obedient to his Commandments: Neither is it the particular telling them what they are to believe and do, and teaching them every Article of Faith, and every Precept of the Gospel; because, as I have shewed, every Man or Woman that understands these things, may and ought in their several Stations, and as proper Occasions offer, to do this, whether they are

(b) Rom. x. 15.

sent, that is, whether they have a Commission, or not. But here St. Paul says a *Commission* is necessary to *preach*; no Man can lawfully preach except he be sent. Therefore it is plain that by *Preaching* in this place, he means something more than barely publishing the Doctrine of *Christ*, he must mean the publishing it with the Authority of an Ambassador from God, who when he has brought the People to believe what he has taught, can also receive them into the Flock of *Christ* by Baptism, and then admit them to the holy Eucharist, and there make them Partakers of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, without which their bare believing will be but of little Advantage to them. This is what our Saviour himself called *Preaching*, when he gave Commission to his Apostles, and (c) said unto them, *Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature.* For here by the Words *preach the Gospel*, he plainly means the very same that St. Matthew relates concerning the Apostolical Commission, when our Saviour said, (d) *Go ye therefore, disciple all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* Because immediately after he has said *preach the Gospel*, he adds, (e) *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.* Which would be but an odd Consequence of the foregoing Precept, if the Words *preaching the Gospel* did not also include an Authority to *baptize*, and to perform all those Offices which we find afterwards to have been performed by the *Apostles*, and those whom they ordained for that Purpose. And therefore tho'

(c) Mark xvi. 15.
xvi. 16.

(d) Matth. xxviii. 19.

(e) Mark

bare teaching or instructing others in the Knowledge of what we our selves understand, be, as I have observed, a natural Duty, which every one has a Right to, and our Saviour did not abrogate any natural Duties; yet to *preach*, in the Gospel Sense of the Word, that is, to *teach with the Authority of an Ambassador from Christ, and to admit those who are so taught into his Flock by Baptism, and then to direct and guide them, as Spiritual Fathers or Governours, and see that they observe all things which he has commanded*, is no natural Duty, but must require a Commission from *Christ*. For who shall take upon him to be *Christ's Ambassador*, whom he has not commissioned to be so? And therefore *St. Paul* says, *How shall they preach, how shall they teach with that Authority which Christ gave to his Apostles, and their Successors, except they be sent?* Which is a manifest Declaration that they cannot do it except they have a Commission for that Purpose. Since then it is so evidently asserted by *St. Paul*, that no Man can *preach*, that is, teach authoritatively, with a Power also to administer the Gospel Ordinances or Sacraments, without being sent, or having a Commission so to do; since also no Man can send or give such Commission but *Bishops*, the Successors of the *Apostles*, as I have before proved from the Scriptures, it is plainly evident from the New Testament that an *Episcopal Commission* is necessary for the valid Administration of the Sacraments.

§ XXXVIII. Again, (*f*) when an Angel from Heaven was sent to *Cornelius*, to acquaint him that his Prayers and his Alms were come up for a Memorial before God, he did not take upon him

(*f*) Acts x. 1. &c.

to preach to him, having no Commission to do so, but directed him to send for an *Apostle*, one whom *Christ* himself had authorized for that Purpose, and said, *Send Men to Joppa, and call for Simon, whose Surname is Peter, he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do.* Here we may see how careful God himself was to preserve the Order and Oeconomy of the Church which *Christ* had settled. And tho' he saw it expedient to send an Angel from Heaven to dispose *Cornelius* for the Reception of the *Christian* Faith, yet he would not permit that very Angel to meddle with any thing belonging to the Apostolical Office, but only to let *Cornelius* know that there was an *Apostle* not far off, and bid him send for him, and follow his Direction. The Angel might as easily have told him what he ought to do, as to bid him send for *Peter* on that Occasion, and have baptized him also, and God could as easily have given him his Holy Spirit at that time as four Days after, and also fully instructed him by that Spirit in all Things that *Christ* had commanded. But this would not have been agreeable to the Order *Christ* had settled in his Church. *Christ* had appointed his *Apostles* to minister his Ordinances, and therefore God did not suffer even his Angel to break in upon this Oeconomy. But the *Apostle* came, and having given them a brief Account of what they ought to believe and do, *he commanded them to be baptized in the Name of the Lord.* And so *Cornelius* and his Friends were baptized by such as the *Apostle* commissioned or appointed for that Purpose. If therefore an Angel from Heaven durst not attempt to preach authoritatively, and to administer the Sacraments, because he had no Commission, how shall any Man, being not lawfully commissioned for that Purpose, undertake to do it?

§ XXXIX. He that ministers the *Sacraments*, acts in *Christ's* Name; for if they are not done in his Name, they cannot be *his Sacraments*. And can a Man act in *Christ's* Name that is not commissioned by him to act so? The Act which one Man may do in the Name of another, is of Force and Validity, where one Man gives another his Commission, or Letter of Attorney, as we call it, to act for him: But where there is no such Commission, and yet a Man will pretend to act for another, those Acts are of no Validity, nor can they bind the Man in whose Name they were acted. Now the Sacraments and Ordinances of *Christ*, when ministred by Virtue of his Commission, bind him to ratify in Heaven what is so done in his Name on Earth, because he has so bound himself by his own Promise, (g) saying, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*. But *Christ* can be obliged to ratify no more than he has bound himself to ratify by his own voluntary Promise, that is, to confirm the Acts of those whom he has commissioned, those to whom he (h) committed his *Keys*, which were only his *Twelve Apostles*, to whom, as I have shewed, *Bishops* only are Successors. If therefore another Man not so commissioned undertakes to perform those Acts of *binding* and *loosing*, which from the Apostles Practice we learn were to be performed by the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, granting the Benefit of them to the Penitent, and denying them to the Impenitent, what he does can be of no Validity, nor receive a Ratification in Heaven. For *Christ*

(g) Matth. xvi. 19. xviii. 18: (h) Matth. xvi. 19.

did not say, *Whatsoever ANY ONE shall bind or loose on Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven; but whatsoever YE shall bind or loose: YE my Apostles, YE whom I have commissioned for that Purpose.* The sole Validity therefore of the Word and Sacraments depends upon the Commission to minister them to fit Objects. Any Man indeed can dip another in Water, or pour Water upon him, and say, *I baptize thee, &c.* Any Man can break Bread and distribute Wine, and say, *the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* because the Acts in themselves are natural, and so may have a natural Effect. Such a Baptism may wash the Body, because that is the natural Effect of Water, and such a Distribution of Bread and Wine may feed the Body, because that is the natural Effect of those Creatures: But Water cannot naturally wash away Sin, or cleanse the Pollutions of the Soul, neither can Bread and Wine nourish the Soul unto Life Eternal; but meerly by Virtue of *Christ's* Institution: Therefore if they are not administered according to his Institution, that is, by Persons commissioned by him (for so he appointed them to be ministered, giving not his Promise to the Elements, or to the Words of Institution, but only to the Persons so commissioned) then are they not *Christ's* Sacraments, but only natural Acts, and can have no more than a natural Effect: And for as much as *Christ* has consecrated them to Sacred Purposes, whosoever pretends to apply them to those Purposes without his Commission, is guilty of the highest Profaneness and Sacrilege, and brings a Curse, and not a Blessing upon the Act. For if it be a great Offence to act in another Man's Name, and to pretend or undertake to bind him by any such Act or Obligation, without his Commission or Order for that Purpose; and if such Act shall not be
bind-

binding to the Man in whose Name it was transacted, for want of such an Order or Commission, ought it not to be deemed a most heinous Sin for a Man to pretend or undertake to oblige God without any Authority from him to act in his Name? Or can such an Act be obligatory or obliging on God's Part, for the doing of which he has not given his Commission?

§ XL. When God consecrates or appoints any Persons to minister before him particularly, that very Appointment includes a Prohibition of all others, tho' such Prohibition be not expressly mentioned in the Order or Commission. (i) Thus when God appointed first that *Aaron* and his Sons should minister before him in the Priest's Office, he did not at first directly forbid any others to execute that Function, because a Prohibition was implied in the very Nature of the Thing it self: For as much as none could have any natural Right to make an Atonement for his own and others Sins, and none of the legal Offerings could be an Atonement, but as God was pleased to accept them as such; and therefore if they were not offered by such as God himself appointed to make such Offerings to him, he would not accept them. This we may see in the Case of *Corah* and his Company, who, because there was no such express Prohibition when *Aaron* was ordained to the Priesthood, thought they might execute that Office as well as he. (k) *And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy (every one of them) and the Lord is among them: Wherefore*

(i) Exod xxviii.

(k) Numb, x'i. 3.

then left you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? As if he had said, *I indeed Aaron is appointed to minister before the Lord, but what then? there is no Prohibition to hinder any one of us from ministering also, for all the Congregation is holy, and the Ministrations of any other of us as acceptable to God as his; for the Lord is not with him alone, but with all the Congregation; and therefore an Offering is as acceptable to him from any other Man's Hands as from his. And you Moses do very ill to countenance him solely to appropriate this Office to himself.* This was plainly the Meaning of *Corah's* Speech, and *Moses* understood it so. For in his Answer he observes (1) that *Corah* and his Company were gathered together to get a Share in the Priesthood. But what was the End of this? did God accept the Offerings made by these Usurpers of the Priesthood, to whom he had given no Commission to execute that Office, tho' till that time he had not in express Terms forbidden them, otherwise than as such Prohibition was implied in the Commission given to *Aaron* and his Sons? We find by the Sequel of the Story that he was so far from accepting them, that he immediately executed his Judgments upon them in an unheard of manner, for the Earth opened her Mouth, and swallowed them up, and their Houses, and all the Men that appertained to *Corah*, and all their Goods, And there came out a Fire from the Lord, and consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that offered Incense. And *Eleazer* the Priest, by express Command from God, took the brazen Censers, wherewith they that were burnt had offered; and they were made broad Plates for a Covering of the Altar: To be a Memorial unto the Children of Israel, that no

(1) Numb. xvi. 10, 11.

Stranger, which is not of the Seed of Aaron, come near to offer Incense before the Lord, that he be not as Corah and his Company. (m) Now these things (as I have before observed) happened unto them for *Ensamples*, and they are written for the *Admonition of us Christians*, (n) to be a Warning to us, that none of us perish in the *Gainsaying of Corah*. A clear Evidence that we *Christians* are to be guided by the same Rule which *Corah* transgressed; and that we also ought to know, that where God has given a Commission to particular Persons, and has appointed a particular Order of Men to minister his Word and Sacraments, no Man who has not the Commission ought to usurp any Part of the Office; for this was *Corah's Sin*, which the Apostle plainly teaches that a Man may be guilty of under the Gospel as well as he might be so under the Law. If therefore a Commission be necessary to authorize any one to minister the Word and Sacraments, and for any Man to do it without a Commission, be to make himself and his Followers liable to the just Judgment of God, as the Scriptures I have produced plainly teach us, then it also as evidently follows that an *Episcopal Commission is necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*; since, as I have already proved, neither the Scriptures nor the ancient Church knew or allowed of any other Commission as derived from *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All that we read of in the New Testament who have executed any of those which we call the *Ministerial Functions*, were ordained to that Office either by *Christ* or his *Apostles*, or by *Timothy*, *Titus*, and such others as the *Apostles* appointed to succeed them in their whole Office, whom the

(m) 1 Cor. x. 11. (n) Jude 12.

Church has ever since known by the Name of *Bishops*.

§ XLI. And as the Scriptures plainly teach this Principle, so also do the ancient Fathers. I shall begin with the Testimony of St. Ignatius, who, as he asserts the Divine Right of Episcopacy in the Passages I have before quoted from him, so in others he no less zealously asserts *the Necessity of Episcopacy to the being of a Church, and consequently to the valid Administration of the Sacraments, which belong to the Church, and cannot be administred out of it.* (o) In his Epistle to the *Trallians* he says, *Likewise all of you reverence the Deacons, as the Command of Jesus Christ, and the Bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father: But the Presbyters as the Council of God, and the Fellowship of the Apostles: WITHOUT THESE no Congregation is called a Church.* Here he plainly asserts the Necessity of all the Three Orders to the Being of a Church, and consequently the Bishop, who is the Chief of them, must be most necessary: For if he was alone with his People, he could soon make *Presbyters* and *Deacons* to perfect his Church; but the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* could not make a *Bishop*, but must desire their *neighbouring Bishops* to ordain one for them. Again he says, (p) *Therefore as our Lord, being united to the Father, did nothing without the Father,*

(o) Ὅμοίως πάντες ἐκτενέως τὰ διακόνους, ὡς ἐν ἑσθλῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸ πάτριον. καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς συνέδριον ἀποστόλων. Χρεῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκκαλεῖται. Ignat. ad Trall. §. 3.

(p) Ὡσπερ ἔν ὁ κύριος ἀνὰ τῶ πατρὸς ἐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἡμεῖς ἀνὰ τῶ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶ πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράξομεν. Ignat. ad Magnes. §. 7.

either by himself or his Apostles; so neither do ye any thing without the BISHOP and Presbyters. The Concurrence of the Bishop, or of his Presbyters, is here required, as necessary to all the Acts of the Church to make them valid, even as the Concurrence of God was to the Acts of Christ and his Apostles. He says also to the same Persons, (q) Ye ought not to make too free with your Bishop, but to pay him all Reverence, according to the Power of God that is in him, as I know the holy Presbyters do; not presuming upon his appearing Youth, but being wise towards God ye ought to assent to him; yet not to him, but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of all. In Honour therefore to him who wills this, we ought to be subject without Hypocrisy: For it is not this Bishop whom we see that is dishonoured by it, but the invisible one whom he represents. We ought therefore not only to be called Christians, but to be so; as some indeed call him their Bishop, but do all things without him. But such seem not to me to bear a good Conscience, because they are not firmly gathered together according to the Commandment. Here he shews the Reason why the Concurrence of the Bishop is necessary to all Spiritual Acts which are performed in the publick

(q) Καὶ ὑμῖν ὃ πρέπει μὴ συσχεῖσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ πάσης πατρὸς ἐπισηπῶ αὐτῶ ἐπονέμεν, καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺ ἀγίους πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ πρεσβυτέρους τὸ φρονιμῶν νεωστεικῶν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς θεομίμεις ἐν Θεῷ συσχεῖσθαι αὐτῶ, ἐκ αὐτῶ ὃ, ἀλλὰ πῶ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῶ πῶ πάντων ἐπισκόπου. Εἰς τιμῶν ἐν δεινῶ τῶ θελήσαντ' ἡμᾶς πρέπειν ὅτιν ἐπακύνειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ἰσοκρίσι. ἐπὶ ἐχ' ὅτι τὸ ἐπίσκοπον τῶτον τὸ βλέπόμενον πλανᾶ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀόρατον ἀεθλογοί(ε). πρέπειν ἐν ὅτιν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χειριανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶν. ὡσπερ καὶ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲ καλεῖσθαι, χωρεῖς ὃ αὐτῶ πάντα πρεσβυτέρων. οἱ τοῦτοι ὃ ἐκ ἐυσημείων τοῖ μοι φαίνου, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολῶν συναθεσίζεσθαι. Ἰγνα. αἰ Μαγνησ. § 3, 4.

Congregation assembled together for Divine Worship, because he represents God, the Bishop of all: And therefore we have no reason to expect the Concurrence of God to ratify and confirm his Ordinances, if we reject the Concurrence of the Bishop, whom he has appointed to represent him. He directs (r) his Epistle to the Philadelphians, as he expressly tells them, chiefly to those who are at Unity with the Bishop, and with the Presbyters and Deacons under him. (s) In the Epistle it self he says, Being therefore Children of Light, and of the Truth, fly from all Separation and evil Doctrine: But where the Shepherd is, there as Sheep follow him. (t) For as many as are of God, and of Jesus Christ, they are with the Bishop. And a little after he adds, (u) I cried standing in the midst of you, I spake with a loud Voice, HEARKEN TO THE BISHOP, AND TO THE PRESBYTERY, AND TO THE DEACONS. But some suspect that I spake these Words as having Knowledge of the Separation of some amongst you: But he for whose Sake I am bound, is my Witness, that I learned not this from any Man whatsoever; but the Spirit spake to me,

(r) Μάλιστα εἰάν ἐν ἐνὶ εἰσὶν σὺ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς σὺ αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις

(s) Τέκνα ἐν φωτὸς καὶ ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸ μεισμόν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας. ὅπου ὃ ποιμὴν ὄσιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Ἰηνατ. ad Philadelph. 2

(t) Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔτι μετὰ τὸ ἐσκόπε εἰσὶν. Ἰηνατ. ad Philad. § 3

(u) Ἐκραύγασα μετὰξὺ ἂν, ἐλάλην μεγάλη φωνῆ. τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέειπε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις. Οἱ ὃ ἀποπλήσαντες με, ὡς προσέδοτα τὸ μεισμόν τινῶν λέγειν ταῦτα. μάρτυς ὃ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδομαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἔργων τὸ ὃ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυξεν, λέγων ταῦτα. χωρὶς τῶ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. τὸ σάρκα ἡμῶν ὡς τὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε. τὸ ἔνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε. τὸ μεισμὸς φεύγετε. μὴ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πατεὶς αὐτὸ Ἰηνατ. ad Philadelph. § 7.

saying these Words. DO NOTHING WITHOUT YOUR BISHOP: KEEP YOUR FLESH AS THE TEMPLE OF GOD: LOVE UNITY: FLY DIVISIONS: BE YE FOLLOWERS OF JESUS CHRIST AS HE IS OF HIS FATHER. (w) God therefore forgives all Penitents, if they repent in the Unity of God, and under the Conduct of the Bishop. (x) Study therefore to partake of the one Eucharist. For there is one Fleh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Cup in the Unity of his Blood: one Altar, and one Bishop, with the Presbytery and Deacons my Fellow-Servants; that what you do, you may do according to the Will of God. So to the Smyrneans he also speaks, (y) Let no one do any thing belonging to the Church without the Bishop. Let that Eucharist be accounted firm or valid which is ministred by him, or by such as he shall appoint for that Purpose. Wherever the Bishop is, there let the People be; as where Christ is, there is the Catholick Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop either to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist or Feast of Love. But what he approves of, that also is acceptable to God; that so every thing that is done may be firm and

(w) Πᾶσιν ἔν μετανοήσιν ἀφίξις ὁ Κυρίου, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα Θεῶ, καὶ σωθέριον τῶ ἐπισκόπου Ignat. ad Phil. § 8.

(x) Σπειδάξετε ἔν μιᾷ εὐχαριστία χρεῖας. Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τῶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔν ποτήριον εἰς ἐνώσειν τῶ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, ἐν δυσιασθήσει, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ἅμα τῶ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδέλοις μου, ἵνα ὁ ἐὰν παρώσῃτε, κατὰ Θεὸν παρώσῃτε. Ignat. ad Philad. § 4.

(y) Μηδεὶς χωρεῖ τῶ ἐπισκόπου τί παρὰ τῶ ἁγίωντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἢ ἰσὺ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ἴσα, ἢ ὅ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιπέψῃ. ὅπερ ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. ὅπερ ὅπερ ἂν ἢ Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἔξόν ὅταν χωρεῖ τῶ ἐπισκόπου, ἔτε βαπτίζῃν, ἔτε ἀγάπῳ ποιῆν. ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκιμάσῃ, τῶτο καὶ τῶ Θεῷ ἐν ἐσόντῳ ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ἢ καὶ βέβαιον πάν ὁ παρώσῃ Ignat. ad Smyrn. § 8.

effectual. Again, (z) *He that honours his Bishop, is honoured of God; but he that does any thing which he would hide from his Bishop, serves the Devil.* In his Epistle to Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna he makes an Apostrophe to the People of that Church, and says, (a) *Hearken unto your Bishop, that God may hearken unto you. My Soul for theirs who are subject to the Bishop, the Presbyters and Deacons, and let me take my Lot with them in the Lord.* (b) *Let nothing be done without thy Sentence and Approbation.*

§ XLII. Plainer Testimonies than these I think cannot reasonably be desired to convince any one that St. Ignatius did judge an *Episcopal Commission to be necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*: For first he asserts that there is *no Church without a Bishop*; and if no Church, then no Word and Sacraments; because they are of the very Essence of the Church, and where they are, there must be a Church, according to the Definition of a Church in those Articles, to which we all subscribe. (c) *The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministred, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those things that of Necessity are requisite to the same.* If therefore the Doctrine of our Church be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church in the Apo-

(z) Ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπὸ Θεῶ τέτιμον). ὁ δάθεα ἐπισκόπου τὶ προσέσω, τῷ διαβόλω λατρεύει. Ignat. ad Smyrn. § 9.

(a) Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν. Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῷ ὑποτασσόμενῶν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, προσβυσίεροις, διακόνεις. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος ᾧδοιτο ἔχειν ἐν Θεῷ. Ignat. ad Polycarp. § 6.

(b) Μὴδὲν ἄνω γνώμης σε γινέσθω. Ignat. ad Polycarp, § 4.

(c) Art. 19.

bles Age, and immediately after, then it must follow, that according to the Principles of that truly Primitive Church, and of our own, there can be no valid Ministrations of the Word and Sacraments where there is no Bishop or Episcopal Commission. For thus the Argument runs, *Where there is no Bishop, there is no Church: where there is no Church, there the Word and Sacraments are not ministred according to Christ's Ordinance. Therefore where there is no Bishop, there the Word and Sacraments are not ministred according to Christ's Ordinance. And where the Word and Sacraments are not ministred according to Christ's Ordinance, there are they not validly administred. For the Ordinance of Christ is that from which they receive their Validity: Therefore where Christ's Ordinance is wanting, they are altogether invalid.* Again, St. Ignatius says, *That the Concurrence of the Bishop is as necessary to the Validity of all Acts of the Church, as the Concurrence of God the Father was to the Validity of the Acts of Christ: Because the Bishop is the Representative of the invisible God. And (d) Christ himself teaches us that his Acts received all their Validity from the Father: saying, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doth, these also doth the Son likewise. I can of mine own self do nothing. (e) I speak that which I have seen with the Father. (f) I must work the Works of him that sent me. (g) I have not spoken of my self, but the Father which sent me, he gave me a Commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his Commandment is Life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.*

(d) John v. 19, 30.

(e) John viii. 38.

(f) John

ix. 4. (g) John xii. 49, 50.

(b) *The Words that I speak unto you, I speak not of my self; but the Father that dwelleth in me he doth the Works.* Now St. Ignatius asserting that the Concurrence of the Bishop is as necessary to the Acts of the Church, as the Concurrence of the Father was to the Acts of Christ, plainly asserts the Bishop's Authority or Commission to be absolutely necessary to the Validity of Sacraments: even as the Authority or Commission of God the Father was necessary for their Institution, *Christ* having so often asserted that without that Commission and Authority even he himself, who instituted the Sacraments, could do nothing. St. Ignatius also places *the Unity of the Church in our Union with the Bishop.* And gives a very strict Charge that *nothing be done without the Bishop.* And tells us that he had a particular Inspiration of the Holy Spirit requiring him to give that Charge; so that we are not to take those Words as the Words only of an holy Man, instructed and ordained by the Apostles themselves, which would render them of great Weight and Authority, but as the Words of a Man inspired, and consequently as the Word of God, and as a Divine Command, than which no Authority can be greater, and he appeals to God himself for the Truth of it. And he also lived in an Age when such Inspirations were frequent; so that we have no reason to question whether he was inspired, where he so positively asserts it. And if it be God's express Command that *nothing be done without the Bishop,* then must not the Sacraments be administered without him. And as if he had foreseen that in the latter Days some should pretend to administer the Sacraments without any Epif-

copal Commission or Authority, he particularly and in exprefs Words forbids the Ministration of Baptism and the Eucharist to all but the *Bishop*, and those that are commissioned by him. And also declares the *Bishop's* Authority to be necessary to make these Ordinances firm or valid. So that we cannot have a plainer Testimony for the *Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*, than we have from this glorious Primitive Martyr *St. Ignatius*. And I have thought proper to insist the longer upon his Testimony, because I conceive it to be of very great Weight and Authority: Since he was a Person that could not be deceived himself in this Point, neither could he have any Intention to deceive us. He could not but know what the Doctrine was which the Apostles taught, having been himself instructed by them, and consecrated by them to the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, over which he presided Forty Years before his Martyrdom, which, as I have before shewed, happened but a few Years after the Death of *St. John*: So that he was for some Time Contemporary with most of the *Apostles*, and for Thirty Years after his Advancement to the Episcopal Throne was Contemporary with *S. John* the beloved Disciple, and therefore being a *Bishop* all that Time, and frequently conversing with the *Apostles*, he could not be ignorant of their Doctrine, especially in what appertained to the Rights and Duties of his own Order. The *Apostles* did not ordain *Bishops* who were ignorant of what belonged to the Episcopal Office, and whom they had not, either before or at the Time of their Ordination, instructed in the Duties incumbent on them, and whom they were not afterwards ready to direct upon any particular Occasions or Emergencies:

For

For it was (i) the Apostles Rule not to make a *Bishop* of a *Novice*, or of one just converted to the *Christian* Faith; and for that reason they governed the Churches for some Time themselves, till having fully instructed both *Presbyters* and People, they then upon their Departure placed a *Bishop* over them. Thus in particular they did in the Church of *Antioch*, (k) for as soon as ever the Church at *Jerusalem* heard what good Encouragement was found by some Preachers at *Antioch*, they sent Two *Apostles* thither, namely, *Barnabas* and *Saul*, who continued there a whole Year. Here the Church soon became considerable, having diverse Prophets among them which came thither from *Jerusalem*, and here the Disciples were first called *Christians*. (l) Then the Apostles *Paul* and *Barnabas*, by the Direction and express Command of the Holy Ghost, travelled round to the neighbouring Cities and Countries to propagate the Gospel, and having gone the Circuit allotted them at that time, (m) returned again to *Antioch*: (n) And when they found that some *judaizing Christians* had, during their Absence, raised Disputes in that Church about the Observation of the Law of *Moses*, those Apostles, with some others, went to *Jerusalem*, to have that Question determined in a general Council of the *Apostles*, and then returned again to *Antioch* with the Apostolical Decrees. After which *Paul* and *Barnabas* separating from each other, and taking several Tours, (o) *St. Paul* returned to *Antioch*, and spent some Time there. At one of these times *St. Peter* also came to that

(i) 1 Tim. iii. 6. (k) Acts xi. 22, &c. (l) Acts
 xiii. 1, &c. (m) Acts xiv. 26. (n) Acts xv. 1, &c.
 (o) Acts xviii. 22, 23.

Place (*p*) and continued there, where shewing some Fear of the *judaizing Christians*, and being by them drawn off from Communion with the *Gentiles*, St. Paul reprov'd him for this want of Constancy. The Scripture therefore plainly shews us, that the Church of *Antioch* was founded by the *Apostles*, and for some Time governed by them, and that St. Peter in particular came to that Place, and we have reason to believe continued there some considerable Time, since we find no further Account of him in the Scriptures, excepting that one of his own Epistles (*q*) speaks of his being at *Babylon*, a City standing upon the same River with *Antioch*: A good Evidence that he spent some Time in those Parts. (*r*) And Ecclesiastical History informs us that he for Six or Seven Years presid'd over the Church there as its *Bishop*. And then departing to publish the Gospel in other Parts, he (*s*) consecrated *Evodius*, who was the first *Bishop* of *Antioch* after himself, who having sat there about 23 Years, St. *Ignatius* succeeded him, who having ruled that Church 40 Years, or thereabouts, and being then a very Old Man, wrote the Epistles I have here cited as he was going to suffer Martyrdom. We may from hence reasonably conclude that he was one of the first Converts in the Church of *Antioch*, consequently was instructed by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and by other *Apostles* and *Apostolical Men*, which came thither in great Numbers from *Jerusalem*, he lived there, and received Instruction from St. *Peter* during those Years he personally presid'd over

(*p*) Galat. ii. 11, &c. - (*q*) 1 Pet. v. 13.

(*r*) Euseb. Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 43. Hieron. Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. 2. St. Chrylost. Encom. St. Ignat. Mart.

(*s*) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 22. & 45.

that Church, and became so eminent under *Euodius*, St. Peter's Successor in that great See, that he was judged, even by the *Apostles* themselves, who were guided by an infallible Spirit, to be the fittest Person to succeed him in that Chair. And can we think that a Man who was thus instructed by so many of the *Apostles*, who was consecrated a *Bishop* by them, and that of so eminent a Church, who presided over that Church so many Years during the Lives of some of the *Apostles*, could be deceived himself, and not know what was the Authority of a *Bishop*, what Duties and Functions he was to perform, and what Obedience the People owed to him, especially when he lived in an Age in which the extraordinary Inspirations of the Holy Ghost were frequent, and was himself also blessed sometimes with those Inspirations, and particularly, as he himself affirms, when he charged the People to *do nothing without their Bishop*? Or can we think he could have any Purpose or Intention to deceive those he spake and wrote these Things to? That is, not to be believed of so holy a Man, and a Disciple of the *Apostles*, especially at the time when he was bound with Chains, and going to his Martyrdom. The most profligate Wretches when they come to die, will hardly die with a Lie in their Mouths; much less therefore can any such thing be suspected of so holy a Martyr, who had been above Threescore Years a Servant of *Christ*, at the time when that Service was attended with all manner of Worldly Troubles and Afflictions, and consequently no Man could have any Worldly Interest to serve by professing *Christianity*, and was now going to lay down his Life for that Profession. If he would have told a Lie for any Worldly Interest, the only Inducement any one can have to lie, he needed not to have been bound with *that Chain*, which he

mentions his having upon him when he wrote his Epistles. Could he have told a Lie, or denied himself to be a *Christian*, he might have escaped that Death he was then going to suffer at *Rome*. And can we think that he who would not tell a Lie to save his own Life, would as he was going to his Death tell a Lie for no Purpose at all, but merely to deceive? He that can believe such a thing of this holy Martyr, is not fit to be disputed with, he is past Conviction. Since then it is so evident that St. *Ignatius* could not be deceived himself in the Account which he gives us of the *Episcopal Authority*, and the Necessity of an *Episcopal Commission for the Ministry of the Sacraments*, nor can be in the least suspected to have any purpose to deceive us, if we had no other Authority but his, we ought to believe *Episcopacy to be of Divine Right, and that an Episcopal Commission is necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*: much more reason have we then to believe it, when we find it also confirmed by the Scriptures, and the Practice of the truly Primitive Church, from the Time of the Apostles to the Council of *Nice*, as well as in all the following Ages, to the very Time of *John Calvin*. This Matter therefore being so fully proved from the Scripture, and this most ancient Father, whose Authority, for the Reasons aforesaid, is justly reputed next to the Scripture, I shall not be very careful to produce other Authorities for this purpose, only one or two at the distance of 40 or 50 Years from each other, to shew that the same continued as the Doctrine of the Catholick Church to the Time of the Council of *Nice*.

§ XLIII. The next therefore I shall produce is *Tertullian*, who bears Testimony to this as the Doctrine of the Church; tho' his own private

Opinion was contrary to it. (t) Having discoursed of *Baptism*, the Sacrament by which we are initiated into the Church, he says, *It remains for the Conclusion of this Matter, to give an Admonition concerning what is to be observed in the giving and receiving Baptism. The Chief Priest, which is the Bishop, has the Right to give it; from hence the Presbyters and Deacons receive the Right also, but not without the Bishop's Authority, for the Honour of the Church: which being preserved, Peace is also preserved. Otherwise Lay-men also have this Right. For what is equally received by all, may be equally given by all.* His Testimony here is very plain; that according to the Order then observed by the Church, none but the Bishop could baptize, and the Presbyters and Deacons commissioned by him. It is therefore evident from this Testimony, that this was the Doctrine of the Church in the Age wherein he lived. But what follows is plainly his own private Opinion, which is of no more Weight than the Argument he founds it upon will bear, and that is very weak and fallacious. His Argument is, *every Man may give what he has received*, which is certainly false: Every Freeman of a City cannot make another Man free of that City; but it must be done by the proper Officer: Every one that is naturalized a Member of any Country or Kingdom, cannot therefore naturalize another: Because a Man has received a Commission to be a Justice of the Peace, or an Officer in

(t) Superest ad concludendam materiolum, de observatione quoque dandi & accipiendi baptismi commonefacere. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesie honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam Laicis jus est. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest. *Tertull. de Baptif.*

an Army, he cannot therefore make another so. Nay, in the very next Words *Tertullian* himself contradicts what he has here laid down for a Maxim, and on which alone he founds his Opinion of the Right which Lay-men have to baptize, for he will not allow that *Women may baptize*, and yet they receive that Sacrament as well as the Men. His Testimony therefore is good, for he could not but know what was the Doctrine and Practice of the Church in his own Time, neither would he have given this Testimony of it, being so contrary to his own Opinion, if the Matter had not been true in Fact, and so known to be by all *Christians*. But his Opinion is plainly naught, because founded on a Reason that is false, and will by no means bear the Test: And is so very weak, that he himself is forced to argue contrary to it in a very few Lines after he has made this Use of it.

§ XLIV. *St. Cyprian* has a Multitude of Passages shewing that only *Bishops*, and such as are commissioned by them, have any Right or Power to administer the Sacraments, but I shall at present content my self with one plain Evidence. (u) *We understand that none have Authority to baptize, or give Remission of Sins, but the Bishops, and those who are founded in the Evangelical Law, and our Lord's Appointment. — Nor can any usurp to himself, in Opposition to the Bishops and Priests, what is not within his own Right and Power.*

(u) *Intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesia Præpositis, & in Evangelica Lege & Dominica Ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare & remissionem peccatorum dare. — Nec posse quenquam contra Episcopos & Sacerdotes usurpare sibi aliquid quod non sit sui juris & potestatis. Cyprian. Epist. 73. ad Jubianum.*

§ XLV. I shall conclude these Testimonies of the ancient Fathers concerning *the Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*, with a Citation from St. Athanasius, who was both present at the Council of Nice, and was also the great Asserter of all the Doctrines of the Church which were approved by that Council, nor would admit of any Doctrines in any wise contrary to that Council. So that whatever he insists upon and maintains, we may conclude was agreeable to the Sense of the Church at the time when that venerable Council was celebrated. There was one *Dracontius* a Monk, who being elected and consecrated a *Bishop*, would not accept the Charge, but retired again to his Monastery; upon which Account *Athanasius* wrote to him, and blamed him very much for acting in this manner, and is very severe upon those that counselled and advised him to do this: And amongst other Arguments he uses this as one. (w) *If all Persons had been of the same Mind with those which counsel you, there being No BISHOPS any where to be found, how could you have been made a Christian? Or if from this time forward all should take the same Resolution, how shall the Churches stand? But if Men might be baptized by Persons that had no Episcopal Commission, or Churches could be formed, and have the Word and Sacraments duly administered without Bishops, then these Questions which Athanasius puts to his Friend Dracontius are very imperti-*

(w) Εἰ δὲ ἢ αὐτὸν νοῦν ἔχον πάντες, οἳ νῦν ἔχουσιν οἱ συμβουλεύοντές σοι, πῶς ἂν ἐγένου σὺ Χριστιανός, ἐπισκέπων μὴ ὄντων; ἐὰν δὲ καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναλάβωσι τὸ τοιαῦτον νοῦν, πῶς ἂν συστήναι δυνήσωνται οἱ ἐκκλησίαι;

Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. Edit. Benedict. Tom. 1. p. 265.

ment. The putting these Questions in this manner is as positive an Assertion of them as can be desired. And is also a Testimony that it was in that Age the received Opinion of the Church, that *Bishops*, and consequently the *Episcopal Commission*, were necessary to the valid Administration of the *Sacraments*, since if it had not been so, *Dracontius* might easily have answered him, that if all should be of his and his Counsellors Mind, the Church would receive no great Damage, since the *Sacraments* might be ministred, and the Church subsist very well without *Bishops*: And *Athanasius* would only have exposed himself by using so weak an Argument. Or if there had been any in that Age who had made the least question of the *Necessity of Episcopacy*, I cannot think but *Athanasius* would have hinted at it on this Occasion, and have told *Dracontius* that he and his Advisers seemed to be of that Opinion. But there is not the least Ground to suspect, either before that Age, or in that Age, or for many Ages after, any one had such a Thought, except *Aerius*, some Time after, who was immediately condemned as an Heretick for it.

§ XLVI. It is not the want of more Authorities to justify and support this Proposition, that hinders me from producing more at this time (as any one may be convinced that shall consult what the Author of *Lay Baptism invalid* and I have written on that Subject, in Answer to Mr. *Bingham's Two Scholastical Histories*) but because I conceive these may be sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced Person of the Opinion of the truly Primitive Church with regard to the *Necessity of Episcopacy*, and of an *Episcopal Commission*, to the valid Administration of the *Sacraments*, I shall not trouble my self or my Reader with any more Ci-

rations to this Purpose. I shall only make one Observation with regard to the Discipline of the *Primitive Church* in the Case of the *laps'd*, which were those who in the Time of Persecution being frighted with the Racks and Tortures where-with the *Heathen* Magistrates tormented such good *Christians* as they could lay hold of, had been induced to deny their Religion, and to offer Sacrifice or Incense to the *Heathen* Gods. These Men having renounced *Christ* only thro' Fear, and being still *Christians* in their Heart, pressed mightily to be re-admitted into the *Christian* Assemblies for Divine Worship, and to be allowed to be Partakers of the holy Eucharist or Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Christ*. They declared themselves heartily sorry for what they had done, they protested that tho' they had been induced thro' Fear to deny their Religion with their Mouths, and to eat of the *Heathen* Sacrifices, and cast Incense upon the Altars, yet their Hearts were always right, and that they still believed, and would profess the Faith of *Christ*, and no other; and therefore intreated that they might not be dealt with as Aliens to the Church of God, but might with other *Christians* participate of the holy Mysteries. They got Letters from the Martyrs and Confessors (who had endured the Torments, and stood firm to their Religion, and were still in Prison on that Account) to testify that they believed their Repentance to be sincere, and to intreat that they might not be excluded from the Communion of the Church. But then all this Application was made to the *Bishops* and their *Presbyters*, as the only Persons that could admit them to this Communion. But all these Protestations, Entreaties and Letters, would not move the *Bishops* to admit them, till they had gone thro' such a Course of Penance as they thought

thought fit to prescribe them on this Occasion: And when some *Presbyters*, in the Absence of the *Bishop*, had too hastily admitted any of these *lapsed* to Communion, the *Bishop* not only reproved those *Presbyters*, but also ordered those Persons should still be kept out of the Church, till they were duly and regularly restored by himself, or with his Consent and Approbation. All this is evident from a great many Letters written by *St. Cyprian* and his *Fellow Bishops* upon this Occasion, still extant in *St. Cyprian's Works*, which are too many to be here particularly cited. But now if the *Bishops Authority* or *Commission* had not at that time been thought absolutely necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments, can we think that these Men, who were so earnestly desirous to participate of them, and who not only in their own Opinion, but in the Opinion also of the *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, had given due Testimonies of the Sincerity of their Repentance, would have suffered themselves to have been so long barred from the holy Eucharist, and have undergone a long Penance of several Years, in order to have that Sacrament ministred to them by the *Bishop*, or such as were commissioned by him, if they had conceived that any other Person could have validly administered it to them? They were in great Haste to be admitted, and *St. Cyprian* complains of their Violence and Threatnings towards himself, because he did not think it proper to admit them till he had made a further Trial of the Sincerity of their Repentance, and had advised with his Collegues on that Occasion. Whereas if another Person could validly have administered the holy Eucharist to them, they neither needed nor would have given themselves so much Trouble about the Matter, and the *Confessors*,
 who

who desired they should be admitted, could as easily have administered the Sacrament to them themselves, as to have wrote to the Bishop to desire him to do it. At least they might, and no doubt would have done it, when the Bishop refused it, if they had thought that they could have done it. 'Tis true, when they found they could not be admitted by St. Cyprian, some of them got *Fortunatus*, one of his *Presbyters*, to be consecrated a *Bishop*, that he might receive them, and he did so. And so they made a Schism in the Church of *Carthage*. But this is still a further Argument that they thought a *Bishop and an Episcopal Commission necessary for this Purpose*, in that they did not think *Fortunatus*, whilst a *Presbyter*, could receive them to Communion, in Opposition to his *Bishop*, who had forbidden it: But having gotten him to be ordained a *Bishop*, they supposed there could be no Doubt of the Validity of his Acts. Not considering that there could not be another lawful Bishop of *Carthage* during the Life of St. Cyprian. However, it is still a Proof that all that called themselves *Christians* in those early Ages of the Church, whether they were *Catholicks* or *Schismaticks*, were unanimously of Opinion that *an Episcopal Commission was necessary to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*. And we have all the reason in the World to believe that it ever was the Opinion of the Church, till the *Schoolmen* and *Canonists*, one to advance the *Pope's* Authority, and the other the Power of the *Priesthood* in the miraculous Transformation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of *Christ*, when the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was invented, advanced the Power of *Presbyters* so high, and depressed that of *Bishops* so low, that they began to be taken for one and the same

Order,

Order, and that the *Bishop* was only superior to the *Presbyter* in *Dignity*, as if there was no other Difference between them, than betwixt a *dignified Clergyman* and a *Parish Priest*. But this Opinion was broached in the later and most corrupt Ages of the Church. However this went no further than Opinion, and tho' *Gratian* put these Opinions into his Collection of Canons, which were confirmed by the *Pope*, yet they produced no great Effects, but the *Bishops* still maintained their Prerogative and Jurisdiction over their *Presbyters* and People, except where the *Papal*, which was also an *Episcopal* Power, interposed.

§ XLVII. From this Opinion, started in the corrupt Ages of the Church, *Luther* when he had cast off the *Pope's* Authority, took upon him to maintain that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were the same, and that nothing could be done by a *Bishop*, but what might also be done by a *Presbyter*. And the *Lutherans* in the *Smalcaldick* Articles, from the Authority of *St. Jerome* (as they pretended) declared *Bishops* and *Presbyters* to be of the same Order, and to have the same Power; and for a *Bishop* to be in any thing superior to a *Presbyter*, was only a Matter of Human Institution. But because I have been accused of misrepresenting the *Lutherans* in this Particular, I will give their Opinion in their own Words, as they stand in the *Smalcaldick* Articles, wherein they explained more particularly what had been only generally asserted in the *Confession of Augsburgh*; and as they were published by *Lucas Osiander* a zealous *Lutheran*, and printed at *Tubinge* in *Germany*, which were also subscribed by those very Divines who subscribed the *Confession of Augsburgh*, and the *Apostolgy* of that *Confession* drawn up by *Philip Melancthon*.

lancthou. Here then they say (x) *St. Jerome teaches that the distinct Degrees of Bishops and Presbyters, or Pastors, are only constituted by Human Authority: And the thing speaks it self, because the Office and the Command is plainly the same, and Ordination alone afterwards made the Difference between Bishops and Pastors. For so it was afterwards instituted, that one Bishop should ordain Ministers of the Word in many Churches. But because by the Divine Law there is no Difference between a Bishop and a Pastor, there is no doubt but an Ordination of fit Ministers made by a Pastor in his own Church is firm, and approved by Divine Right. Therefore when those ordinary Bishops persecute the Gospel, and will not ordain fit Persons to the Ministry, every Church in this Case has the Right and Power to ordain her Ministers. They say also, (y) If Bishops would rightly discharge their Office, and take care of the Church,*

(x) Hic docet Hieronymus, distinctos gradus Episcoporum & Presbyterorum, sive Pastorum, tantum humana autoritate constitutos esse: idq; res ipsa loquitur, quia officium & mandatum plane idem est, & sola ordinatio postea discrimen inter Episcopos & Pastores fecit. Sic enim postea institutum fuit, ut unus Episcopus ordinaret Ministros verbi in pluribus Ecclesiis. Quia autem jure divino nullum est discrimen inter Episcopum & Pastorem, non est dubium ordinationem idoneorum Ministrorum a Pastore in Ecclesia sua factam, jure divino ratam & probatam esse. Itaq; cum Episcopi isti ordinarii Evangelium persequantur, & idoneos ad ministerium ordinare nolint, unaquæq; Ecclesia in hoc casu jus & potestatem habet ordinandi Ministros suos. *Osiand. Epist. Hist. Eccles. Cent. 16. lib. 2. cap. 37. p. 300*

(y) Si Episcopi suo officio recte fungerentur, & curam Ecclesiæ & Evangelii gererent, posset illis nomine charitatis & tranquillitatis, non ex necessitate, permitti. ut nos & nostros concionatores ordinarent & confirmarent. — Quia vero nec sunt, nec esse volunt veri Episcopi, — Quapropter, sicut vetera exempla Ecclesiæ & Patrum nos docent, idoneos ad hæc officium ipsi ordinare debemus & volumus. *Ibid.*
p. 282.

and of the Gospel, they might, BY WAY OF CHARITY, AND FOR PEACE SAKE, NOT OUT OF ANY NECESSITY, be PERMITTED to ordain and confirm us and our Preachers. — But because they neither are, nor will be true BISHOPS, — therefore, according as the ancient Examples of the CHURCH and of the Fathers teach us, WE OUR SELVES OUGHT, AND WILL ordain fit Persons to this Office. And accordingly they did take upon them to ordain not only such to whom they gave the Names of Pastors or Presbyters, but also such as they called Bishops. (2) Thus the Elector of Saxony having nominated Nicolas Amsdorfius to be Bishop of Naumburgh, this Noble Man and Bachelor (as Melchior Adams styles him, after he had been Pastor of the Church of Magdeburg 18 Years) was ordained Bishop by Luther, Nicolas Medler Pastor of Naoburg, George Spalatine of Aldenburg, and Wolfgang Steine of Leucopetre, laying on their Hands together with him. Thus were the German Bishops or Superintendents (as they have been since called) amongst the Lutherans ordained by such as pretended themselves to be no more than Presbyters: And that not thro' any Necessity (which yet would not have authorized such an Attempt) but upon Principle: (a) And Luther wrote a Book in High Dutch to justify it, which he entituled, *The Example of inaugurating a true Christian Bishop.*

(2) Itaq; die vicesimo Januarii Anno 1542 præsentè J. Friderico Electore, & J. Ernesto fratribus, Ducibus Saxoniz in ipso oppido Naoburgi ad Salam, vir hic nobilis & cœlebs Episcopus ordinatus est a Luthero, simul manum impotentibus Nicolao Medlero Pastore Naoburgensi, Georgio Spalatino Aldenburgensi, & Wolfgango Steinio Leucopetræo. Melch. Adam. de vitis German. Theolog in vit. Nic. Amsdorf. pag. 69.

(a) Melch. Adam in loc. supra citat. & in vit. Luther: p. 150.

I say

I say they lay under *no Necessity* of ordaining a *Bishop* in such manner at that time, because (b) Six Years before, *Herman* Archbishop of *Colen* had begun a Reformation in his Diocese, and at this very time that they thus pretended to ordain *Amsdorfius*, was endeavouring after a yet further Reformation, and had *Philip Melancthon*, *Luther's* Bosom Friend, then with him, to advise him in that Affair; so that they might have had *Amsdorfius* consecrated by a *Protestant Bishop*, if they had pleased. But to do it themselves was agreeable to the Doctrine of the *Smalcaldick Articles*, which they had subscribed, and were resolved to act accordingly. (c) In the same manner *John Bugenhagen* settled the *Lutheran Religion* in *Denmark*, and like his Brother *Luther*, made new *Bishops* or *Superintendents* there, in the room of those that were ejected, for there was not one of the old regular consecrated *Bishops* which joined there with the Reformation. So that there is no real *Episcopacy* in a regular Succession, agreeable to the true Primitive *Episcopacy*, in any *Lutheran Country*, except in *Sweden*, if they have in Truth preserved it there. Nor was it *Necessity*, as I have shewed, that caused them thus to deviate from the Primitive Institution of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, but *Principle*, and a *Principle* drawn from the Dregs of *Popery*; (d) *Gratian* the Canonist having cited a Passage in *St. Jerome*, which dropt from that Father when he wrote in Heat and

(b) *Osiand. Epist. Hist. Eccles. Cent. 16. lib. 2. cap. 36. p. 251. & cap. 48. p. 344.*

(c) *King's Animadversions on Molesworth's Account of Denmark, p. 174. & Osiand. Epist. Hist. Eccles. Cent. 16. lib. 2. cap. 39. p. 311.*

(d) *Dist. 95. c. 5. olim idem erat Presbyter qui & Episcopus.*

Passion against the Insolence of the *Roman Deacons*, they pick'd it up, and laid it down as a *Principle* of their Reformation, tho' directly contrary to the Institution of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and the Doctrine of the *Primitive Church*, and the unanimous Opinion and Testimony of all the Fathers to the Time of the Council of *Nice*, and long after, and even contrary to many other Passages of *St. Jerome* himself. But about Two or Three Centuries before the Reformation, this Notion of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* being one and the same Order, became a current Doctrine amongst the *Romanists*, and from thence the *Lutherans* pick'd it up, and *Gerhard* a *Lutheran Author* (e) gives us a Multitude of Canons cited from *Gratian*, together with a great Number of Quotations from Schoolmen, Canonists, Cardinals, and other *Popish* Writers, asserting the Identity of these Two Orders. And the *Smalcaldick Article* before quoted is plainly founded upon those Citations. And it is very certain that the Court of *Rome* laboured hard to prevent *Episcopacy's* being declared to be of *Divine Right* in the Council of *Trent*, and *Father Lainez* made a long Speech of Two Hours to hinder the passing of that Decree, (f) declaring, *That it was a Contradiction to say that the Pope was Head of the Church and the Government Monarchical, and yet to affirm that there was any Power or Jurisdiction not derived from him, or derived any other way.* The *Lutherans* indeed rejected the *Pope's Supremacy*, and that very justly, but retained the other Opinion of *Episcopacy's* being a *meer Human Institution*, declaring they could admit it by way of *Charity*, or for

(e) Gerh. Confess. Cathol. Part 2. Artic. de Cler. p. 23, &c.

(f) Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 7.

Peace sake, but not that they thought it in any manner necessary: And therefore never took any care to preserve the Episcopal Succession in any Country but Sweden, tho' they might have done it by Herman Archbishop of Colen if they had pleased; for one Bishop may consecrate another in Case of Necessity, as Pope Gregory told Augustin our first Archbishop of Canterbury. Neither was he the only Bishop that came over to their Communion, for Petrus Paulus Vergerius Bishop of Justinopolis (g) came over to them not long after Herman; so that they might not only have had *valid*, but also *Canonical* Episcopal Consecrations, if they had pleased. (h) For the *Canons* allow Two Bishops to consecrate another. But they had no Regard to their Character, nor does it appear that they were treated or respected more than meer *Presbyters*, but went on to consecrate or ordain by *Presbyters* only, according to the Doctrine of the *Smalcaldick Articles*, which were afterwards confirmed in the *Concord*, (i) a Book which all the *Divines* and *Schoolmasters* amongst the *German Lutherans* are obliged to subscribe, by a Decree signed in the Year 1580, by above Fourscore Princes and States of that Communion, amongst which were Five Dukes of *Brunswick Lunenburg*. (k) In which *Concord* also they expressly assert and maintain the *Ubiquity of the Body of Christ*, and its *Union with the Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper*, and that the *Body and Blood of Christ* are there corporally present, and eaten by the *Communicants*, whether they be good or bad: and expressly condemn the contrary *Doctrines*.

(g) *Osiand. Epit. Hist. Eccl. Cent. 16. lib. 2. cap. 71. p. 500, 501.* (h) *Can. Apost. 1.* (i) *Osiand. Epit. Hist. Eccl. Cent. 16. l. 4. c. 5.* (k) *Art. 7. 8.*

§ XLVIII. About the same time that *Luther* began his Reformation in *Germany*, *Zuinglius* also began to do the same in *Switzerland*, and soon after *Calvin* did the same at *Geneva*; and in *France*. These two agreed so near in their Opinions, that their Followers have since been indifferently called either *Zuinglians* or *Calvinists*, but they differed in many Points from the *Lutherans*, and have ever since held different Communion, however in the Point of *Episcopacy* they agreed with them, holding *Bishops* and *Presbyters* to be but one and the same Order, or rather, that there is but *one Order of Ministers*, that is, of *Persons who have Authority to minister the Word and Sacraments in the Church*. (l) For tho' they tell us that *there should be in the Church Pastors, Elders, and Deacons*, by which one might imagine that they had *Three Orders of Ministers*, yet when we come to examine what they mean by them, we shall find that the *Elders* and *Deacons* have nothing to do in the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, but answer to our *Church-wardens* and *Overseers* of the Poor. For thus they describe them. (m) *The Elders Office is, together with the Pastors, to oversee the Church, to gather and keep up the solemn Assemblies, and to take care that the Members in Communion do personally appear at those holy Congregations, to make Report of Scandals and Offences in Consistory, and with the Pastors to take Cognizance and pass Censures on them*. Now excepting the last Clause, their *Elders* are exactly the same as our *Church-wardens*. (n) *The Deacons Office is to collect and distribute; by the Ad-*

(l) Confess. of Faith, Art. 29. (m) Discipl. of the Re-
form. in *France*, cap. 3. Can. 3. (n) Ibid. Can. 4.

vice of the Consistory (that is, the Vestry) Monies unto the Poor, Sick, and Prisoners, and to visit and take care of them. This is exactly the same with our Overseers of the Poor. And (o) it is declared immediately, that it doth not belong unto the Elders or the Deacons Office to preach the Word of God, nor to administer the Sacraments. So that there is no other Order amongst them to whom they allow the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, but him whom they call the Pastor. Nor are there any different Degrees among these Pastors, but they are all of the same Order and the same Degree. For so it is declared by them in (p) their Confession of Faith, where they say, *We believe that all true Pastors, in whatever Places they may be disposed, have all the same Authority, and equal Power among themselves under Jesus Christ, the only Head, the only Sovereign, and only universal Bishop; and that therefore it is unlawful for any Church to challenge unto it self Dominion or Sovereignty over another.* So that all Superiority whatsoever of one Church or Pastor over another, is by them declared to be *unlawful*; in which they have run a Length beyond the Lutherans, for these allow that Bishops, or an Order of Men above common Pastors or Presbyters, may be admitted and retained in Charity, and for Peace sake, but the others make it an Article of their Faith that such Superiority is UNLAWFUL. And therefore whatever any of their Divines may say in their Writings, or whatever Complements they may make to the Church of England occasionally, or howsoever they may, many of them, pretend the Plea of Necessity, and that they want Bishops only because they could not have them,

(o) Ibid. Can. 5. (p) Art. 30.

this is plainly nothing but meer Cant and Gri-
 mace, to impose upon us. For this Declaration
 concerning the *Parity of Pastors*, and the UNLAW-
 FULNESS of *Imparity* amongst them, consequently
 the UNLAWFULNESS of *Episcopacy*, which consists
 in an *Imparity of Pastors*, is not a Matter of meer
 Discipline amongst them, which may be changed
 according to Times and Circumstances, but an
Article of Faith, which is unchangeable. Neither
 had they any more *Necessary* than the *Lutherans* to
 set up a *Ministry* without *Episcopacy*; for soon af-
 ter they began their Reformation (q) the Arch-
 bishop of *Aix*, the Bishop of *Troies*, and the Bi-
 shop of *Ufez*, went over to their Communion.
 So that they had even a *Canonical Number* of
Bishops to continue the *Succeſſion* amongst them,
 if they had pleased to make use of it; but they
 contemned and despised it, nay, expressly decla-
 red against it: And reckoned it an *Advancement*
 if they should admit them after *Trial* into the
Ministry amongst them. For so they decreed in
 their Synod at *Orleance*, held in the Year 1562,
 a little after these *Bishops* came over to them: (r)
If it happen, say they, that a BISHOP or Curate
desire to be PROMOTED unto the Ministry of the Gos-
pel, they may not be received till such time as they are
first admitted Members of the Church, renouncing all
their Benefices and other Rights depending on the
Church of Rome, professing also publickly R. pentance
for their past Sins, as they shall be ordered by the
Consistory, and after LONG TRIAL AND PROOF had
of their Repentance, and godly Conversation, THEY
MAY BE CHOSEN INTO THE MINISTRY OF THE
GOSPEL, according to the Canons of our Church Dis-

(q) *Du Pin*, Centur. 16. Vol. 2. p. 407.

(r) *Quick's Synodicon*, p. 23.

cipline, 6 and 8 of the Synod of Paris, and 3 of Poictiers. That is, they may then be made *Ministers*, in the same manner that other Candidates for the *Ministry* are made so, according to their Discipline, looking upon them to be but meer Lay-men, and treating them as such. Their first *Ministers* also were but meer *Lay-men*, as is acknowledged by themselves. That is, they were Men who were never ordained to any Orders in the Church, either of *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon*, but pretended only to an *extraordinary inward Call*. That is, they fancied themselves *fit Persons* to minister the *Word* and *Sacraments*, and so took the Office upon them of their own Heads, without any other *Mission*. For thus they tell us in their *Confession of Faith*, (s) *We believe that it is not lawful for any Man of his own Authority to take upon himself the Government of the Church, but that every one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawful Election, IF IT MAY POSSIBLY BE DONE, AND THAT THE LORD DO SO PERMIT. Which Exception we have expressly added, BECAUSE THAT SOMETIME (AS IT HATH FALLEN OUT IN OUR DAYS) the State of the Church being interrupted, GOD HATH RAISED UP SOME PERSONS IN AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER TO REPAIR THE RUINS OF THE DECAYED CHURCH.* And tho' they had some which were *Priests* ordained in a regular Succession, nay, and *Bishops* too, as I have before shewed, yet they rejected those Ordinations, and stuck by their own extraordinary Call. For thus they declare and decree in the Synod of Gap, Anno 1603. (t) *The Question being moved, whether in treating of the Call of our first Pastors and Reformers, it were expedient that we should lay the Strefs of that Authority*

(s) Art. 31. (t) *Quick's Synodicon*, p. 227.

for Preaching and Reforming, upon that Call and Ordination they had in the Church of Rome, or no; this Synod doth judge, that we ought, according to the One and Thirtieth Article, to found it principally UPON THEIR EXTRAORDINARY VOCATION, WHEREBY THEY WERE, BY AN INWARD POWERFUL IMPULSE FROM GOD, RAISED UP, AND COMMANDED TO EXERCISE THEIR MINISTRY, rather than to charge it upon the sorry Relicks of a corrupted Call and Ordination in the Romish Church. Nay, now they have laid aside the Pretences to an extraordinary or enthusiastical Call, and pretend to ordain Ministers by *Imposition of Hands*, according to the Apostles Practice, yet they do not hold such *Imposition of Hands* to be in any wise necessary, but that *Election* alone is sufficient. So that if a Company of Lay-men, of what Rank soever, get together, and chuse one amongst themselves to be their Minister, that is a sufficient Vocation to that Office. For thus they decree (u) in the Synod at Paris 1665, *Because that in the Ninth Article of the Discipline it is said, that when Ministers are to be confirmed, there shall be Imposition of Hands upon them, YET NOT AS OF PURE NECESSITY: It is demanded whether the Churches that have no such Custom, should for Time to come submit unto the Usage of it? The Reply was, that there being neither Precept nor Promise touching this Matter, THEREFORE NO NECESSARY OBLIGATION SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED ABOUT IT.* (w) And again in the Synod of Rochel, in the Year 1571, they order this Clause to be added to their Eighth Canon of Discipline concerning Ordination, that, *Altho' the Usage of Imposition of Hands be good and holy, YET IT SHALL NOT BE REPUTED NECESSARY,*

(u) *Quick's Synod.* p. 62.(w) *Ibid.* p. 93.

AS IF IT WERE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF ORDINATION. Thus have they, by their loose Principles concerning Ordination, laid the Church open to every *enthusiastical Pretender*, that can get a Congregation to follow him, and chuse him for their *Pastor*, and then he becomes a *Minister of the Gospel*, and may minister the Word and Sacraments as he pleases himself, for he has no Superior, it being expressly ordered by their Discipline, (x) that *no Minister shall claim or exercise any Primacy or Jurisdiction over another*. And to prevent all Pretences to a Superiority or Imparity, it is further ordered, *that Ministers shall preside by Turns in their Consistories*, THAT SO NONE MAY CLAIM A SUPERIORITY OVER HIS FELLOW. And whatever Pretences any of them may make of their Desires to have *Episcopacy* restored amongst them, yet when they meet together in Synod, their Declarations there are still opposite to it. A notable Instance of which we have in the Synod of *Dort*, in the Year 1619, (y) whither Bishop *Carleton* being sent by King *James I.* he told some of their Divines, *that the Cause of all their Troubles was because they had no Bishops amongst them, who might repress turbulent Spirits, that broached Novelty, every Man having Liberty to speak or write what they list: And that as long as there were no Ecclesiastical Men in Authority, to repress and censure such contumelious Spirits, their Church could never be without Troubles*. To this their Answer was, *That they had a great Honour for the good Order and Discipline in the Church of England, AND HEARTILY WISHED THEY COULD*

(x) Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France, Chap. 1. Can. 15, 16. (y) *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 717, 718.

ESTABLISH THEMSELVES UPON THIS MODEL: *But they had no Prospect of SUCH AN HAPPINESS: And since the Civil Government had made their Desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them.* Now one would have supposed that these Men, who thus in their private Conversation with the *Bishop* expressed such a Desire for *Episcopal Government*, and lamented their own want of it, would not immediately have made a publick Synodical Declaration against that Form of Government. Yet so it was, for in the 145th Session the *Belgick Confession* was brought in, to be subscribed by the *Dutch*, and publickly approved by the Foreign Divines. In this Form of Belief there was one Article which clashed directly with the Constitution of the *English Church*, 'tis the Thirty-first, where 'tis expressly affirmed, that *the Ministers of the Word of God, IN WHAT PLACE SOEVER SETTLED, HAVE THE SAME ADVANTAGE OF CHARACTER, THE SAME JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY, in regard they are ALL OF THEM EQUALLY the Ministers of Christ, the only universal Head of the Church.* This Article, being a broad Censure of the *Government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops*, was opposed by the *British Divines*, and particularly by *Bishop Carleton*, who publickly protested against it. This *Protestation*, tho' admitted, and possibly entred upon Record (for it is not certain that it was so) was not so far considered as to receive any Answer. In what Form this Exception was couched, may be seen in the *Bishops Declaration* published upon his Return into *England*. His Words are these: *When we were to yield our Assent to the Belgick Confession at Dort, I made open Protestation in the Synod, that whereas in the Confession there was inserted a STRANGE CONCEIT of the Parity of Ministers to be instituted by Christ, I declared our*

*D*issent utterly in that Point. I shewed that by Christ a Parity was never instituted in the Church: That he ordained Twelve Apostles, as also Seventy Disciples: That the Authority of the Twelve was above the other: That the Church preserved this Order left by our Saviour. And therefore when the extraordinary Power of the Apostles ceased, yet this ordinary Authority continued in Bishops, who succeeded them, who were by the Apostles left in the Government of the Church, to ordain Ministers, and to see that they who were so ordained should preach no other Doctrine: That in an inferior Degree, the Ministers who were governed by Bishops, succeeded the Seventy Disciples: That this Order has been maintained in the Church from the Times of the Apostles. And herein I appealed to the Judgment of Antiquity, and to the Judgment of any learned Man now living; and craved herein to be satisfied, if any Man of Learning could speak to the contrary. My Lord of Salisbury is my Witness, and so are all the rest of our Company; who spake also in the same Cause. We may see by this one Act what all the Professions of private Men of the Calvinist Communion, whether in their Conversation or their Writings, signify, when they speak in Favour of Episcopacy: They spoke very favourably of it to this Bishop, and expressed their earnest Desires of it, and lamented it, as an *Unhappiness* that they could not have it; and yet in their publick Synodical Capacity declared it as an *Article of their Faith*, that by the Institution of Christ all Ministers are equal, consequently that *Episcopacy was unlawful*: And had the Confidence to do this in the Presence of that very Bishop, to whom they had before in Conversation declared their Desires to have that Form of Government amongst themselves. And when he protested against that Article, as a *Condemnation* of his own Order, and gave his Reasons for
it,

it, they did not vouchsafe to make him any Answer, but passed it off with Silence and Contempt. And shall we think and plead *Necessity* for such Men, as too many of our Divines have done, when they make *the Parity of Ministers an Article of their Faith*? Neither was the Synod of *Dort* a Synod of *Dutch* Divines only, but a general Synod of all the *Calvinists*, and they all (except the *English*) approved that Article of their Confession. Besides, I have before shewn the very same to have been an *Article of Faith* amongst the *French Reformed*, (z) betwixt whom and the *Dutch* their Synod of *Saumur* declared there was a strict Union. But I know of no Union that ever was betwixt them and the *English* Church, for tho' there was a *Bishop* and Three *English* Presbyters there, they were not sent by our *English* Bishops, either in Convocation or out of it, as their Representatives, but were sent by the King, as Delegates from him, and not from the Church, which shewed no Concern about the Matter, nor were the Decrees of that Synod ever regarded here. But that the Church of *England* (whatever some *Bishops* or *Presbyters* may have done in their private Capacity, or to please the Court) did not look upon the *Calvinists* as of the same Religion or Communion with us, may appear from Archbishop *Laud's* refusing to receive a Brief, wherein they were declared to be so, as *Heylyn* informs us in the Life of that Prelate. (a) " For tho' he was not so unmindful of the " Foreign Reformed, as not to do them all good " Offices when it came in his way, especially " when the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church

(z) *Quick's* Synod. p. 180.

(a) *Heylyn's* Life of A. B. *Laud*, p. 305, 306.

“ of *England* was not concerned in the same, yet
 “ he would do this no further than might
 “ consist with the Honour and Safety of this
 “ Church. For in the Year 1634, having received
 “ Letters from the Queen of *Bohemia* about
 “ the Furtherance of a Collection for the exiled
 “ Ministers of the *Palatinate*; he moved the
 “ King so effectually in it, that his Majesty
 “ granted his Letters Patents for the said Col-
 “ lection to be made in all Parts of the Kingdom;
 “ which Letters Patents being sealed, and
 “ brought unto him for his further Direction in
 “ Prosecution of the same, he found a Passage in
 “ it which gave him no small Cause of Offence,
 “ and was this that followeth, *viz. Whose Cases*
 “ *are the more to be deplored, for that this Extremity*
 “ *is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Constancy*
 “ IN THE TRUE RELIGION, WHICH WE, TOGE-
 “ THER WITH THEM, PROFESSED, AND WHICH
 “ WE ARE ALL BOUND IN CONSCIENCE TO
 “ MAINTAIN TO THE UTMOST OF OUR POW-
 “ ERS; whereas THESE RELIGIOUS AND GODLY
 “ PERSONS being involved amongst others their Coun-
 “ trymen, might have enjoyed their Estates and For-
 “ tunes, if with other Backsliders in the Times of
 “ Trial, they would have submitted themselves to
 “ the ANTICHRISTIAN Yoke, and have renounced
 “ or dissembled the Profession of THE TRUE RELI-
 “ GION.” Upon the reading of which Passage
 he observed two things: First, that the Religion
 “ of the *Palatine* Churches was declared to be
 “ the same with ours. And Secondly, that the
 “ Doctrine and Government of the Church of
 “ *Rome* is called an *Antichristian Yoke*; neither
 “ of which could be approved of in the same
 “ Terms in which they were presented to him.
 “ For first, he was not to be told, that by the
 “ Religion of those Churches all the *Calvinian*
 “ Rigors

“ Rigors in the Point of Predestination, and the
 “ rest depending thereupon, were received as or-
 “ thodox; that they maintain a *Parity of Mini-*
 “ *sters DIRECTLY CONTRARY BOTH TO THE*
 “ *DOCTRINE AND GOVERNMENT* of the Church
 “ of *England*; and that *Pareus* a Professor of Di-
 “ vinity in the University of *Heydelburg* (who
 “ was not to be thought to have delivered his
 “ own Sense only in that Point) ascribes a Power
 “ to inferior Magistrates to curb the Power, con-
 “ troull the Persons, and resist the Authority of
 “ Sovereign Princes, for which his Comment on
 “ the *Romans* had been publicly burnt by the
 “ Appointment of King *James*. Which as it
 “ plainly proves that *the Religion of those Churches*
 “ *IS NOT ALTOGETHER THE SAME with that of*
 “ *ours*, so he conceived it very unsafe that his
 “ Majesty should declare under the Great Seal of
 “ *England*, that *both himself and all his Subjects*
 “ *were bound in Conscience to maintain the Religion*
 “ *of those Churches with their uttermost Power*. And
 “ as unto the other Point, he look’d upon it as a
 “ great Controversy, not only between some Pro-
 “ testant Divines and the Church of *Rome*, but
 “ between the Protestant Divines themselves,
 “ hitherto not determined in any Council, nor
 “ positively defined by the Church of *England*;
 “ and therefore he conceived it as unsafe as the
 “ other, that such a doubtful Controversy as the
 “ *Pope’s being Antichrist*, should be determined
 “ positively by Letters Patent under the Great
 “ Seal of *England*, of which there was great Dif-
 “ ference even among the Learned, and not re-
 “ solved on in the Schools. With these Objecti-
 “ ons against that Passage he acquaints his Maje-
 “ sty, who thereupon gave Order that the said
 “ Letters Patents should be cancelled, and new
 “ ones be drawn, in which that Clause should
 “ be

“ be corrected or expunged; and that being
 “ done, the said Letters Patents to be new seal-
 “ ed, and the said Collection to proceed accord-
 “ ing to the Archbishop’s first Desires and Pro-
 “ position made in that Behalf.” But it may
 perhaps be said, that notwithstanding all these
 Declarations made by the *Calvinists* in the Behalf
 of the *Parity of Ministers*, yet there is an *Imparity*
 amongst them, for they have their *Superintendents*,
 which is but another Name for *Bishops*, as appears
 from the *French Confession*, (b) where they say,
We believe that it is expedient that they who be chosen
 SUPERINTENDENTS in the Church, should wisely con-
 sult among themselves by what means the whole Body
 may conveniently be ruled. By which it appears
 that these *Superintendents* are Persons bearing a
 chief Rule in their pretended Churches, so that
 one would be very ready to take them for some-
 thing more than their *ordinary Pastors*, and yet in
 Truth they mean no other, as they have them-
 selves taken care to inform us in their National
 Synod of *Gap*; (c) where they say, the Word Su-
 perintendent in the *Two and Thirtieth Article*, is
 not to be understood of ANY SUPERIORITY OF ONE
 PASTOR ABOVE ANOTHER, but only in general of
 such as have Office and Charge in the Church, that
 is, either *Pastor*, *Elder*, or *Deacon*. So that the
 Word, in their Sense of it, is so far from signify-
 ing something more than a common *Pastor*, that
 it is only used by them as a common Denomina-
 tion for all that they call *Church Officers*. And so
 tender are they of their beloved *Parity*, that they
 take it as an high Affront for any of our *Divines*
 to write against it. Thus because *Dr. Sutcliffe*
Dean of Exeter, and *Adrian Saravia* then a Pre-

(b) Art. 32. (c) *Quirk’s Synod*. p. 227.

bendary of *Canterbury*, wrote some learned Tracts in Defense of Episcopacy, and took occasion to shew that *Parity of Ministers* was no Institution of *Christ*, they thought proper not to order an Answer to be written against what they had advanced, which no Body would have blamed them for, if they could have done it; but to remonstrate against them to their Sovereign, and (d) in their National Synod at *Montpelier* 1598 they ordered; that *Letters shall be written to my Lord the Ambassador of England, and to Monsieur de la Fountaine, Minister of the French Church in London, to inform them of those injurious Writings published against our Churches by Sutcliffe and Saravia, and they be desired to apply themselves to the Queen, that such Writings may not be printed.* Thus could they publish *Articles* in their *Confession of Faith* directly opposite to the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, and confirm them in every National Synod; and suppose that the Church of *England* was obliged to take no Notice of it. And when our Divines saw it necessary to vindicate our own Doctrine and Government against their *novel Articles of Faith*, which they could not well do without some Reflections on those Articles which were so contrary to it, they had the Modesty to think that our Sovereign, and the *Defender of our Faith*, was obliged to support theirs in Opposition to it: And to suppress those Books which were written in Defense of our own Church, because they were not agreeable to the *strange Conceits* (as Bishop *Carleton* calls them) which were put into their *Confession*. But it does not appear that our Queen took any Notice of their Remonstrance. However, they were suffi-

(d) *Quick's Synod*, p. 203.

ciently revenged of the Church of *England*, for all that *Sutcliffe*, or *Saravia*, or any else of that Communion, had written against them, by taking care to spread their *Calvinistical* Notions in this Land to such a degree as to raise a Party amongst our selves, which at once overturned both Church and State. And yet some Men amongst us are still so modest as to think the Church of *England* ought to lay aside the Doctrine of the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, and the *Necessity of an Episcopal Commission for the valid Administration of the Sacraments*, purely to gratify this Party, and the Foreign Reformed, from whom this Party borrowed their Notions, and by whom they have been from time to time supported and abetted. And those who refuse to part with these *Divine Truths* (as I trust I have proved them to be) are by these Men accounted uncharitable. But surely Charity can never oblige us to part with *Divine Truths*, and embrace the contrary Errors: And it is certainly much more charitable to shew Men their Errors, when we see Men embrace such as are dangerous, as this certainly is, than to sooth them in that Error, and make them believe that they are right, when we so certainly know and see that they are wrong. But it is said, that at this rate we *unchurch all the Foreign Reformed Churches*. But we answer, that *we neither do, nor can unchurch them*: Yet if they have unchurched themselves, by shutting themselves out of the Corporation erected by *Christ*, under the Government of his *Apostles*, and the *Bishops* their Successors, and erecting a new Corporation according to their own Fancies under the Government of an upstart Set of *Pastors* or *Ministers*, who had no original Authority derived to them by a successive Ordination from the *Apostles*, but assumed and usurped this Authority

thority upon an inward enthusiastical Vocation, we cannot but think it the highest Charity to endeavour to make them sensible of this fatal Error, which may be of such dangerous Consequence to them. And tho' according to the Example of Archbishop *Laud* before mentioned, we are and shall always be ready to help and relieve them in any Distress, yet we cannot think them of the same Religion with our selves, nor hold a religious Communion with them. Neither can we excuse their want of *Bishops* upon the Plea of *Necessity*, when we see that they make it an *Article of Faith*, that the Church ought to have no *Bishops*, that is, no *Ministers* or *Pastors*, of which one is superior to another. Tho' even the Plea of *Necessity* would not excuse them in the pretended Ministry of the Sacraments. For if they could have none with an *Episcopal Commission* to minister them, they ought to bear the want of the Sacraments with Patience, till God should vouchsafe to send them *Bishops* or *Episcopal Priests* with Authority to minister them. And God did vouchsafe to send both the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* such *Bishops* and *Episcopal Presbyters*, as I have already shewed: But they neither of them had any Regard to the *Episcopal Commission*, but the *Lutheran Presbyters* took upon them, in direct Opposition to Scripture and Antiquity, to ordain others, whom they also called *Pastors* or *Presbyters*: And the *Calvinists*, without any manner of Regard to a Succession either of *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, set up a new Order of Men, whom they called *Pastors* or *Ministers*, not deriving their Authority from any that went before them, but taking it up of their own Heads by an inward enthusiastical Motion, which they called an *extraordinary Vocation*. But such an *extraordinary*

Vocation

Vocation may any one have that has Impudence enough to pretend to it.

§ XLIX. But some may say, that those who have pleaded most strenuously for *Episcopacy* before the Restoration of King *Charles II.* tho' they have argued for it as of *Divine Right*, yet have not made it *necessary to the Being of a Church*, as we do now, and have expressly disclaimed that Notion, and particularly (e) in the *Remonstrants Defense*, supposed to be written by Bishop *Hall* 1641, where it is said; that by *DIVINE RIGHT* is not to be understood an express Law of God requiring *Episcopacy*, as of *ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO THE BEING OF A CHURCH*, but an Institution of the *Apostles*, inspired by the *Holy Ghost*, WARRANTING IT WHERE IT IS, AND REQUIRING IT WHERE IT MAY BE HAD. Now this Distinction was plainly made for fear of giving Offence to the Foreign Reformed, who, it was generally supposed, could not have it. But when rightly weighed and considered, is in Truth no Distinction at all, as is very well observed by the (f) *Smečtynnuans* in their *Vindication of their Answer to the humble Remonstrance*, where they say, "If not requiring it to the Being of a Church, how then? Requiring it only where it may be had: What a strange Limitation is this? Where is it that Episcopacy may not, must not be had, if it be an Ordinance of Christ? Where is it that the Churches of Christ may not have Word, Sacraments, Pastors and Bishops too, if they be his Ordinance? It is true indeed, some there are that cannot have Lord Bishops, pompous Bishops, and once a Canon provides that they

(e) Page 55. (f) Page 75, 76.

“ should

“ should not be in little Villages, *Ne vilesceret*
 “ *honus Episcopatus*; but these himself acknow-
 “ ledgeth are *but the Accessaries of Episcopacy by*
 “ *the Donation of magnificent Princes*. But what is
 “ the meaning of this, *where it may be had*? What
 “ does he mean, where it may be had with the
 “ Favour of the Prince? Then the Primitive
 “ Church had never had any. Or where it may
 “ be had with the willing Subjection of the Peo-
 “ ple? Then Episcopacy shall be an Ordinance,
 “ if the People will have it so. *Where it may be*
 “ *had*; What? with Quiet and Conveniency?
 “ Then you make that which you call an Ordi-
 “ nance of God subject to Man’s Convenience.
 “ Or what? with Possibility? requiring that
 “ where Episcopacy may be had possibly, it
 “ should? What is this less than a Command?”

So that in Truth they said as much as we say
 now, only they were willing to have made a Dis-
 tinction if they could for the sake of the Reformed
 abroad, but it was a Distinction we see
 would not hold, except we would make an Or-
 dinance of God subject to the Will of the Prince,
 or the Humours of the People, or the Conveni-
 ence of particular Men, who wanted to get the
 Revenues of Bishopricks into their own Hands,
 and could have no Pretence to do so without
 casting off *Episcopacy* it self. For if the Bishop of
Geneva, or the Bishops of *Germany* and the *Ne-*
therlands, had been possessed of no Lordships or
 Lands, they might have continued unmolested to
 this Day, and we had been troubled with no
 Disputes concerning the Divine Institution of
Episcopacy. But the chief Business of the first
 Temporal Princes and Magistrates that favoured
 the *Reformation*, was to get all the Revenues of
 the Church into their own Hands, and to enrich
 themselves with the Spoils of the *Priests*. Which

was a very great Hindrance to the Progress of the *Reformation*, and put the Clergy of that Age, who were before inclinable enough to bring about a *real Reformation* of corrupt Doctrines and Abuses, upon making a Stand, where they had Power to do so, and come to a Resolution of reforming nothing.

§ L. However, God be praised, here in *England* the King and his Courtiers were contented with the Abbey Lands, and some of the best Mannors of the Bishopricks, at least God thought fit to put a Stop to that Avarice which for many Years seemed insatiable, so that most of the Bishops Sees had a pretty tolerable Maintenance left them: And our *Reformation* was effected, tho' not without *Sacrilege*, yet with a less Degree of it than in other Places. By which means Episcopacy has been still preserved amongst us, tho' not without great Opposition from powerful Parties, who once prevailed so far as seemingly to have utterly extirpated it Root and Branch, but by God's Providence it revived again, and is still continued amongst us, and we trust that by God's Blessing and Providence it will continue to the End of the World, unless our great Wickedness should provoke God to give us up as a Prey to the Adversary, and remove our Candlestick out of its place, as he has done to many once flourishing Churches.

§ LI. But being now returned again to the *Episcopacy* of the Church of *England*, it is convenient that I say somewhat in Answer to the Objections made against it by the *Calvinists* or *Presbyterians*, and the numerous Sects sprung from them on the one hand, and the *Papists* on the other: Both these charge us with the want of

an *Apostolical Succession* of *Bishops*, and consequently of *Priests* and *Deacons*, but upon different *Topics*. The former charge us with a Breach in our *Succession*, because our first *Bishops* derived their *Orders* from the corrupt Church of *Rome*, which being an *Apostate*, *Antichristian* Church, can have no *true Bishops* or *Pastors* in it; therefore *Orders* derived from them must want the *Apostolical Succession*, because they are fallen from the *Apostolical Doctrine and Faith*. And in the next place they say, that even in the Church of *Rome* the *Succession* cannot be traced up to the *Apostles*, because they are not yet agreed amongst themselves who was the first *Bishop* of *Rome* after the *Apostles*: And besides there have been frequent *Schisms* and *Anti-Popes* in that Church, which have entirely broke the *Succession* there. On the other side the *Papists* tell us, that we cannot derive our *Succession* from them, because we do not ordain according to their *Form of Ordination*. And in the next place, that *Parker*, our first *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* under *Queen Elizabeth*, from whom all our *Ordinations* have been since derived, was not consecrated by *Bishops*: But such as were at most but meer *Fresbyters*. To these *Objections* I think it proper to shew what *Answers* have been returned, which I cannot but think are such as must satisfy all unprejudiced *Persons*.

§ LII. Now as to the first *Objection*, we say, that the Church of *Rome*, tho' it be not a *right* or *sound* Church, is nevertheless a *true* Church, as a *Man* is a *true* *Man*, tho' his *Soul* be corrupted with *Vice*, and his *Body* with loathsome *Diseases*, yet he cannot be called a *right sound* *Man*; however, so long as he had a *Body* and *Soul* united, no *Body* could deny him to be a *Man*, nor would

any one deny his Descendants to be so: And tho' a sound and virtuous Son descended from such a Father would have no great occasion to be proud of his Birth, yet he must acknowledge that he received his Human Nature from him, tho' his Health, Strength, and Virtue, were otherwise acquired: And being become a sound Man both in Body and Soul, he might judge it expedient to avoid the Company of such a Father, for fear of Infection. The *Jewish Church*, tho' frequently infected with Idolatry, and over-run with Corruption, yet never ceased to be a Church so long as that Oeconomy continued; and those good *Priests*, who at several times joined with the religious Kings of that Nation, to reform the idolatrous Corruptions and Abuses which were brought into it, derived their Succession in the Priesthood from idolatrous Fathers, yet this was never thought to have invalidated their Succession. Those who could derive their Pedigree from *Aaron*, how wicked or idolatrous soever any of their immediate or remoter Ancestors had been, were nevertheless the true, proper, and only Priests they either had or could have. And tho' God frequently raised up Prophets, Men divinely inspired, to threaten them for their Idolatry, and other Sins, and to exhort them to Repentance, yet he never raised a new *Priesthood*, nor authorized any other, beside the Sons of *Aaron*, to cleanse either the Tabernacle or Temple, or to come near to him to offer the Sacrifices prescribed by the Law. Their Idolatry, and other Corruptions, did not divest them of the *Priesthood*, nor make any Breach in the Succession of it, but only made their Sacrifices and other Offerings unacceptable, till those Corruptions were reformed and cut off. So we say, that the Idolatry and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*,
tho'

tho' they have made their Worship abominable, and therefore unacceptable to God, yet for as much as they have a Succession of the *Christian* Priesthood derived from *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and receive the holy Scriptures as a Rule of Faith, tho' but as a partial or imperfect Rule, and both the Sacraments as instrumental Causes and Seals of Grace, tho' they add more, and misuse these, cannot but be a *true Church in Essence*, and their *Priests* true *Priests*, and as capable of conveying that Character to others after them, as the *idolatrous Priests* among the *Jews* could and did convey it to their Successors, altho' it would be unlawful to communicate with them till they forsook their Idolatry. Besides the very Word *Reformation* (which all *Protestants*, of what Denomination soever, have applied to their own Communion, especially the *Calvinists* (the first Starters of this Objection, and the first that renounced the Derivation of Orders from the Church of *Rome*) who call themselves *the Reformed* by way of Eminence) obliges us to acknowledge the Church of *Rome* for a *true Church*. For that is what we say that we have reformed. And could we reform that which is not? We did not pretend to erect a *new Church*, but only to *reform*, that is, correct and amend the *old one*, which we found by Length of Time to have been overspread with Errors and Abuses; those we justly cast off, but we pretended to cast off no more. And therefore as the Succession of Pastors in the Three Orders of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, was no Corruption, but an Institution of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as I have before proved, we judged it as necessary to preserve that Succession as any thing else. It is true, Abuses had crept into the Manner of conferring those Orders, yet for as much as the essential Parts remained in their

Form of Ordination, we only lopped off the superstitious Adjuncts, not thinking our selves any more obliged to reject the Orders themselves for the Sake of those Corruptions, than to reject the Word and Sacraments because they had corrupted them also.

§ LIII. The next Objection which relates to the Certainty of the *Roman Succession*, will be as easily answered. They tell us first, that we have no Certainty of the Beginning of this Succession from the *Apostles*. It is pretended that *St. Peter* was the Founder of that Church, and the first *Bishop* of it, and yet learned Men have taken upon them to prove that Apostle never was at *Rome*. Then as to his Successor there is as little Certainty, for some say it was *Linus*, some *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, and others *Clemens*, and the most learned in this Kind of Knowledge are not agreed which was the Man, or how to reconcile the Difference. But we say, that whether *St. Peter* was ever at *Rome* or not, it is certain *St. Paul* was there, the Scripture as well as Ecclesiastical History is very clear in that Point. And I have already proved that it was *St. Paul's* Practice, where he had converted and settled a Church, not only to ordain *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, to assist him in the Ministry, but also a little before his final Departure from any Place, to settle a *Bishop* there, to guide and govern those *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in his Stead, or as Successors to him, and that thus he placed *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, and *Titus* at *Crete*; and therefore if we could not directly say who was the first Bishop of *Rome* after the *Apostles*, yet since *St. Paul* was one of the Founders of that Church, we have no reason to question but there was a Bishop fixed there by him or some other Apostle. We do not know
who

who was the first Bishop of any of the Seven Churches of *Asia*, except *Ephesus*. But shall we therefore question whether every one of them had a *Bishop* set over them by some of the Apostles? We cannot do it, being assured by St. *John* that they every one had their *Bishop*, whom he calls the *Angel* of the Church, when he wrote his *Revelations*. And yet we know not their Names. Besides, there is no manner of *reason* to question even St. *Peter's* being at *Rome*, and being Co-founder of the Church there with St. *Paul*. For tho' (as Dr. *Cave* has well observed in his *Life* of St. *Peter*) the Stories which the *Romanists* tell, of his sitting there 25 Years as *Bishop* before his Martyrdom, hang upon a very weak Foundation, and are by no means to be proved by any good Authorities of Antiquity, yet that he and St. *Paul* both joined in laying the Foundations of that Church, and suffered Martyrdom together at that Place, is so fully attested by the ancient Fathers, as to render it undeniable. And as to the Succession, whatever Pains has been taken to puzzle that Cause, it is neither dark nor uncertain. (g) For *Irenæus*, who was Bishop of *Lions* in *France*, and flourished not above an Hundred Years after the Martyrdom of those Apostles at *Rome*, tells us, that they made *Linus* Bishop there, to whom succeeded *Anacletus*, and to him *Clemens*, after him *Euaristus*, then *Alexander*, *Sixtus*, *Telesphorus*, *Hyginus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, and then *Eleutherius*, who was living when *Irenæus* wrote his Book, and was the Twelfth from the Apostles. Now *Irenæus* undoubtedly had his Information from the Church of *Rome*, with which he held a constant Correspondence and Communion,

(g) *Iren. advers. Hæres. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

and they could not but as easily know who had been their Bishops from the Martyrdom of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* to that Time, which was but an Hundred Years after, as we may know who have been our Archbishops of *Canterbury* from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth* to this Time, which is now above 150 Years since. And I believe he would be thought very impudent, and an intolerable Sceptick, not fit to be disputed with, who should pretend to say, that we know not who have been our Archbishops from that Time to this: That we are not certain that *Parker* was the first Archbishop in that Reign, that he was succeeded by *Grindal*, then *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, *Abbot*, *Laud*, &c. And yet we may as well question our having the Certainty of this Succession, which is half as long again for the Time, as we can question *Eleutherius's* not knowing the Certainty of his Succession from the *Apostle*, and who were the *Bishops* that preceded him. And *Irenaus*, who held Communion and Correspondence with him, could not but know from him how this Succession had proceeded. So that he had certainly as fair an Opportunity of knowing the Truth of this Matter as can be desired: And he durst not give a false Account of it in a controversial Writing against the *Hereticks* of that Age, who would have exposed him sufficiently for such a Falsification. Since then *Irenaus* could not but know who were the first *Bishops* of *Rome*, and who it was that made them so, and since his own Cause and Interest obliged him to declare the Truth, and nothing but the Truth in this Matter, we have no reason to doubt but that the Account he has given is right and just, and to acquiesce in his Testimony, notwithstanding the pretended Difficulties which some modern

dern Authors say they have found in this Succession.

§ LIV. As to the other part of this Objection, drawn from the diverse *Schisms* in that Church, made by *Anti-Popes*, who have been set up one against another, they are nothing at all to the purpose to prove a Breach of the Succession there; those *Anti-Popes* were *Episcopally ordained*, and consequently had the *Episcopal Character* no less than the true *Popes*: And therefore were as capable of conveying the Character, and continuing the Succession, as if there had been no *Schism*. For this was the Practice of the ancient Catholick Church with regard to the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, or other *Schismatics* or *Hereticks*, who had preserved the *Episcopal Succession* amongst them. Upon their renouncing their *Schism*, and being admitted into Catholick Communion, they were allowed to hold the same Station in the Church which they before held in the *Schism*. He that was a *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon*, amongst the *Novatians*, or *Donatists*, or *Arians*, was allowed to be of the same Order amongst the *Catholicks*, upon his Renunciation of his *Heresy* or *Schism*, without any Re-ordination. Since therefore these *Heresies* and *Schisms* did not break the *Episcopal Succession* in the Primitive Church, neither have the *Schisms* made by *Anti-Popes* in the later Ages of the *Roman Church* broke this Succession. So that this Objection is of no Weight at all. And yet as trifling as it is, it has been taken up and made use of by some who pretend to be Presbyters of the Church of *England*, and Friends to *Episcopacy*: Tho' at the same time they maintain and defend not only the *Presbyterian Ordination* of the *Lutherans*, but the enthusiastical *Lay Ordinations* of the *Calvinists*: whereas both these Kinds
of

of Ordination were condemned as null by the Primitive Church. We have an Instance of each of these pretended Ordinations about the Time of the Council of *Nice*. That which concerns *Presbyterian Ordinations* is the known Case of *Ischyras*, (b) who with several others (as *Athanasius* tells us) were ordained by *Colluthus* a *Presbyter*, but the Ordination was declared null by the Church, and they were all looked upon as *meer Lay-men*, and treated as such. (i) And *Socrates* says of this *Ischyras*, who by virtue of this pretended Ordination took upon him to act as a *Presbyter*, that he *deserved many Deaths* for it. And as to the Case of *enthusiastical Lay Ordination*, whereby the *Episcopál Succession* was apparently broke, we have an Instance how the Church dealt with such Persons in the Council of *Nice* it self, (k) where they decree, that the *Paulianists* returning to the *Catholick Church*, be re-baptized; and that they who were of their Clergy, if they be under no *Blemish*, be ordained by the *Bishops* of the *Catholick Church*, after they have first been re-baptized. So that it is evident that great Council looked upon the *Baptism* and *Orders* of the *Paulianists* to be both entirely null and void. *Balsamon* in his Comment upon this Canon tells us, that these *Paulianists* were a *Sect* of the *Manichees*. Now the *Manichees*, (l) as we learn from *Epiphanius*, had no *Succession* of Clergy from the *Catholick Church*, as the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, *Arians*, &c. but *Manes*, the *Founder* of the *Sect*, set himself up for an *Apostle*, and pretended to an extraordinary Call, such as *Calvin* and his first Collegues pretended to when they took upon them to

(b) *Athanas.* *Apol.* 2. (i) *Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 27.*
 (k) *Can.* 19. (l) *Hæres.* 66.

execute the Priestly Functions. Therefore our Church very justly, and agreeable to the Practice of the Primitive Church, rejects the pretended Ordinations by *Presbyters*, or by *Enthusiasts*, and for that reason admits not either *Calvinists* or *Lutherans*, or any Anti-Episcopal Sectaries, to be received as *Presbyters* in the Church of *England*, till they have been regularly ordained by a *Bishop*: Because there neither were nor can be any such Ordinations derived from *Christ* and his *Apostles*. But the Orders of the Church of *Rome* (being Episcopal, and derived by an indisputable Succession from *Christ* and his *Apostles*, which Succession the *Nicene* Fathers (as I have shewed in the Case of the *Novatians*) did not suppose to be broken by *Schism*) we acknowledge as valid, and consequently our own Orders, as they are derived from them.

§ LV. To the first Objection of the *Romanists* concerning our *Form of Ordination*, which they pretend is defective in some *essential Points*, we answer, that we know of *no such Defect*. (m) For whereas they tell us, that it is essential to the Office of a *Priest* to receive Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate *Masses* as well for the *Quick* as for the *Dead* in the Name of the Lord; but that we neither use these Words, nor any equivalent to them, in the Ordination of a *Priest*: We say, that these Words of the *Roman Ordinal* cannot be essential to the Ordination of a *Priest*, because they are but of a late Date, neither are they, or Words equivalent to them, to be found in any of the Primitive Forms of Ordination. That the Scripture does not tell us what Form of

(m) Mason de Minister. Anglican. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Words the Apostles used on this Occasion; all that we learn from thence is, that *Presbyters* were ordained by them by *Prayer and Imposition of Hands*. But what particular Words were used in those Prayers the Scripture tells us not. Neither have we any greater Light from the Three first Centuries to the Time of the Council of *Nice*. We do indeed frequently meet with the Ordination of *Priests*, and other Clergy, and find they were always ordained by the *Bishop*, but as to the Form or Manner of Ordaining we have no Account, other than that Hands were laid upon them, as was done by the Apostles, and Prayers made signifying to what Office they were appointed. From whence we infer, that *Prayer and Imposition of Hands* is all that is essential to Ordination: And therefore conclude, that whosoever receives *Imposition of Hands* from a *Bishop*, with a Prayer denoting that the *Bishop* does by that *Imposition of Hands* appoint him to execute the *Priest's Office* in the Church of Christ, is thereby made a *Priest*, whatever the particular Words may be: And the same we say with regard to the Ordination of a *Bishop* or a *Deacon*. Now this *Prayer and Imposition of Hands* is appointed in our Ordinal to be used in every Ordination. Thus in the Form for ordering *Deacons* there is this Prayer, *Almighty God, which by thy Divine Providence hast appointed diverse Orders of Ministers in the Church, and didst inspire thy holy Apostles to chuse into this Order of Deacons the first Martyr St. Stephen, with other: MERCIFULLY BEHOLD THESE THY SERVANTS NOW CALLED TO THE LIKE OFFICE AND ADMINISTRATION, &c.* Then after having examined and instructed them in the Nature of that Office, the *Bishop* lays his Hand severally upon the Head of every one of them, and says, *Take thou Authority to execute the*

Office

Office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee: In the Name of the Father, &c. In the Ordination of Priests the Prayer runs thus: Almighty God, Giver of all good Things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse Orders of Ministers in thy Church, MERCIFULLY BEHOLD THESE THY SERVANTS NOW CALLED TO THE OFFICE OF PRIESTHOOD, &c. Then after proper Instruction and Examination in the Nature of his Office, the Bishop, together with the Presbyters that are present, lay their Hands upon him, and the Bishop says, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands. Whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of his holy Sacraments: In the Name of the Father, &c. At the Consecration of a Bishop the Prayer is: Almighty God, Giver of all good Things, who by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed diverse Orders of Ministers in thy Church; MERCIFULLY BEHOLD THIS THY SERVANT NOW CALLED TO THE WORK AND MINISTRY OF A BISHOP, &c. Then after a proper Examination, the Archbishop and Bishops present lay their Hands upon his Head, saying, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed to 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 the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Soberness. Thus are the several Orders of the Clergy amongst us set apart or ordained to their several Offices by Imposition of Hands and Prayer, which is all that we find to have been practised by the holy Apostles in the

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Scripture, or by the Fathers of the truly Primitive Church on this Occasion, and these Ordinations are made by the *Bishop* or *Bishops*: That is, every *Priest* and *Deacon* is ordained by *one Bishop*, and every *Bishop* is consecrated by *Three Bishops* at least, according to the first and second Apostolical Canons. So that there is nothing *essential* to *Ordination* but what is contained in our Ordinal, and practised in our Church. Whereas therefore it is objected by the *Romanists*, that our *Priests* have no Authority given them to offer *Sacrifice*, and for that reason they are no *proper Priests*: We answer, that they have Authority given them to execute all the Functions of the *Christian Priesthood*; and consequently to offer the *Christian Sacrifice*. The *Representative Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist*, which is one of the *Sacraments*, acknowledged by us as such, they expressly receive Power to offer, since the *Bishop*, while his Hand is laid upon any one of them, bids him be a *faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of the Sacraments*. But for the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, as offered in the Church of *Rome*, as the individual Body and Blood of *Christ* broken and shed upon the Cross, we detest and abominate it, as a scandalous Corruption of his holy Institution. If it be said, that in our *first Ordinal*, which was used in this Church from the first Reformation of the Book of Ordination, till after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* those Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest or of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the Imposition of our Hands*, were not used, consequently those who were then ordained, could not be *proper Bishops* or *Priests*, since when Hands were imposed upon them, there was not so much as a Declaration made of the Order they were ordained to, which was certainly

tainly an *essential Omission*, for *Imposition of Hands and Prayer* were and may be used on other Occasions besides *Ordination*, as for *Confirmation* and *Penance*, and therefore if they are not distinguished by the Words used on those several Occasions, we cannot know for which of these Purposes Hands were imposed. There being then such an *essential Omission* in the *first Ordinal* of our Church, tho' it be now rectified, yet we can have no true Succession of *Bishops* and *Priests*, because we derive our present Ordinations from those who were ordained by the *former Ordinal*. To this we answer, that tho' the Words *Bishop* and *Priest* were not used in that Ordinal at the very time Hands were imposed, yet they were used in the Prayer I have cited, which was the same then as now. Which alone would have been a sufficient Declaration of the End or Purpose for which Hands were then imposed. Besides, then, as well as now, when *Priests* were to be ordained, the *Archdeacon* presented them with these Words, *Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these Persons present, to be admitted to the Order of PRIESTHOOD*. And when a *Bishop* was to be consecrated, Two *Bishops* presented him to the *Archbishop*, saying, *Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this godly and well learned Man to be consecrated BISHOP*. Then the *Bishop* also, in his Exhortation to those that were to be ordained *Priests*, said to them, *We exhort you in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to have in remembrance unto how high a Dignity, and to how chargeable an Office ye be called, that is to say, THE MESSENGERS, THE WATCHMEN, THE PASTORS, AND THE STEWARDS of the Lord, &c.* Then he asked them, *Do you think in your Heart that you be truly called, according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Order of this Church of England, to the Ministry*

of

of the PRIESTHOOD? So in the Consecration of a *Bishop*, the Person to be ordained having been expressly presented to be consecrated a *Bishop*, the Archbishop asked him, saying, *Are you persuaded that you be truly called to THIS MINISTRATION, according to the Will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Order of this Realm?* So that whatever Words were used when Hands were imposed upon them, here is a sufficient Declaration and Testimony of the End and Design for which they were imposed: That it was to ordain them *Priests* or *Bishops*, according to the Presentation; Prayer, and Examination then used. But after all, the Words then used whilst Hands were laid on, tho' not so express and full as they are now, were sufficient to declare the End and Purpose for which Hands were then imposed. For in the Ordination of *Priests* it was then said, *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven: And whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of his holy Sacraments: In the Name of the Father, &c.* Now what is a *Christian Priest*, but one who has received Authority to forgive Sins by the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments? He therefore who has this Authority committed to him, is a proper *Christian Priest*, and this Authority was committed to every *Priest* of the Church of *England* who was ordained according to our *first Ordinal*. So also when Hands were then imposed upon a Man to consecrate him a *Bishop*, the Words used on that Occasion, and at the very Time that he had all the present *Bishops* Hands upon his Head, were, *Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is in thee by Imposition of Hands: For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Soberness.* Now these being the Words spoken

ken by St. Paul to (n) Timothy, plainly denoted the Person on whom Hands were then imposed, to be ordained to the Grace and Office to which Timothy was ordained by St. Paul, that is, the Office of a Bishop. So that altho' the express Terms Priest and Bishop were not used in the Ordinal of this Church before the Restoration of King Charles II. at the same Instant of Time that Hands were imposed, as they are at this time; yet in the *Presentation, Prayers, and Exhortation* or *Examination*, they are expressly declared to be called to those Offices, and whilst Hands are laid upon them, such Words were spoken as evidently declared the Nature of the Office to which he was then ordained. So that unless the *Romanists* could prove that the particular Words used in their Ordinal are *essential* to a true valid Ordination, which I am confident they will never be able to do, such Persons as have been ordained either according to our former or present Ordinal, must be allowed to have been truly and validly ordained. For they have all been ordained by *Prayer and Imposition of Hands, and in such a Form of Words as plainly denoted the Office unto which they were called, and by Bishops also*, which is all that can be proved by Scripture, or the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be essential to Ordination. And therefore tho' we were *Hereticks* or *Schismatics* (as they say we are) yet I do not see that the *Romanists* ought to reject our *Ordinations*, having been thus regularly continued amongst us in all essential Points, since they allow, as well as we, that *Orders* no less than *Baptism* given in *Heresy* or *Schism*, are *not to be repeated, but to be esteemed as true and valid*. I shall therefore

(n) 2 Tim. i. 6, 7.

now proceed to their other Objection, which is this.

§ LVI. They tell us, that *admitting our Ordinal for good, yet they cannot admit our Orders, because that Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth, from whom our Orders have been ever since derived, was not ordained by Bishops.* (o) For they say, that *all the Bishops in England being then ejected, except Anthony Kitchin Bishop of Landaff, he, thro' Bonner's Threatning, would not be prevailed with to consecrate the Protestant Divines. Having therefore no other Means to compass their Desires, they resolved to use Mr. Scory's Help, an Apostate Religious Priest: who having born the Name of Bishop in King Edward Vith's Time, was thought to have sufficient Power to perform that Office, especially in such a strait Necessity as they pretended, which he performed in this sort. Having the Bible in his Hand, and they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their Heads or Shoulders, saying, Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God sincerely. And so they rose up Bishops of the new Church of England. Thus Champney's, and others of that sort. Neither was this done in any Church, Chapel, or Oratory (as they that invented the Story tell us) but at the Nags-Head Tavern in Cheapside.* (p) But this Tale came so late into the World, that Sanders, and all the other Writers of the Romish Communion in Queen Elizabeth's Time never heard of it: for it is certain that if they had they would not have concealed it. It is said to have come from one Neal, who was

(o) *Strype's Life of A. B. Parker, p 59.*

(p) *Burnei's Hist. Reform. Vol. 2. p. 374. Edit. 4.*

Bonner's Chaplain, who peeped thro' the Key-hole and saw it. But it was not discovered to the World till long after *Neal's* Death. So that there is not so much as his Testimony for it. The only Ground upon which this senseless Story seems to be founded, I mean as to their pitching upon the *Nags-Head* Tavern in *Cheapside* for the Scene of this pretended Mock Consecration, is, that (q) when the Ceremony of Confirmation, which was made in *Bow-Church*, was over, the Vicar General, the Dean of the *Arches*, and the other Officers of that Court, were entertained at that Tavern. But, as Bishop *Burnet* observes, there was not a Word said of this Matter by the *Romanists* till above Forty Years after: But when it might be presumed that all those were dead that had been present at *Parker's* Consecration, then was the time to invent such a Story: For then it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen Bishops go from *Bow-Church* to Dine at that Tavern, as some have done after their Confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of their *Nags-Head* Consecration? But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembered the contrary. The Old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been at the Consecration, declared it was at *Lambeth*, and described all the Circumstances of it, and satisfied all reasonable Men that it was according to the Form of the Church of *England*. The Registers both of the See of *Canterbury* and of the Records of the Crown do both fully agree with this Relation. For as *Parker's* *Conge d'Elire*, with the Queen's Assent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Consecration,

(q) *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 460, 461.

wherein the Bishops appointed to consecrate him are particularly named, are all under the Great Seal; so upon the Certificate made by those who consecrated him, the Temporalities were restored by another Warrant also enrolled; which was to be shewed in the House of Lords when he took his Place there. Besides that, the Consecrations of all the other Bishops made by him, which appear also from the same Registers and Records, shew that he was consecrated alone, without any other; whereas their *Nags-Head Fable* makes *Parker*, and the rest of the new Bishops, to have received a Mock Consecration all together. Now can such a plain Fable, which never had any living Testimony to vouch it when it was divulged, and is founded only on a hear-say Story of a Man's peeping thro' a Crevise of a Door or Wall, that was never openly spoke of either here or elsewhere till Forty Years after the pretended Fact, be sufficient in any degree to invalidate the Evidence of so many authentick Registers and Records? He that can believe this, may believe any thing, tho' never so false and incredible. And the Truth is, I should not have thought it worth my Notice, but that I find not only some weak People amongst the *Papists*, hearing it so positively told by their Priests, have been induced to believe it; but because, notwithstanding it has been so fully refuted from the Registers and Records before mentioned, by *Mason*, and Bishop *Bramhall* Lord Primate of *Ireland* long ago, and since by Bishop *Burnet*, and Mr. *Strype*, yet not only their common People seem still to believe it, but some of their Men of Learning, and who have lately wrote against the Church of *England*, have not been ashamed to give broad Hints as if this Story had not yet been cleared. Thus the Author of the *Case re-stated*, in Answer to Mr.

Lestly's

Lesly's Case stated between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, printed 1713, (r) tells us, that he has a learned Friend, who in a short time will publish an unanswerable Dissertation upon the Nullity of our Ordinations. And the Author of a more learned and judicious Answer to that Book of Mr. Lesly's, which is entituled, The true Church of Christ shewed by concurrent Testimonies of Scripture and Primitive Tradition, printed 1714, says, (s) that we have not yet proved even the VALIDITY OF OUR FIRST ORDINATIONS. It is true, neither of these does directly trump up the Nags-Head Fable, they were ashamed to do that in express Words, but that they meant that, or something to the same purpose, is evident from what the latter of these Authors tells us afterwards. (t) It was, says he, no small Mortification to the first Reformers, that if they had any Orders at all, they must have them from the Church of Rome, which they deserted. This made it convenient to deny the Necessity of Ordination. And Cranmer, in a Piece produced by Dr. Burnet, maintained before an Assembly of Bishops, that the King's Election and Nomination only, without any other Ceremony, was sufficient to make both Priests and Bishops. AND 'TIS WELL IF THIS Opinion was not practised upon Parker and others. So that he plainly intimates, as if he thought, or at least would have the World believe so, that Archbishop Parker and his Collegues had only a Lay Ordination or Appointment to their Office; which whether made at the Nags-Head or elsewhere, is the same thing.

§ LVII. And here I cannot but observe the Ingenuity of this Gentleman, in making such a

(r) p. 31. (s) p. 32. (t) p. 33.

partial Quotation from Bishop *Burnet's* History. For tho' it does indeed appear there that *Cranmer* did deny *the Necessity of Ordination*, as I have also before observed, yet Bishop (u) *Burnet* shews in the same place, that *this, and some others, were singular Opinions of his, and were not established as the Doctrines of the Church, but laid aside as particular Conceits of his own. And that he himself afterwards upon debating the Matter, changed his Opinion, and subscribed a Book, soon after published, which is directly contrary to his Opinion set down in the Papers before subscribed by him. And whatever Cranmer's private Opinion might be in this Case, I have shewed that it neither had Influence on the Doctrine or Practice of this Church. For the Time when Cranmer denied the Necessity of Ordination was about the Year 1539, after which the Bishops of this Realm continued to be regularly nominated, elected, and consecrated, as before. Thus not long after these Debates about the Necessity of Ordination, (w) April 4, 1540, Edmond Bonner was consecrated Bishop of London, and Nicolas Heath Bishop of Rochester, by Stephen Bishop of Winton, Richard Bishop of Chichester, Robert Bishop of St. Asaph, and John Bishop of Hereford, by virtue of commissional Letters from Archbishop Cranmer. And the same Year also, December 29, Thomas Thirlby was consecrated the first and only Bishop of Westminster, by Edmund Bishop of London, Nicolas Bishop of Rochester, and John Suffragan of Bedford, by virtue also of commissional Letters from Archbishop Cranmer, as appears from our Registers. Now the Consecration of these Three was never questioned by the Roma-*

(u) Hist. of Reform. p 276, 4th. Edit.

(w) *Styve's* Memor. of A. B. *Cranmer*, p. 90.

nists, notwithstanding King *Henry VIII.* had long before this cast off the Pope's Power in this Realm, and all the Bishops in *England*, as well the Consecrators as the consecrated, had renounced his usurped Authority and Jurisdiction: For these Three were most eminent Bishops in *Queen Mary's* Reign, and principal Consecrators of *Cardinal Pole* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. And in the same manner were all the other Bishops consecrated during the Remainder of King *Henry's* Reign, that is, by the Archbishop himself, with the Assistance of two or three other Bishops, or by three or four Bishops acting by commissional Letters from the Archbishop. And our Bishops were also consecrated in the same manner during the whole Reign of King *Edward VI.* saving that all, except Bishop *Ridley*, were consecrated according to the *reformed Ordinal*, of which I have already treated, and proved that *Consecrations* made according to that *Ordinal*, want nothing essential to a *sufficient and valid Consecration*. But it would be tiresome both to me and the Reader to set down the Name of every particular Bishop, and say by what Bishops he was consecrated; and therefore I shall refer those who desire further Satisfaction, to the Registers of those Times, and to *Mason, Strype, &c.* who have given an Account of these Matters from the Registers.

§ LVIII. But whereas the Authors and Reporters of the *Nags-Head* Fable pretend, that *Queen Elizabeth's* Bishops would gladly have been consecrated by a Bishop, if they could have got one to have performed that Office for them; but the Bishop of *Landaff*, being the only Bishop who complied with the Reformation at that time, refusing to consecrate them, they were forced to content themselves with a Lay, or at best

a Presbyterian Ordination, which is much to the same Effect: I think it proper to shew, that they neither lay under any such Necessity, nor does it appear that they ever had so much as a Thought of being ordained by any but Bishops, nor that any who was ever reputed to be a Bishop of this Church, was otherwise ordained. For besides *Anthony Kitchin* Bishop of *Landaff* before mentioned, there were no less than Six Bishops of the reformed Church of *England*, who had been consecrated in the Reigns of King *Henry VIII.* and King *Edward VI.* that were actually living and in *England* at the time when *Matthew Parker*, the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, was consecrated to that See, and lived also several Years after that and many other Consecrations. For by the way, I think it also proper to shew, that the first Consecration in that Reign was not of many together, as this *Nags-Head* Fable suggests, but that *Matthew Parker* was first consecrated by four Bishops, and that after that he and two or three others regularly and at different times consecrated the rest.

§ LIX. The first of these Bishops, who lived to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, was (x) *William Barlow*, who was made Bishop of *St. Asaph* about the latter End of the Year 1535, four Years before that Opinion about the *no Necessity of Ordination* was started. And in the beginning of the Year after was translated to *St. David's*, where he continued all the Reign of King *Henry*, discharging all things belonging to the Office of a Bishop, even so far as to assist at

(x) *Whart. de Episc. Asaven.* p. 359. *Mason,* p. 127. *Sirype's Memor. of A. B. Cranmer,* p. 37.

the Consecration of other Bishops. And particularly was one of Three which consecrated *Arthur Buckley* to be Bishop of *Bangor*, February 19, 1541, who retained that See near Two Years of *Queen Mary's* Reign, even to the time of his Death. So that altho' the Register has omitted to enter *Barlow's* Consecration, and the Names of the Bishops by whom he was consecrated, yet for as much as he was received and communicated with as a Bishop, to the End of King *Henry's* Reign, by the Popish Bishops of that Time, *Heath, Gardener, Bonner, Tunstal, Thirlby, &c.* and a Bishop also who was consecrated by him, and but two others, was received and acknowledged as such in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, when Popery was re-established in this Realm, I see not how the Papists can question his *Consecration*. For it is apparent that those who were acknowledged for Bishops in King *Henry's* Reign, as well as before and after, were nominated, elected, confirmed and consecrated in a regular manner. Now we find *Barlow's* Nomination, Election and Confirmation; but the Register, thro' Carelessness, omitted to enter the Consecration. However, it is certain he could not have been permitted to execute the Episcopal Function without it, as well by the Laws of the Land, as the Canons of the Church: And therefore since he did so long execute the Episcopal Function, we have no reason to question his regular Consecration by three Bishops at least: For there is no Pretence that there was any want of Bishops at that time to perform the Office. In King *Edward's* Reign he was translated to *Bath and Wells*: (y) which he was forced to resign in the Second Year of *Queen*

(y) *Burner's Hist. of Reform. Vol. 2. p. 256, 4th Edit.*

Mary, and then got beyond Sea to save his Life. In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign (z) he returned into *England*, was elected to the See of *Chichester*, (a) and died *August* 13, 1568. So that he continued a Bishop above Two and Thirty Years: In all which Time, no not in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, when being prosecuted for being married, he was forced to resign, his want of a regular Consecration was never objected to him. Nor have I read that ever it has been objected from that Time to this: For the *Romanists*, who tell the *Nags-Head* Fable, take no Notice of him, nor of any of the other Bishops, but only *Scory*, as if he alone had consecrated the first Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and he they pretend was no Bishop, only a Usurper of that Name. But (b) our Registers shew that he and *Miles Coverdale* were regularly and canonically consecrated together *August* 30, 1551, by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicolas Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *John Hodgekin* Suffragan Bishop of *Bedford*. Now that the Three Consecrators of *Scory* and *Coverdale* were real Bishops, is also certain. That *Cranmer* was a Bishop, the *Romanists* cannot deny, for he was consecrated before an entire Breach with *Rome*, by virtue of the Papal Bulls for that Purpose, and also received the *Pall* from the Pope. *Ridley* also was consecrated Bishop of *Rochester*, *September* 5, 1547, by *Henry Holbeach* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Hodgekin* Suffragan of *Bedford*, and *Thomas* Suffragan Bishop of *Sidon*. *Thomas* Suffragan Bishop of *Sidon* was a Bishop consecrated be-

(a) *Strype's* Life of A. B. *Parker*, p. 302.

(b) *Mason*, p. 65, 93. *Strype's* Memor. of A. B. *Cranmer*, p. 19, 176, 271.

fore the Breach with *Rome*, as his Title shews; for immediately after that Breach, *Ann. 26. H. 8.* an Act of Parliament was made to appoint certain Towns in this Realm for the Titles of Suffragan Bishops, and after that Time none were consecrated here to any foreign Titles, as was practised before. So that there can be no Dispute as to him. Of *Hodgekin* Suffragan of *Bedford* I shall have further occasion to speak afterwards. (c) And for *Henry Holbeach* Bishop of *Lincoln*, he was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of *Bristol* (before a Diocesan See was there erected) *March 24, 1537-8*, by *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Hugh Latimer* Bishop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert Parſew* Bishop of *St. Aſaph*, Nine Years before the Death of King *Henry VIII.* and the *Romanists* have never questioned the Consecration of any Bishops in that Reign. Whenever they do, we shall be ready to prove the Succession then, as well as before or after. *Scory* and *Coverdale* were thus consecrated Bishops of *Rocheſter* and *Exeter*, and *Scory* was after translated to *Chicheſter*: In *Queen Mary's* Reign they were forced to fly beyond the Seas, and returned again in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and *Scory* was then translated to *Hereford*, (d) and *Coverdale* being grown Old and infirm, chose a retired Life, and contented himself with the Parish Church of *St. Magnus* at the Foot of *London-Bridge*, where he died in the Year 1565, being above Fourscore Years of Age. But *Scory* being a much younger Man, continued in the See of *Hereford* above Five and Twenty Years, and died not till *June*

(c) *Mason*, p. 90. *Strype's* Memor. of *A. B. Cranmer*, p. 63.

(d) *Burnet's* Hist. Reform. Vol. 2. p. 366, 4th Edit. *Strype's* Life of *A. B. Parker*, p. 149. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 584.

26, 1585. (e) *John Salisbury* Suffragan Bishop of *Thetford* was another reformed Bishop, living in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, who was consecrated *March 19, 1536-7*, by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicolas Shaxton* Bishop of *Sarum*, and *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, Ten Years before the Death of King *Henry VIII.* And was confirmed Bishop of *Man*, *April 7, 1571*, the 14th Year of *Queen Elizabeth*, and died not till the latter End of *September 1573.* (f) *John Hodgekin* Suffragan Bishop of *Bedford* was consecrated *December 9, 1537*, by *John Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Robert Parfew* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Ten Years almost before the Death of *Henry VIII.* concerning whose Bishops there is no Dispute. And if the *Romanists* think fit to dispute the Consecrations of that Reign, they must also disallow those in *Queen Mary's* Reign, even of *Cardinal Pole* himself, for they all derived their Consecrations from King *Henry's* Bishops. And particularly *Thomas Thirlby* Bishop of *Westminster*, and afterwards of *Ely*, who was one of their Confessors in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*: For this *John Hodgekin* Suffragan of *Bedford* was one of his Consecrators. And tho' he was never higher advanced than to be a Suffragan Bishop, yet he assisted as a Bishop at the Consecration of no less than Fourteen Bishops in the Reigns of King *Henry VIII.* King *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth.* He lived to the Year 1560, and how long

(e) *Anlg. sacr. Vol. 1. p. 419. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 599. Mason, p. 126. Memor. of A. B. Cranmer, p. 39. Life of A. B. Grindal, p. 175.*

(f) *Mason, p. 90, 93, 127, 128, 134. Memor. of A. B. Cranmer, p. 63, 95.*

after I do not find. (g) To these I shall add *John Bale* the famous Antiquary, who was consecrated Bishop of *Ossory* in *Ireland* in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* who flying also into foreign Parts in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, cared not to return again to *Ireland*, but coming into *England* as soon as Queen *Elizabeth* obtained the Crown, he was made a Prebendary of *Canterbury*, and there died in the Year 1563. There being therefore so many reformed Bishops living and in *England* in the very beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, before any new Bishops were nominated and elected, there was not the least Occasion for them to obtain their Consecrations by any extraordinary Methods, when they could so easily have Bishops to consecrate them whose Succession was indisputable, and accordingly *Matthew Parker* was first consecrated by four of these Bishops to the See of *Canterbury*, and then he consecrated the rest with the Assistance of some of these.

§ LX. (h) The *Conge de Elire* for the Election of an Archbishop to the See of *Canterbury*, then vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Pole*, was dated July 18, 1559, upon the Receipt of which the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury* met July 22, and then, having read the Queen's Letters Patents, appointed the first Day of *August* for the Day of Election, and meeting on that Day for that purpose, they chose, and declared *Matthew Parker* (the Person nominated by the Queen in her Letters missive) to be their Archbishop elect, according to the ancient Custom and the present Laws

(g) *Strype's Life of A. B. Parker*, p. 143.

(h) *Strype's Life of A. B. Parker*, p. 52, &c. *Mason*, p. 125, &c.

of this Realm. All these Acts were particularly and exactly recorded by *John Incent*, at that time *Publick Notary* for the *Diocese of Canterbury*, and subscribed with the Addition of his Name and Surname, and signed with his own accustomed Sign, with the Appension of the common Seal of the Dean and Chapter; in Faith and Testimony of all and singular the Premisses; being thereunto especially asked and required. In which exprefs Terms he concluded these Acts. The Third Day of *August* next following, the Dean and Chapter constituted *William Darrel* one of the *Prebendaries* of that Church, *Anthony Huse Esq;* *John Clerk* and *John Incent* *Publick Notaries*, their *Proctors*, to act and perform all things for them in this present Business. On the Sixth of *August* these *Proctors* came to *Lambeth*, and read and exhibited all these Acts to *Matthew Parker*, who there gave his Assent and Consent to the said Election in a particular Form of Words drawn up in Writing for that Purpose, which he then read. And Instruments were made of all and singular the Premisses, at the Desire of the said Elect, and the foresaid *Proctors*, and before these *Witnesses*, being specially required thereunto, viz. *Richard Taverner Esq;* *John Baker Gent.* *Ralph Jackson* and *Andrew Pierjon Clerks.* The Dean and Chapter also certified the Queen of the Election, and of the whole Process of it, earnestly praying and beseeching her Majesty to give her Assent to the Election, and cause it to be confirmed. In pursuance of which Request the Queen caused her Letters Patents to be issued, bearing Date at *Redgrave*, *September 9*, to Six Bishops, viz. *Cuthbert Tonsall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Gilbert Bourn* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *David Pool* Bishop of *Peterborough*, *Anthony Kitchin* Bishop of *Landaff*, *William Barlow* Bishop, and *John Scory* Bishop: commissionating them to confirm

firm and consecrate the Elect, and commanding that they should do all things requisite to the same, as had been accustomed, according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm. But some of these Bishops declining this Office, and the Clause *Vos aut minus quatuor vestrum* being omitted in the Instrument, the rest could not act without them: wherefore the Queen issued out her second Letters Patents with that Clause, dated *December 6, 1559*, and directed them to *Anthony Kirchin* Bishop of *Landaff*, *William Barlow* formerly Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, now Elect of *Chichester*, *John Scory* formerly Bishop of *Chichester*, now Elect of *Hereford*, *Miles Coverdale* some time Bishop of *Exeter*, *John Hodgekin* Suffragan Bishop of *Bedford*, *John Salisbury* Suffragan Bishop of *Thetford*, and *John Bale* Bishop of *Offory* in *Ireland*. The Confirmation was performed *December 9* in *Bow-Church* regularly, and according to the usual Custom, by four of these Bishops, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgekin*. And the same Bishops consecrated him in *Lambeth Chapel* on *Sunday, December 17, 1559*, according to the Ordinal of King *Edward VI.* which Form of Consecration I have already vindicated.

§ LXI. Thus was Archbishop *Parker* consecrated singly by four, whom I have proved to have been every one Bishops, regularly consecrated to that Office many Years before; for *Barlow* and *Hodgekin* I have shewed were Bishops above **T**wenty Years before, long before the Death of King *Henry VIII.* and therefore their Orders can be no more questioned than the Orders of those whom the *Romanists* celebrate as Confessors in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; for *Barlow* and *Hodgekin* were consecrated by the same Kind of Bishops, and by the very same Form of Ordination

tion by which *Heath, Bonner, Thirlby, &c.* were consecrated. And *Scory* and *Coverdale*, tho' not consecrated by the same Form of Ordination, but by the Ordinal of King *Edward VI.* Reign, yet were regularly consecrated by Three Bishops, as has been proved, which brings the Dispute solely to the Validity of Consecrations made by that Ordinal, which has been already discussed. Neither was *Scory* the principal Ordainer of Archbishop *Parker*, as the Popish Story pretends, but *Barlow*, who was the eldest Bishop. *Barlow* sat in the Chair, and the other Three, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgekin*, presented *Parker* to him, and he recited the Prayers, and said, *Almighty God, Giver of all good things, which by thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in thy Church, mercifully behold this thy Servant now called to the Work and Ministry of a Bishop, &c.* He, together with the other three, laid his Hands upon him, and he was the Person which said the Words of Consecration, *Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God that is in thee, by Imposition of Hands, &c.* the Words which it has been shewed *St. Paul* spake to *Timothy*, signifying that he was thereby consecrated to *Timothy's* Office, or the Office of a Bishop. Then indeed after he was thus consecrated by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, he delivered him the Bible, but laid it not either on his Head or his Shoulders, as any part of his Consecration, for that was completed by the Imposition of Hands and Prayer, but by way of Exhortation he said to him, *Give heed to Reading, Exhortation, and Doctrine, think upon these things contained in this Book, &c.* Neither were these things done in a private Room either at the *Nags-Head* in *Cheapside* or elsewhere, but in the Archbishop's Chapel at *Lambeth*, in the Presence of Publick Notaries, and

and many other Witnesses of the Solemnity. So that not so much as one Tittle of the *Popish Nags-Head* Fable has so much as the Shadow of Truth. And all this appears from the Registers and Records of those Times, which are the most authentick Evidences the Matter is capable of: And whose Credit can never be overthrown or lessened by a meer hear-say Story, not mentioned by any Writer till Forty or Fifty Years afterwards:

§ LXII. (i) It must indeed be confessed that *Saunders*, who was living at that time, does say; that the Reformers *had neither three; nor so much as two Bishops then amongst them.* But this Testimony is of no Weight, when it is so evident from the Records of that Time, that beside *Kitchin* Bishop of *Landaff*, who renounced the *Popish* Communion, there were then in *England* no less than Six reformed Bishops, *William Barlow*; *John Scory*, *Miles Coverdale*, *John Salisbury*, *John Hodgekin*, and *John Bale*. Such a negative Testimony against full positive Evidence (if *Saunders* was a credible Author) is of no Force. It is very likely that none of these Bishops were of *Saunders*'s Acquaintance, but because he did not know them, or know them to be Bishops; does it therefore follow that they were not so; altho' the Registers and Records of that Time tell us, not only that they were so, but also tell us the Time when, and the Persons by whom they were consecrated, the Sees they filled, or the Titles they had? He must suppose *Saunders* to be endued with Infallibility, that shall believe his Word before plain Fact so fully recorded. And I must

(i) *Nec inter se aut tres duosve Episcopos haberent.*
Saund: de Schism. Anglican. lib. 3: p. 297:

say that for the Record of *Parker's* Consecration, that perhaps no Record was ever more full and particular, as it has been printed by *Strype*, *Burnet*, and others. For it not only tells us the Time when, the Place where, and the Persons by whom that Archbishop was consecrated, but also how *Lambeth* Chapel was at that time adorned, what Habit each of the Bishops appeared in, how the Bishop elect was habited, in what Order they came into the Chapel, how they placed themselves there, how every Part of the Ceremony was performed, and in what Order they went out of the Chapel again.

§ LXIII. This Evidence is so full against the *Romanist* Charge of Lay Ordination, (*k*) that they renewed not the Charge again till about Forty Years after it had been produced by *Mason* they took Courage (at a time when the Church of *England* lay under a great Eclipse, and they supposed no Body would vindicate her) and then boldly denied the Record it self, and in a Book printed at *Doway* 1654, tell us, that *they* (meaning the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*) have feigned an old Record to prove their Ordination from *Catholick* Bishops. But there is more than one old Record produced on this Occasion, and did they feign every one of them? Did they feign *Queen Elizabeth's* Letters Patents to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, &c. to confirm and consecrate *Parker*? Did they enter this Forgery in all the proper Offices where it is recorded, and in the proper Places of the several Books where it is registred, and yet no Body could tell when and how it was done? Or were there no such Men

(k) *Strype's* Life of *A. B. Parker*, p. 59.

living at that time as *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgekin*? Have they forged the Names of those Bishops, and forged their Possession of several Bishops Sees, for so *Barlow* and *Scory* had Sees both before and after *Parker's* Consecration? Did they forge the Consecrations of these Men also, and clap them into the respective Registers so dextrously, that none can discover the Cheat by consulting the Records themselves? Did they forge that *Barlow* and *Scory* made a Figure in the Church of *England* above Thirty Years? Did they forge the Fourteen Consecrations that *Hodgekin* assisted at as a Bishop? Or did they forge the Instrument delivered into the House of Lords, when *Parker* was returned there as consecrated by those four Bishops, before he could take his Seat in that House? And could all the Lords be imposed upon, and made to believe that *Parker* was consecrated by these Men, and yet there were really no such Men to consecrate him? Was there a Man in the House of Lords when Archbishop *Parker* was first introduced into that House in the Year 1559 or 1560 (except some young Lords just come of Age, or some newly created) but must remember whether *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, sat amongst them upon the Bishops Bench not above Seven Years before? Was it possible to impose so grossly upon the whole House of Peers, amongst which many Popish Lords also sat at that time, in a Matter which their own Remembrance could not but tell them whether it was true or false? Now the Church of *England* must have feigned all this, and a great deal more, impossible to be put upon the World, if it were not true, or else Archbishop *Parker* must be owned to have been regularly consecrated by the Bishops which the Register says did consecrate him:

§ LXIV. Let us now hear upon what Grounds they pretend to make out the Falsity of so many Records: which are as full and authentick Proofs as a Matter of that Age is capable of. They tell us in the forementioned Book, that *it was proved by Two Witnesses. The former of them was Dr. Darbshire, then Dean of St. Paul's, and Nephew to Dr. Bonner Bishop of London, who almost Sixty Years since (that is, Sixty Years before 1654, or thereabouts, when this Book was printed at Doway) lived at Meuse Pont, then an holy religious Man, very aged, but perfect in Sense and Memory, who speaking what he knew, affirmed to my self (says this Author) and another with me, that, like good Fellows, they made themselves Bishops at an Inn, because they could get no true Bishops to consecrate them. My other Witness was a Gentleman of known Worth and Credit, dead not many Years since, whose Father, a chief Judge of this Kingdom, visiting Archbishop Heath, — saw a Letter sent from Bishop Bonner out of the Marshalsea, by one of his Chaplains, to the Archbishop, read while they sat at Dinner together, wherein he merrily related the manner how these new Bishops (because he had dissuaded Ogilthorp Bishop of Carlile, from doing it in his Diocese) ordained one another at an Inn, where they met together. And while others laughed at this new manner of consecrating Bishops, the Archbishop himself gravely, and not without Tears, expressed his Grief to see such a ragged Company of Men, come poor out of Foreign Parts, and appointed to succeed the Old Clergy. Now not to cavil with this Author for calling Dr. Darbshire Dean of St. Paul's, when he was never more than Canon of that Church: what Evidence did this Doctor give, more than his own bare Word, for what he said? He did not pretend that he himself was either at the Inn*

or near it, where this mock Consecration he spoke of was made. He only told it as a Story that he had heard once upon a time. And so had a great many others as well as he, for the *Nags-Head* Fable was in Print before he died. But it does not appear that he could say any thing to the Matter from his own Knowledge. The other Evidence is a nameless Judge, and a nameless Gentleman, that heard him tell the Story, and the whole Relation is also given by a nameless Author. And if such Evidence as this is sufficient to overthrow the Credit of so many Registers and Records, then is it in vain for any Nation to make or keep such Records, when a meer hear-say Story shall deserve more Credit. But we know that hear-say Stories are easily invented and spread, and the Authors of them not easy to be found out, and very little Credit is to be given to them, even where they are not contradicted: But where they are contradicted by better Evidence, they are of no manner of Credit, nor deserve the least Notice. Whereas Registers and Records are by no means easy to be feigned or forged, they are publick Acts, and publick Officers are appointed for the keeping them, they are open, and liable to the Inspection of every one that pleases to take a View of them; and howsoever in Matters of private nature relating to particular Persons, it is possible, and but possible, some Particulars may be misrepresented in them, yet in Matters of publick nature, such as the Consecration of Bishops, it is morally impossible they should be forged, because so many several Offices are concerned in that Affair.

§ LXV. However, the *Romanists* have so often and so long told this Story, that they are now ashamed to desert it, and own themselves to have

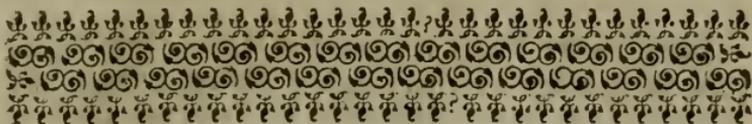
been imposed upon by it. And to make it more credible, they had the Confidence, in a Book printed at *Roan* 1657, called a *Treatise of Catholick Faith*, to tell the World that it was owned by a Protestant Bishop: And named *Morton* Bishop of *Durham* for the Man: pretending that in the Parliament of 1641 he had acknowledged the *Nags-Head* Consecration in the House of Lords, and made a Speech in Vindication of it. But that learned and good Bishop happening to be alive at that time when this Story was printed of him (which we may reasonably suppose they little thought of, he being then very old) did publickly under his Hand and Seal protest and declare the said Story to be false and most untrue, dated *July* 17, 1658, and had it attested by a Publick Notary. The whole Protestation of which pious Bishop is extant in Archbishop *Bramhall's* Book of the *Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated*. In which Treatise that learned Primate confuted, and most effectually overthrew the then late Attempts of the *Jesuits* against our Church, by this Calumny of the Consecration of *Parker*, and the other first Bishops of this Church in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. So that I do not find that they have since had the Confidence openly and in Print to trump up those old Fables, only those two Answers before mentioned to *Mr. Lestly's Case* stated have given broad Hints as if they still gave Credit to them: For which reason I thought proper to be so particular in the Confutation of them, since it is not unlikely these Papers may fall into the Hands of some who may not have Opportunity of consulting the Authors I have cited, who have so fully confuted the *Romanists* on this Topick of our Ordinations. And I hope I have proved *Parker's* Consecration by four Bishops to the Satisfaction of every unprejudiced Person.

§ LXVI. (1) *Matthew Parker* therefore having been himself consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, December 17, 1559, by the Bishops *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgekin*, did four Days after, being *St. THOMAS'S*'s Day, December 21, assisted by *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Hodgekin*, consecrate also in *Lambeth Chapel* *Edmund Grindal* to the Bishoprick of *London*, *Richard Cox* to *Ely*, *Edwin Sandys* to *Worcester*, and *Rowland Merick* to *Bangor*. And about a Month after, which was *Sunday*, *January* 21, being assisted by *Grindal*, *Cox*, and *Hodgekin*, he consecrated *Thomas Young* to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*, *Nicolas Bullingham* to *Lincoln*, *John Jewel* to *Salisbury*, *Richard Davis* to *St. Asaph*, and *Edmund Guest* to *Rochester*. Thus Archbishop *Parker* having been regularly consecrated by four Bishops, according to the Canons of the Church, as well as the Laws of the Land, the other Bishops were also regularly consecrated by him their Metropolitan, in Conjunction with two or three of his Provincial Bishops. And in the same manner has the Succession been continued from that time to this. And we are at this Day able to prove from our Registers and Records (the best Evidence that can be produced in such a Case) not only the Year, Month, and Day when, but also the Persons by whom every particular Bishop has been consecrated from that time to this.

§ LXVII. Having therefore I trust fully proved the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, together with the *Necessity of an Episcopal Commission to the valid Administration of the Sacraments*, from the *Scriptures*,

(1) *Strype's Life of A. B. Parker*, p. 63, 64. *Mason*, p. 134.
N 4 and

and from the Fathers of the Primitive Church, from the Councils held in those first Ages, and from the Canons then made, down to the Time of the Council of *Nice*, and proved the same also to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as contained in her Articles and Liturgy, notwithstanding some of her pretended Sons (and I wish I could not say Fathers also) who have given their Assent and Consent to that Liturgy, and subscribed those Articles, have taught and published contrary Doctrine; and having also shewed that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* have rejected this Form of Church Government, not thro' any Necessity they had to do so, but upon Principles unwarrantable, and disagreeable to the Word of God, and that whatever some of their private Men may have said or written in favour of Episcopacy, yet even those very Men of the *Calvinist* Persuasion have subscribed as an Article of Faith, that Superiority of *one Pastor above another is unlawful*, by which they condemn both the *Primitive* and the *British Episcopacy* as *unlawful* also: And having likewise vindicated the Succession of our *English Bishops* from the Objections made against their uninterrupted Succession both by *Papists* and *Presbyterians*, the latter of whose Objections have also been repeated and made use of by some who stile themselves *Presbyters* of the *Church of England*, and yet are not ashamed to lay such a Reproach upon their Mother which they are by no means able to prove, I conceive there is nothing more that is needful to be said upon this Head, and shall therefore in due time proceed to the next Particular mentioned in my Vindication.



A P P E N D I X.

IN my late Tract concerning *the Independency of the Church upon the State, as to its pure Spiritual Powers*, amongst some Objections I had met with against the Notion of Schism, as laid down in that Tract, agreeable to the Principles of the truly Ancient Catholick and Apostolick Church, one of them, p. 89, § 48, stands thus: *Was the Church of England Schismatick under Queen Elizabeth, when she in Parliament deprived several Bishops for not acknowledging her Supremacy? &c. To which I directly answered, That the Church of England was not Schismatick under Queen Elizabeth, tho' she in Parliament did deprive several Bishops, &c.* which I endeavoured to prove, p. 93, by observing, *that Queen Mary when she came to the Crown turned out the Catholick and Orthodox Bishops, which her Brother King Edward had left in Possession of the Bishopricks, some of which she condemned to the Flames, and forced others to fly to save their Lives. But it was the Catholick, Orthodox, Reformed Bishops that were still the rightful Bishops of the Church of England, &c. So that when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, and with the Consent of her Parliament turned out the Popish Bishops, and restored the Catholick Orthodox Bishops to their Flocks, she acted but as a good Prince ought to do.* This is the Substance of the Objection, and of the Answer I then made to it.

But

But I have since received a Letter enforcing this Objection further, and I am told, that *tho' this Reasoning may hold good if we carry our View no further back than Queen Mary's Reign, yet what shall we say to Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, and Day, who were deprived by King Edward, not for any of those Errors or Corruptions in Doctrine and Discipline which Popery had introduced, for they all complied with the Reformation so far as was required of them, excepting only that Heath and Day refused to pull down their Altars and substitute Tables? I shall not trouble you here* (adds the Writer of the Letter) *with a Detail of what things were alledged against Bonner and Gardiner, but refer you to Mr. Collier's History for the Matter of their Indictment, and a List of their Judges, who acted, you know, by virtue of the King's Commission. This I fear will alter the Case with respect to the Schism between the Churches of Rome and England, and (if I may be allowed to say so) I cannot see how the Church of Rome became schismatick in relation to the Church of England, till her abominable Decrees in the Council of Trent rendered her heretical; and for as much as she then foreclosed all Means of Re-union by her corrupt Terms of Communion, she likewise became schismatical. On the other hand, for as much as the Church of England had made a Schism before that time by the uncanonical and arbitrary Deprivations of the Bishops before mentioned under King Edward, I must think she was schismatical in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

To this Objection I therefore think it behoves me at this time to return an Answer.

And first I think proper to observe, that the Church of Rome was both *heretical and schismatical*

cal from the Catholick Church long before the Council of *Trent*: And had made her Terms of Communion unlawful by establishing the Doctrines of *Purgatory*, *Transubstantiation*, the *Worship of Saints*, *Angels*, *Images*, &c. The Popish Bishops were therefore *Schismaticks* before King *Edward's* Days, and therefore the Bishopricks were not here or elsewhere properly and legally filled by them, tho' they actually possessed the Jurisdiction and Revenues belonging to them, as the *Arian* Bishops did in many Places in the Reigns of *Constantins* and *Valens*. And therefore how unjustly soever *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Day*, and *Heath*, might be deprived by King *Edward*, when they had complied with the Reformation, yet it is certain they all reverted to Popery in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and thereby became heretical and schismatical, and so lost a rightful Claim to their Bishopricks before Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. Consequently such of them as lived until her Reign were not the rightful Possessors of the Sees which they pretended to fill, and she had a just Right to assist the Church with the Civil Sword, in ejecting them, as well as other *Popish* Bishops, and to defend and secure such *Orthodox* Bishops as the Church should put in their Places.

But tho' the *Popish* Bishops be allowed to have been *schismatical*, and consequently to have been justly ejected: yet, according to the Objector's Argument, the reformed Bishops were *schismatical* also, and therefore had no better Right to the Bishopricks than those that were turned out to make room for them. To this then I answer in the next place, that admitting King *Edward's* Bishops were schismatical (as indeed I cannot deny it, according to the Principles laid down
in

in my Tract concerning *the Independency of the Church*) because they came into the Sees of invalidly deprived Bishops, or communicated with those that did so, yet when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown they found the Sees all legally void, as being possessed only by heretical Popish Bishops, who had no Right to any of them by reason of their Heresy and Schism. Consequently there being no Orthodox Catholick Bishops who could lay a better Claim to any of those Sees than themselves, if they then, or any of their Successors since, openly renounced that Principle of Lay Deprivations which made them schismatical, and became in all other respects truly Catholick and Orthodox, by maintaining and adhering to the Doctrine and Worship of the truly Primitive Catholick and Apostolick Church of *Christ*, they at that time, WHENSOEVER IT WAS, became the true rightful Bishops of the Catholick Church in *England*.

Another Point which the Writer of this Letter desires to be satisfied in, is, a Position, *p. 92*, where speaking of the Church of *England*, as reformed under King *Edward VI.* by the Assistance of *Martyr* and *Bucer*, I say 'twas a very good Reformation. *And tho' I conceive it has some Defects, and might be made more primitive, yet it has all things necessary to Salvation.* To this he says,

“ I believe it will be granted me that the Eucharistical Sacrifice is necessary to Salvation,
 “ so then whatever Church has not the Eucharistical Sacrifice, has not all things necessary to
 “ Salvation. But our Church has not the Eucharistical Sacrifice: For if she does not offer what
 “ our Saviour instituted to be offered in the Eucharistical
 “ cha-

“ charistical Sacrifice, then she has not the Eu-
 “ charistical Sacrifice. But she does not offer
 “ what our Saviour instituted to be offered. You
 “ know our Saviour *offered Wine mixed with Wa-*
 “ *ter* at the Institution of the Eucharistical Cup,
 “ which our Church does not, therefore cannot
 “ be said to offer what our Saviour instituted to
 “ be offered. I say, *you know* that our Saviour
 “ did offer *Wine mixed with Water*, because you
 “ have owned, *p. 7.* of your Introduction, that
 “ we have *Antiquity and Universality* for the
 “ Churches Practice in this Point: And most of
 “ those early *Fathers, Councils, and Liturgies,*
 “ (Authorities too great to be disputed) which
 “ inform you of the Church’s Practice, assure
 “ you likewise that our Saviour did it.

“ Nor is this the only *essential Defect* our
 “ Church is to be charged with in the Comme-
 “ moration of this great Mystery, but such also
 “ are, *First,* The want of the Invocation of the
 “ Holy Spirit upon the Elements. *Secondly,* The
 “ not making an Oblation of the Sacrifice.

“ The latter of these you own to be an *essential*
 “ *Defect* in your Letter to Mr. Hart, which is
 “ prefixed to his *Bulwark stormed*, so that I need
 “ not endeavour at the Proof of it.

“ For the former, *viz. the Invocation of the*
 “ *Holy Spirit, &c.* we have the Authority of
 “ Three of the Evangelists that our Saviour did
 “ it: *i. e.* that he *eulogized or eucharistized* the
 “ Elements, and we have likewise the Testimony
 “ of St. Paul, when he reminds the *Corinthians*
 “ of what he had received of the Lord, and deli-
 “ vered to them concerning this Sacrament,
 “ *Epist. I. Chap. XI.*

“ And

“ And our Saviour himself at the Institution
 “ of this Sacrament lays this Injunction upon his
 “ Disciples, *ἄτε ποιήτε, &c.* Now take the Verb
 “ *ποιήν* in what Sense you please, it will afford
 “ me an Argument, either for the Matter (as
 “ above insisted on) or for the Form of the Ce-
 “ lebration which I am here contending for. If
 “ you take it as a sacrificing Term, the Com-
 “ mand will run, *Sacrifice this, viz. the Bread and*
 “ *the Cup, as I have mixed it, in remembrance of*
 “ *me.* If you take it in the common Acceptati-
 “ on of the Word, *Do this,* then the Command
 “ will run, *Bless the Elements, and do all other Acts*
 “ *which I have now done, in remembrance of me.* And
 “ that the Primitive Church conformed herein;
 “ with respect both to the *Matter* and the *Form,*
 “ we have the Authority of the earliest Fathers
 “ who give us an Account of the Christian Wor-
 “ ship, and likewise of the most authentick Li-
 “ turgies now extant.

“ Give me Leave therefore to ask you in what
 “ tolerable Sense we may be said to retain this
 “ Institution of our Lord's, when we observe
 “ neither the *Matter* nor the *Form* of it? If it be
 “ answered, that we do retain the Institution,
 “ tho' maimed in some Parts of it, I ask again,
 “ whether in a *positive Institution* every Part of it
 “ be not *equally necessary* to be observed, especi-
 “ ally when there is nothing in the Nature of the
 “ Things themselves which can produce the Ef-
 “ fects, but all the Benefits we receive thereby
 “ are derived to us upon Account of our exact
 “ Conformity to the Will of him that instituted
 “ them? But again, if every Part of a positive
 “ Institution be *equally necessary*, where is the
 “ Power

“ Power that can dispense with our Non-observance of the foregoing Particulars? If there be such a Power, that Power may dispense with as many more Particulars, and so on till the whole be taken away, and then it will follow that *our Saviour instituted something for a continual Remembrance of his Death, which might lawfully be taken away before his coming again.*

“ It is urged by some, that two of the three Things I have been speaking of, *viz. the Invocation and Oblation*, are implied in the Prayer of Consecration as it now stands in our Liturgy; if so, I desire you to point out the Passages to me, and give me your Comment upon them; but I judge by your Practice that you do not think they are to be met with there. If they are, the third, *i. e. the mixed Cup*, is wanting, and the Use of it forbid by the Rubrick before the Prayer for *the whole State of Christ's Church.*

To this long Objection against the Church of England's having *all things necessary to Salvation*, I must confess I know not how to return a satisfactory Answer. And must acknowledge, that when I asserted that it *has all things necessary to Salvation*, I spoke what I did think, because I was willing to believe and persuade my self that it was so. However, I will consider these Particulars more carefully when I come to treat of the Eucharist, as I have proposed to do in the Course of this Work. And shall be very glad if in the mean time any Body will take off the Force of this Objection, by shewing, either that the *mixed Cup, the Invocation, and Oblation*, are not necessary, or that they are to be found in the Liturgy as

it

It now stands. This Objection has been already urged in Print in a Pamphlet called, *Reasons for restoring*, &c. which was answered by another called, *No reason for restoring*, &c. But a full Reply has been made to the *No reason*, &c. in a *Defense of the Reasons*. And I must own that I do think (till I can be better informed) that *the mixed Cup*, *the Invocation*, and *Oblation*, are necessary, and that I cannot find them in the present Liturgy.

Then the Writer of the Letter proceeds, and says, "A third Point I desire to be satisfied in, " is, *that it was a good Reformation.*" Then he goes on, and says, "Let us settle the Account, " and so we shall better judge how much we are " Gainers by it. *First*, We divested the *Pope* of " his usurped Power; but then we gave it to a " *Lay-man*, who was not qualified to receive it. " *Secondly*, We restored the Cup to the Laity, " but then we restored it but in part. *Thirdly*, " We condemned the *absurd Doctrine of Transub-* " *stantiation*; but then we destroyed the *Sacrifice* " too. *Fourthly*, We rejected the Whim of *Pur-* " *gatory*; but then we struck off an Article of the " Creed, and refused *Communion with the Saints* " *departed*. I might instance in several other Par- " ticulars, but I have not Time, and indeed it is " fit I should beg Pardon for having detained you " so long; however, I hope my good Intentions " herein will justify me, which were to shew, that " altho' I am an Enemy to the Corruptions of " *Popery*, yet I cannot flatter *Martyr* and *Bucer* so " far as not to think we stand in *almost* as much " need of a Reformation from *Calvinism* now, as " we did from *Popery* in the Reign of *Edward the* " *Sixth.*"

Well then, since the Writer of this Letter, whoever he is, will not allow me to say that we have a good Reformation, and has given such Reasons for it as indeed I know not how to answer, yet I shall still say, that it is better than any other Reformation that was made from the Church of Rome about the same time with it; or any time since, as it preserved to us the Episcopal Succession of the Priesthood, and thereby kept it in our Power to make it a very good Reformation, without any foreign Assistance. The Lutherans and Calvinists; who have cast off Episcopacy, and thereby destroyed that Priesthood which was settled by Christ himself, cannot reform their Errors, and return to a perfect Unity with the truly Ancient, Primitive, Catholick and Apostolick Church, without making their Application to Strangers, to restore to them that Episcopal Succession of the true Priesthood, which they wilfully rejected; but we have nothing to do to compleat our Reformation, and make it perfect, but to restore that Part of the Doctrine and Worship of the Christian Church which we still want, to make us one and the same with that which was settled by Christ and his Apostles, and which was extended thro' all the known World at the Time of the Council of Nice: until which Time, and longer, there was one Communion of Saints in all Nations and Languages, and the *Charismata*, or extraordinary Operations of the Holy Spirit, continued in the Church. Therefore I cannot but think it the Duty of all Bishops and Pastors of this, and every other Church, impartially to examine and enquire what was the Doctrine and Worship of the Christian Church at that Time,

O

and

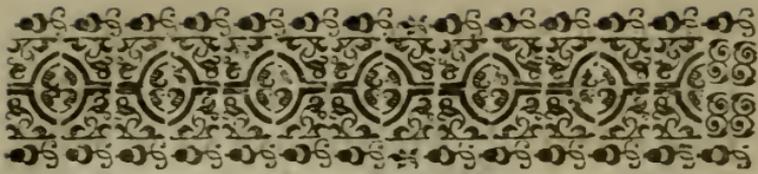
and where they find their own Doctrines and Worship to differ from it in any thing which was then thought material, that they use their best Endeavours, and labour by Prayers to God, and Arguments to Men, to get all Things restored agreeable to that Platform. For my own part, I must declare, that whatever was then believed essential to the Christian Doctrines and Worship, I believe to be so still: Whatever was then the universal Practice of all Churches, I am persuaded ought to be so now. Nor let it be said, what can a private Bishop or Priest do in this Case? Should he discover never so many essential Defects in Doctrines or Worship, his Hands are so tied by Laws and Canons, that he has it not in his Power to correct the least of them. For in such a Case, that is, in Matters essential to Christianity, no Laws or Canons can bind the Conscience; for no Human Authority can make void the Laws of *Christ*, or give us a Dispensation for not observing them. It is true, a Man may expose himself to Suffering by acting contrary to such Laws: But Fear of suffering for the Truth's sake, whatever may be thought of it in this degenerate Age, never affrighted the Primitive Christians from their Duty. And they conquered by Suffering, and made more Converts by that Testimony which they gave to the Truth, by Dying for it, than they could do by Preaching and Writing. So that *Sanguis Martyrum est Semen Ecclesie*, *The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church*, became a Proverb. And I doubt not but if it should please God to call any Bishop or Priest, or other pious Christian, to suffer for doing his Endeavour to restore Primitive Truths, and give him Grace to bear
with

with Courage and Constancy whatever may be inflicted on him, it will be so far from doing any Disservice to those Truths, that it will make many Converts to them, and will be a means of propagating them further than they would have reached otherwise. Whatever is essential to Salvation must be had, whatever Hazards we run to obtain it. And therefore if any private Bishop or Priest find an essential Defect in the Doctrin or Worship of that Church to which he belongs, and has not means to get it amended by publick Authority or Allowance, he is obliged to correct it within his own Cure, whatever Danger he runs by so doing. And for this reason, tho' I was sure to stand alone in the Practice (as I thank God I am not) I would mix Water with the Wine at the Ministrations of the holy Eucharist. I would offer the Eucharistick Bread and Cup to GOD the Father, as the Sacramental or Representative Body and Blood of his SON Jesus Christ our LORD. And I would also pray to GOD the Father to send the Holy Ghost upon the Eucharistick Elements, to make them the Body and Blood of CHRIST our SAVIOUR. And I shall pray for the Faithful departed, that they may rest in Peace, and obtain an happy Resurrection. For I am fully convinced that ALL THESE ARE NECESSARY, PRIMITIVE AND CATHOLICK PARTS OF DIVINE WORSHIP, and therefore that no Human Authority can abolish or dispense with our Obligation to the Practice of them. And by GOD's Grace I intend to give my Reasons why I am so persuaded, in the Tracts

which are to follow; and in the mean time shall refer my self to the Pamphlets lately published by a learned Gentleman, and which I have before mentioned, called, *Reasons for restoring some Prayers and Directions, as they stand in the Communion Service of the first reformed Liturgy, compiled by the Bishops in the Second and Third Years of the Reign of King Edward VI. and the Defense of those Reasons.*



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from the Rev. Mr. Hall, with a Pro-
spect of Geography, containing an
Index of Mr. Osgood's Works in Verse.

H. C. L.

