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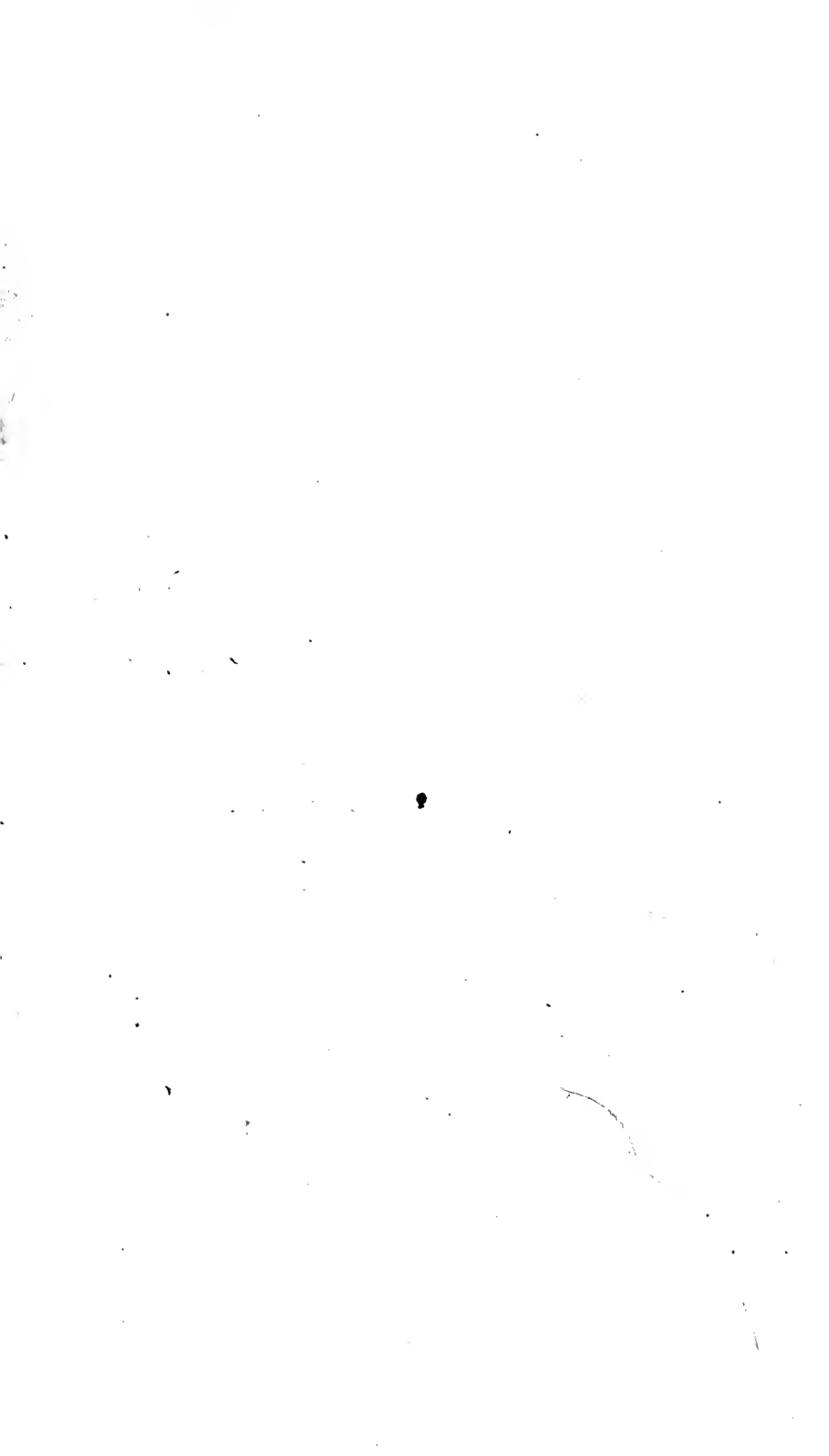
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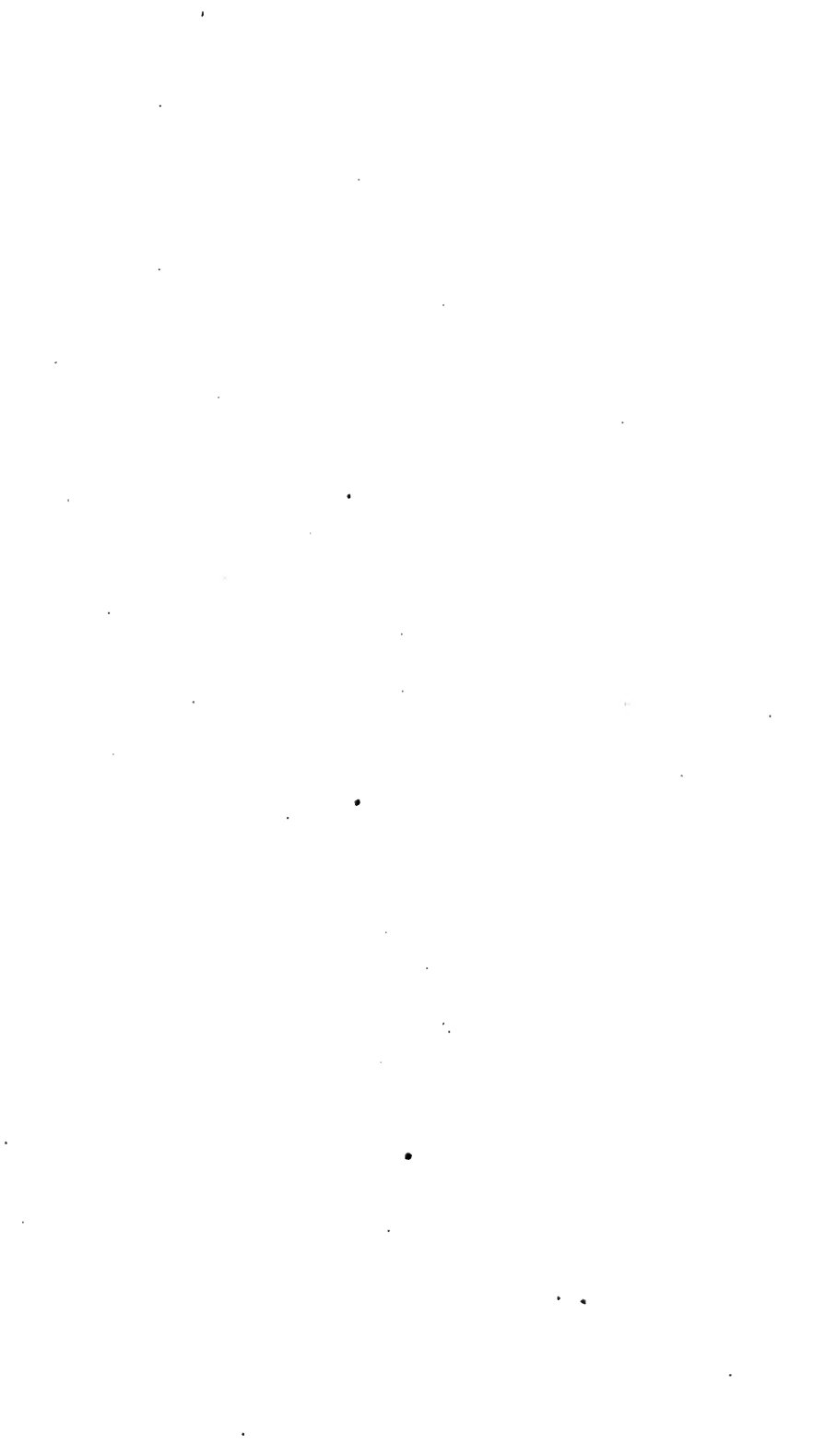
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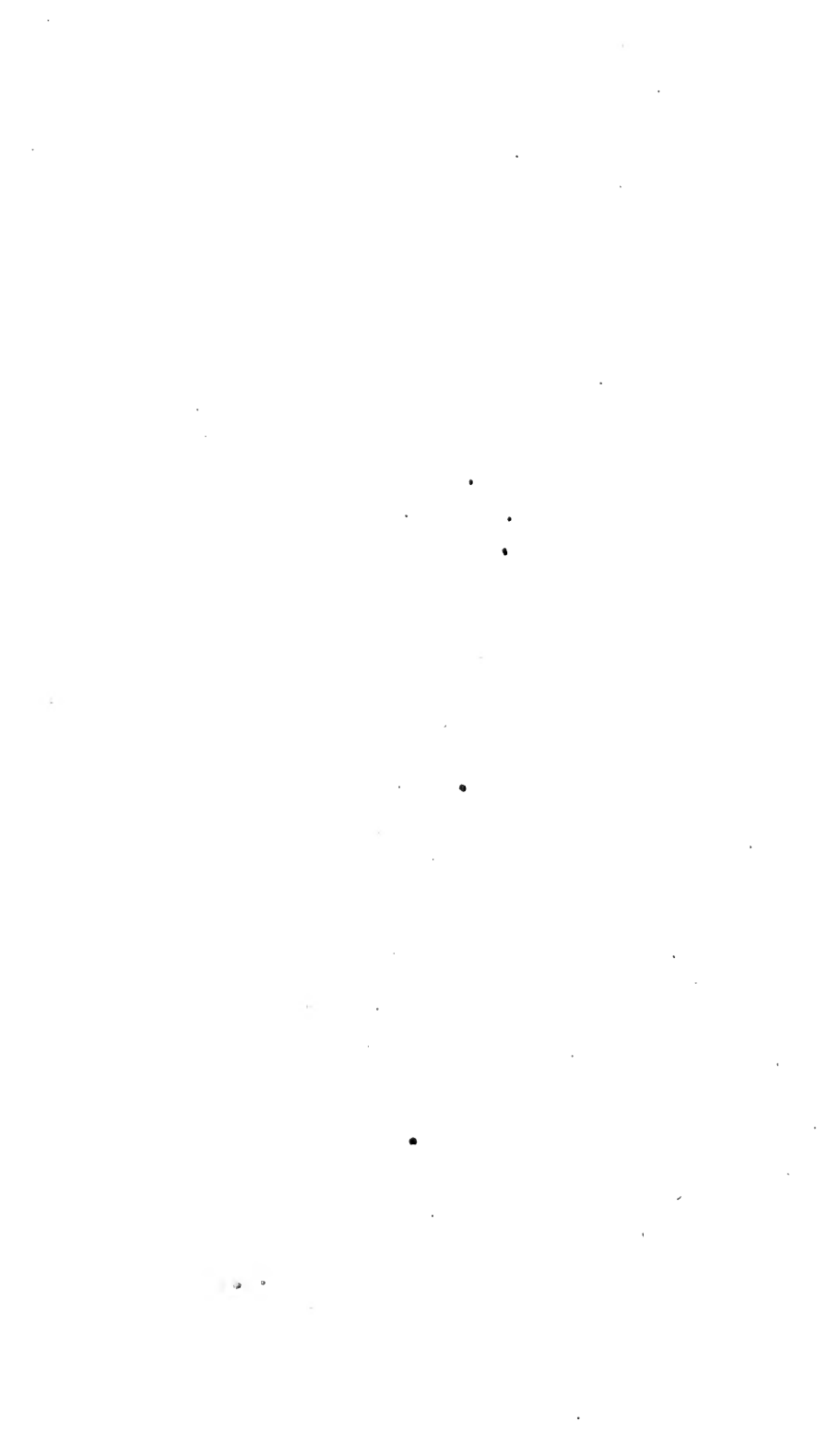
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An essay on the invalidity
of presbyterian ordination







AN ESSAY

ON THE

INVALIDITY

OF

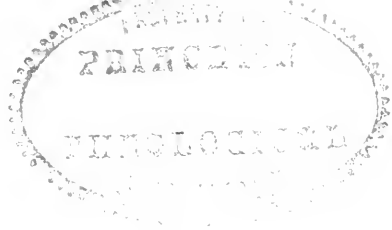
PRESBYTERIAN ORDINATION.

BY JOHN ESTEN COOKE, M. D.

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AN ESSAY, &c.

WHEN a man who has, for eighteen years of his life, taken an active part in the concerns of a religious society, and promoted its interest with all his power, leaves it and attaches himself to another, a decent respect for their opinion, as well as a proper regard for his own character for consistency and uprightness, renders it not improper that he should state the reasons which induced him to make the change. This I propose to do in the following pages.

Those who know me intimately, know that I have ever embraced the truth when convinced I had discovered it, with little regard for the consequences that might follow. Having had the truths of the Christian religion impressed upon my mind by the unwearied care of a most affectionate mother, I occasionally had serious reflections on the subject, although in general by far too indifferent to it, until about nineteen years ago. In the summer of 1810 I met with a pamphlet called the "Star in the East," by Dr. Buchanan, giving an account among other things of the discovery of a Christian Church in Hindostan, secluded from all the world, which derived its origin from the Apostles themselves. This narrative produced a very strong impression on my mind, and, as I had been for some months more thoughtful than common on the subject of religion, I determined to investigate the evidence on which the doctrines of the Christian religion rest. Shortly after, a book-pedler passed through the village, and I purchased a bible with Canne's marginal references, and Bishop Porteus's Evidences of the Christian Revelation.

I had always been in the habit of requiring strong evidence upon every subject and never yielding assent to any thing, that was not supported by it. I sat down therefore, to the reading of Porteus with the determination narrowly to examine and weigh every argument.

The result was a strong impression made on my mind by the first perusal, during which no quotations from the scripture were examined, the interest excited by the force of the argument being too great to allow stopping to examine them. The book was read however very attentively a second time, with careful examination of the quotations of scripture, and the result was a thorough conviction of the truth of the Christian Revelation; immediately on expressing which to myself, with an audible voice, I felt my mind drawn out in a feeling of gratitude and love to that Saviour who had died that I might live—the first I had experienced and not to be forgotten while life and recollection shall continue. The first reading of this book was in September or October, 1810. It had such an effect on my mind as to lead me to regular private devotion. The second reading was about Christmas.

Between the middle and end of January I heard my friend Mr. Tidings, to whom I was then an entire stranger, preach for the first time, and again on the Sunday following, and was so much pleased that on the Sunday week after I became a member of the Methodist Society, which I then considered the purest Church as to doctrine. In that society I have continued ever since, in general well satisfied; and among its members, but particularly the preachers of the Baltimore Annual Conference, I have many valued friends. These I would not offend, I would not appear to slight, for any thing less than conscience sake. That I have until within the last eight weeks taken an active part in promoting the welfare of the society which I have left, is well known to some of them, and was not long ago evinced in the part I took in the establishment of a religious paper to be published by the Methodist Society.

Soon after that time a volume of sermons by the Rev. Dr. Chapman, for which I had subscribed, was brought home, and for some days no attention was paid to it. At a leisure moment curiosity led me to look into it, when I found the manner and style so striking and the subject so new to me, that I determined to read the book. I had heard that the Church denied the validity of Presbyterian ordination; but had never thought it worth while to inquire into a claim at first sight apparently so extravagant. I was determined to see what could be said in support of such pretensions. I read carefully the first seven sermons, by which I was most forcibly struck. The language chaste, the style perspicuous, I was carried along without labour and comprehended without the slight-

est effort. The manner of handling the subject was strikingly moderate and as charitable as any man could reasonably desire. Supporting the doctrine of the invalidity of ordination by presbyters, and the validity of episcopal ordination alone, the author proceeds in maintaining the argument without uncharitable reflections; and when he condemns, does it in the mildest language, and often or always with expressions of good opinion of the motives of the opposite party. If there is any thing offensive to any one, in the book, it is a quotation—and quotations a man is bound to state as they are stated by the author from whom they are taken. To do otherwise, to change language, to curtail, to omit material expressions, without informing the reader, is to act corruptly, and is so esteemed by all men of letters and justly so.

The argument itself is exceedingly strong and in the language of a gentleman of this place in conversation with me, it is the best array of the question, perhaps, any where to be found in the same compass.

The strength of the direct argument for the doctrine, and of that indirect one, growing out of the evil consequences of schism, or division from the church, contained in some of the following sermons, is such, that I was compelled to say to myself; if these *facts* are so, this doctrine is the truth. Uneasiness now sprung up in my mind. The question arose, What if it be true? Can you leave your friends, your intimate associates in what has engaged so much of your attention, your efforts, your ardent desires for eighteen years, and go to a people who, prejudice whispered, are no people? The answer of conscience was, If it be the truth, embrace it, and leave the consequences to Him, who revealed his will to man for his guidance.

The question now was, Is this doctrine true? To determine this without delay, I sought information from ministers of the principal denominations involved in the doubt as to the validity of Presbyterian ordination, viz. the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and Baptists. With one consent they all referred me to Miller's Letters on this subject. This book I immediately obtained—Emory and Bangs were also mentioned and were likewise obtained.

Meeting Dr. Chapman in the street, I inquired of him also what were the standard works on this controversy. He also mentioned Miller—and stated that Bowden had answered him. He also mentioned Lord King (by whom Mr. Wesley was influenced,) and

Slater's Original Draught in answer to King, as well as Potter on Church Government and Hooker's work.

I immediately commenced reading Miller with great attention, read over and over the arguments respecting the order of the Church in the time of the Apostles and for centuries afterwards, with his quotations from such of the fathers as could be procured conveniently—and with regard to those which I had not, I was enabled to form a very good idea from comparing him with Bowden. Thus, if he quoted a passage from an author which I had not the means of consulting, Bowden was examined to see what reply was made; if admitted by him, it could not be questioned; if not admitted, Miller's reply to Bowden's answer was examined; and if necessary Bowden's rejoinder to Miller's reply. So that from the two works of each, it was not a difficult matter, with care, to make out what was agreed to by both these able disputants, and what was *asserted*, but, *when answered*, not maintained in the reply, and therefore given up: in short it was not difficult to get at the truth.

The result of the whole investigation, after six weeks close inquiry, was a thorough conviction of the truth of the doctrine that Presbyterian ordination is unauthorized by scripture and therefore entirely invalid.

In order that those of my friends and others into whose hands this pamphlet falls, without having it in their power to consult the books above mentioned, may be able to judge of the validity of the reasons on which rests the conclusion I have come to, I propose to make some remarks on the argument of Dr. Miller, the statements he has advanced, and the manner in which he has answered the arguments of the Episcopal writers—and close with a condensed statement of facts showing the invalidity of Presbyterian ordination.

The argument of Dr. Miller consists of the four following positions:

“That Christ gave but one commission for the office of the Gospel ministry, and that this office, of course, is one.

“That the words *Bishop*, and *Elder* or *Presbyter*, are uniformly used in the New Testament as convertible titles for the same office.

“That the same *character* and *powers* which are ascribed, in the sacred writings, to *Bishops*, are also ascribed to *Presbyters*; thus plainly establishing the identity of *order*, as well as of *name*. And finally,

“That the Christian Church was organized by the Apostles after the model of the *Jewish Synagogue*, which was unquestionably Presbyterian in its form.

“If these four positions (he says) can be established, there will remain no doubt on any candid mind, how the question in dispute ought to be decided.” [*Miller's Letters*, p. 28.]

The first of these positions contains a proposition and an inference.

The truth of the proposition is granted. It is true that Christ gave but one commission for the office of the Gospel ministry: *but the inference is denied*; it is *not true* that the office of course is one. The inference is contrary to the plain facts of the New Testament. Without going further into the controversy, on this branch of it, than is necessary for the purpose of showing that there is *more than one office*, suffice it to say that, besides the Apostolic office, plain directions are given in the first epistle to Timothy respecting the qualifications of bishops or presbyters and deacons; and the latter are mentioned in scripture as ministering in the word and baptizing.

Thus when, in consequence of the great persecution of the Church 'at Jerusalem, the disciples were scattered abroad, “*Philip, (the deacon,) went down to the city of Samaria and preached Christ unto them.*”^{*} In the same chapter of the Acts it is stated, that Philip also preached Jesus to the Æthiopian, and baptized him.† The same Philip is in another place called an evangelist,‡ literally a bearer of good news, or of the Gospel.

It is evident therefore that there were, besides the apostolic, at least two other offices in the ministry, those of the presbyters and the deacons; and the matter of fact is opposed to the truth of the inference of Dr. Miller: and that inference being the point upon which his whole argument turns or rests, and being unfounded and contrary to plain facts, the argument built upon it falls to the ground.

The second and third positions, that the names, *bishop and elder*, were names of the same office, no one disputes—it is not even the question in dispute—the question is whether or not there was in the Church in those times an office superiour to these presbyters or bishops, with power to appoint them, to receive and try charges

^{*}Acts, viii, 5.

†Acts, viii, 35-38.

‡Acts, xxi, 8.

against them, and to rebuke and reprove them publicly if they sinned.

If any one has any doubt on this subject, let him turn to the first epistle to Timothy and see what power he had over these presbyters or bishops.

Paul had been in Ephesus preaching and disputing daily for three years,* when he determined to go to Macedonia, Greece, Jerusalem and Rome;† and besought Timothy, his constant companion for several years,‡ to abide still at Ephesus;§ and that he might know how he ought to behave or conduct himself in the Church, he wrote, he tells him,|| this epistle. In it he gives him sundry directions as to doctrine, and as to his conduct towards all the members of the Church, male and female, old and young, rich and poor, in and out of office. He tells him what kind of men will suit for the office of presbyter and what for that of deacon,** and warns him to *lay hands suddenly on no man;*†† if the elders rule well, they were to be honoured; if they were accused, he was not to receive the accusation without two or three witnesses, and if they sinned, he was to *rebuke them before all, that OTHERS‡‡ also may fear;* and Paul charges Timothy *before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels to observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.*§§

Here Paul manifestly shows that Timothy is to be the judge and punisher if these presbyters sin; but if Timothy act partially there is no redress, and the appeal of Paul is to God, there being no human authority over him: and seeing that his charge is so important, and that Timothy is but a young man, *he charges* him solemnly several times to do his duty, and uses these most emphatic words, “*I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, UNTIL THE APPEARING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.*”|||

It will subsequently appear that there is evidence in the Acts to show that Timothy continued in Ephesus in this charge, five years and a half at least: how much longer is uncertain.

The argument of Dr. Miller on the fourth position consists of an attempt to show the analogy between the Christian Church and

* See Acts, xix, particularly verses 8, 9, 10; xx, 31. † Acts, xix, 21. ‡ Acts, xvi, &c. § 1. Tim. i, 3. || 1. Tim. iii, 14, 15. ** 1. Tim. iii. †† 1. Tim, v, 22. ‡‡ THE REST: see more of this hereafter. §§ 1. Tim. v, 17—21. ||| 1. Tim. vi, 13, 14.

the Jewish Synagogue with respect to name, mode of worship, titles of officers, their character, duties and powers, and the mode of ordaining officers. On the other hand, the Episcopal writers contend that the analogy is stronger between the Christian Church and the Temple worship, its officers, &c; and for this they bring the most express declaration of the Christian Fathers. Thus Jerome, on whose evidence Dr. Miller rests with great confidence, asserting that it is decisive in his favour, on this point says, "We know that what *Aaron* and his Sons *were*, that the Bishop and Presbyters *are*." [Epist. ad Nepot. see Bowden, vol. 1. p. 6.]

It is however useless to enter upon an analogical argument; especially as it involves the necessity of discussing the main question in order to settle it, and the main question cannot be decided by the decision of such a subordinate one. If either party should feel pressed by it, they could not be satisfied to abide by a decision unless the main question were discussed.

It is proposed next to notice some statements which Dr. Miller seems to consider as enough to settle the question. He says, "The scriptures also represent *presbyters* as impowered to ordain and as actually exercising this power. Of this we can produce at least three instances of the most decisive kind.

"The first is recorded in Acts xiii, as follows: 'Now there were in the Church that was at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers, as Barnabas and Simeon, that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid hands on them, they sent them away.' This (he says) is the most ample account of an ordination to be found in Scripture; and it is an account which, were there no other, would be sufficient to decide the present controversy in our favour."

It is proper to remark here, that Dr. Miller does not make any attempt to show that the scriptures *represent presbyters as impowered to ordain and as actually exercising the power*. He only brings forward certain cases which *he represents* as instances in which the power was actually exercised. Dr. Miller may have intended nothing more than this in the expressions above mentioned, but it is proper to make the remark, that stating the cases is all he has done.

With respect to the cases brought forward, it requires nothing more than a little attention to the history of Paul and Barnabas in the Acts of the Apostles, to discover that the ceremony related above was not an ordination to the ministry. Paul was converted at or near Damascus, and gives the following account of his conversion and call to the ministry, in his speech before King Agrippa. "Whereupon as I went to Damascus, with authority and commission, from the chief priests, at mid-day, O King, I saw in the way a light from Heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And I said who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.—But rise and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a MINISTER AND A WITNESS both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee; to open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith that is in me. Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the Heavenly vision: but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance." [Acts xxvi, 12—20.]

Luke speaking of Paul's conversion, uses language to the same amount with the latter part of this quotation. He says of Paul, "*And straightway (that is, immediately after his conversion) he preached Christ in the Synagogues, that he is the Son of God.*"—[Acts ix, 20.]

Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, speaking of this same important transaction, says, when it pleased God "*to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediate in I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the*

Lord's brother. Now, the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was unknown by face unto the Churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they had heard only, that he which persecuted us in times past, now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me. Then FOURTEEN YEARS AFTER, I went up AGAIN to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also." [Gal. i, 15—24, ii, 1.]

Here we find Paul, while journeying to Damascus to destroy the disciples, suddenly arrested, convinced of his error, converted to God, sent *immediately* to the Gentiles, to open their eyes and to turn them from the power of Satan to God, *straightway* preaching to them that Christ was the Son of God, first in Damascus, and afterwards in Arabia, the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and finally going to Jerusalem, fourteen years after his first visit to that city to see Peter, and seventeen years after his conversion, in company with Barnabas.

Let us now see where he met with Barnabas, and what the employment of the latter had been.

Barnabas is first mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles in the following manner: "*Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joses, who by the Apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The Son of Consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the Apostles' feet."* [Acts iv, 34 37.] When some years afterwards, Paul first went to Jerusalem after his conversion, "*he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But BARNABAS took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord: "* &c. [Acts ix, 26, 27.] and they then received Paul. Some time after that, the Church at Jerusalem having heard that of the Gentiles at Antioch, "*a great number believed and turned to the Lord,"* "*sent forth BARNABAS that he should go as far as Antioch. Who when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord. For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. and much people was added unto*

the Lord. Barnabas finding the prospects so favourable in Antioch, went to Tarsus, to seek Saul: and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year THEY assembled themselves with the Church, and TAUGHT much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch. And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit, that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judæa: which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.” [Acts xi, 21—30.]

And then it was that Saul or Paul, as he states in his epistle to the Galatians, went again to Jerusalem with Barnabas. [Gal. ii, 1.] While Paul and Barnabas were in Jerusalem, they had a conference with the Apostles James, Peter and John—and Paul tells us, in his epistle to the Galatians, that “*When James, Cephas (or Peter) and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and BARNABAS the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen and they unto the Circumcision.*” “*And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.*” [Gal. ii, 9.—Acts xii, 25.]

After their return to Antioch, it is not said how long, at least seventeen years after Paul had been preaching the gospel, occurred the transaction related in the beginning of the 13th chapter of the Acts, which Dr. Miller calls the ordination of Paul and Barnabas: *Now there were in the Church that was at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaca, which had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.*

The language of the Holy Spirit here is, *separate me Barnabas and Saul FOR THE WORK WHEREUNTO I HAVE CALLED THEM.* Certainly not for the work of the ministry. The Lord Jesus Christ had called Paul to that work at least seventeen years before, (see pages 10, 11); and Barnabas had been occupied in the same way for several years, the latter part of the time in connexion with Paul;

and when they were in Jerusalem together, the Apostles James, Peter and John, had agreed with Paul and Barnabas, that the former should go to the Jews, the latter to the Gentiles, (see page 12.) It is only necessary to read the 13th and 14th chapters of the Acts with attention, in order to ascertain what work it was they were then called to do. They immediately went on a tour through several countries of Asia and Islands of the Mediterranean sea, and after having traversed them, preaching the Gospel for a considerable time, they returned "to Antioch, from whence they had been *recommended to the grace of God for the work WHICH THEY FULFILLED.*" [Acts xiv, 26.]

There are two remarks to be made on this passage :

1. The ceremony performed at Antioch, before their departure, is here called *a recommendation to the grace of God*: Now, if this be an ordination, then was Paul again ordained some short time afterwards, on setting out on a similar tour through the country to visit the Churches: "And Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren to the grace of God. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches." [Acts xv, 40, 41.]

2. It is said in the passage above quoted, *that they had fulfilled the work for which they had been recommended to the grace of God.* This work was, therefore, certainly not that of the ministry: that they had not fulfilled: they continued long afterwards in it, and Paul died a martyr to the cause.

Stress has likewise been laid on the laying on of hands on this occasion. That ceremony was performed on many other occasions besides ordination. Paul laid his hands on twelve disciples whom he found at Ephesus, immediately after baptizing them, and they received the Holy Ghost. [Acts xix, 6.] Peter and John laid their hands on the new disciples in Samaria, and they received the Holy Ghost; and some of these were women. [Acts viii, 12 and 14 to 17 compared.] And long before this, Ananias, by the express command of God, laid his hands on Saul or Paul, while sitting blind in Damascus, and he received the Holy Ghost. [Acts ix, 17.]

These several considerations render it manifest that this was not an ordination. But even if it could be shown to be so, it would remain to be proved that the persons ordaining were presbyters, before Dr. Miller could derive any benefit from the case. This cannot be done. There were five persons concerned, including Paul

and Barnabas. They are called prophets and teachers. These words are not used in scripture as names of office. They are so general in their nature as to embrace all the orders. Private Christians were sometimes thus employed; [Acts xix, 6. xx, 9.] Our Saviour was a prophet and teacher; [John iii, 2.] Of the persons named in the transaction in question, one (Paul) was sent to the Gentiles, to open their eyes and turn them from the power of Satan to God, seventeen years before that time; another (Barnabas) had been for some time engaged with Paul in the same work: they had both, before that time, in a conference with the Apostles James, Peter and John, at Jerusalem, agreed with them to divide, as it were, mankind among them; the Apostles James, Peter and John going to the Jews, and the Apostles Barnabas and Paul going to the Gentiles. Here then two of these five prophets and teachers, were Apostles—what the other three were we do not know: we do know however, that they were not superior to Paul and Barnabas.

Another consideration is, that the order of Apostles *must commence* without laying on of hands by apostolic men. The first *must* derive their authority from God alone. Paul did so. He tells us expressly, that he was “AN APOSTLE NOT OF MEN, NOR BY MAN, BUT BY JESUS CHRIST, AND GOD THE FATHER,” [Gal. i, 1,]—and that the Apostles, while he was in Jerusalem “IN CONFERENCE, ADDED NOTHING TO HIM.” [Gal. ii, 6.]

“The second instance of an ordination performed by *Presbyters*, (says Dr. Miller,) is that of *Timothy*, which is spoken of by the Apostle Paul, in the following terms: ‘Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.’ [1. Timothy iv, 14.] All agree, (he says) that the Apostle is here speaking of Timothy’s ordination; and this ordination is expressly said to have been performed *with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*—that is, of the *Eldership*, or a council of *Presbyters*.” [Miller’s Letters, p. 53.]

It is obvious indeed in the passage quoted, that the gift is said to have been given *by* prophecy and *with* the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. By prophecy of whom? In the second epistle to Tim. i, 6, it is said that the gift was in Timothy by putting on of the hands of Paul. PAUL therefore by prophecy and by laying on his hands ordained Timothy, as he had before done in many instances [Acts xiv, 23.] in company with Barnabas, without mention of the laying on of the hands of presbyters.

Of the reference to the precise meaning of the words *by* and *with*, in this case, in order to understand the passage, Dr. Miller speaks very contemptuously. But I know no other way of getting at the meaning, than by weighing well the signification of the words in which it is conveyed. It is to be observed that in the Greek, the word *DIA* precedes both the words which signify *prophecy* and *hands*, and the word *META* precedes the word which signifies presbytery. What was this difference for, if it was not to express a difference? The word *DIA* signifies *by*; the word *META* signifies *with*, or *together with*. There is no other signification given of *META*, in the folio Lexicon of Scapula, when it is used with the genitive case, as is done in the passage in question.

The plain meaning is therefore, that the gift was communicated by Paul, *by* prophecy and *by* laying on his hands, *together with* the laying on the hands of the presbytery; and this is the mode in which the ceremony of ordination of presbyters is performed in the church at this day. The office is conferred by the bishop *by* the laying on of his hands, the presbyters laying on their hands *together with* his. It is therefore evidently absurd to insist upon this case as decisive of the question, as Dr. Miller has done; especially as the construction he puts upon it, compels him to translate different Greek words *DIA* and *META*, by the same English word *by*; when the use of the two different words in the same sentence, shows that a difference was intended. If Paul had intended no difference, he would have said, *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy and the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.*

The last instance mentioned by Dr. Miller, as a presbyterian ordination of the most decisive kind, "is that of *PAUL* and *BARNABAS*, who, after having been regularly set apart to the work of the ministry themselves, proceeded *through the cities of Lystra, Iconium, &c.* And when they had ordained them *Elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed.* Our adversaries (says Dr. Miller) will perhaps say, that *PAUL* alone performed these ordinations, in his Apostolic or episcopal character; and that *BARNABAS* only laid on hands to express his approbation of what *PAUL* did." [Miller's Letters, p. 59.]

Dr. Miller here insinuates that the Episcopalians must admit that *Barnabas* was nothing more than a presbyter, and therefore

they will perhaps say that Paul alone performed these ordinations; and that Barnabas only laid on his hands to express his approbation, as a presbyter, of what Paul did. Truth will not however, allow them to admit this of Barnabas: they certainly will not call him any thing less than an Apostle, when he is in the Acts called an Apostle, and together with Paul exercised, as fully as he did, the Apostolic office. This cannot be reasonably questioned after reading the history of Barnabas; his constant connexion and fellowship with Paul; his receiving with Paul the right hand of *fellowship* from the Apostles James, Peter and John in Jerusalem, and the agreement that James, Peter and John should go to the Jews, and Barnabas and Paul to the Gentiles; the extensive travels of Barnabas and Paul through Asia preaching to the Gentiles, related in the 11th to the 15th chapters of the Acts, in the 14th and 15th verses of the 14th chapter of which, we read as follows; “Which when *the Apostles* BARNABAS and PAUL, heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying, *Sirs, why do ye these things?*” [Acts, xiv, 14, 15.] Here Barnabas is called *an Apostle* by Luke, the writer of the Acts. Dr. Miller, indeed, makes an attempt to shew that Barnabas was only a messenger and that he is called Apostle in a vague sense. No more need be said of this attempt, desperate it surely may be called, than this, that whatever Paul was Barnabas must have been; the words of scripture are, THE APOSTLES PAUL AND BARNABAS. So much for these three cases, represented by Dr. Miller as instances of ordination by presbyters “of the most decisive kind.”

It is proposed next to show in what manner Dr. Miller has answered some arguments of the Episcopalians writers. It is not my purpose to go through these arguments one by one. That would occupy more space and time than I have to devote just now to this subject. It is only intended to give the reader a specimen of the manner in which Dr. Miller is compelled to proceed in order to sustain the cause he is contending for.

One of the arguments of the Episcopalians writers is, Dr. Miller states, “That the Apostles, while they lived, held a station in the Church superior to all other ministers; that *Bishops* are the proper successors of the *Apostles*; and that they hold a corresponding superiority of character and office.” Of this he says, “If this argument be examined, it will be found to have no other force than that

which consists in a mere gratuitous assertion of the point to be proved." [Miller's Letters, p. 88.]

"Accordingly (he says) when we ask those who adduce this argument, whence they derive the idea that diocesan Bishops peculiarly succeed the Apostles in their Apostolic character, (for this supposition alone is to their purpose,) they refer us to no passages of Scripture asserting or even hinting it; but to some vague suggestions and allusions of a few of the early fathers." [Miller's Letters, p. 90.]

1. Dr. Miller says, they refer us to no passages of Scripture asserting or even hinting *that diocesan Bishops peculiarly succeed the Apostles in their Apostolic character.*

How can the scripture assert before-hand that a thing *is done?* (that *they succeed*, in the present tense.) What Episcopalians therefore would be simple enough to expect to find a passage in scripture, asserting that the *Bishops do succeed* the Apostles in their Apostolic office? In the nature of things they can only show that the scriptures ascribe certain powers to the heads of the Churches. We must look to the subsequent records of the Church for knowledge of what followed the time of the Apostles; and in them we find that these powers have been exercised by the Bishops throughout the world ever since—and that there is no departure from this, in any quarter of the world except among the followers of a few who broke off from the Church, and, not having that Episcopal ordination which to this period was universal in the Church, which they had themselves always revered, which had given them all the authority they possessed, made up their mind to do without it, and perpetuate their party by ordaining others, alleging, in justification of themselves for this known and acknowledged departure from the practice of the Church, *the necessity of the case.*

2. Dr. Miller further says, they refer us "*to some vague suggestions and allusions of a few of the early Fathers.*" [Miller's Letters, p. 90.]

As a specimen of what Dr. Miller calls *vague suggestions and allusions*, let the reader turn to the appendix to these pages, and take a look at the epistles of Ignatius, one of the disciples of John, who was thrown into the amphitheatre at Rome by the order of the emperor Trajan, and devoured by lions, after forty years of service in the Church, because he would not deny the Saviour. Being acquainted personally with some of the Apostles, and the disciple

of one of them, he certainly knew the order of the Church. He writes in very intelligible terms and does not make a *few vague suggestions and allusions*. Nothing can be more clear and distinct than his language. He mentions, in the course of his epistles to the Christians of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia and Smyrna, and to Polycarp, the different orders of ministers in the Church above thirty times; of which twenty-nine passages are contained in the epistles in the appendix, *printed in Italic letters*.

In every instance the Bishop is mentioned in such terms as show that he was *the only one* in the Church addressed; and some of the cities in which these Churches were, were very populous, with great numbers of Christians. Thus the Church at Ephesus was very large more than fifty years before this epistle was written.

In twelve of these passages, the Bishop is mentioned alone, viz. in the 1st, 2nd, 5th and 6th sections of the epistle to the Ephesians; in the 4th of that to the Magnesians; in the 2nd and 7th of that to the Trallians; in the 1st, 3rd, 7th and 8th of that to the Philadelphians; and in the 9th of that to the Smyrneans.

In these passages the Bishop is represented as chief or principal in the Church, over all, without whose consent nothing is to be done; particularly in the first *Italic* lines in the 2nd and 7th sections of the epistle to the Trallians; in the first *Italic* lines of the 3rd section, and the last of the 7th section of the epistle to the Philadelphians; and in the *Italic* lines in the 9th section of the epistle to the Smyrneans. There is, however, very little choice, if we except the 1st and 2nd sections to the Ephesians and the 1st and 3rd to the Philadelphians.

The presbyters are not mentioned at all except in connexion with the Bishop.

They are mentioned *together* seventeen times in the epistles in the appendix. In eight passages the language shows, in the clearest manner, the inferiority and subordination of the presbyters; viz. in the *Italic* lines of the 4th section of the epistle to the Ephesians; of the 3rd and 6th to the Magnesians; of the 2nd, 3rd and 12th to the Trallians; of the 4th to the Philadelphians; and of the 8th to the Smyrneans: and in the other seven instances the Presbyters are invariably mentioned second to the Bishop, and the deacons, when they are mentioned with the rest, third in order (in every instance except one) which happens seven times in the epistles in the appendix. [See the appendix for these statements.]

Language cannot easily be devised to express more strongly than these passages in *Italics*, that the Bishop is chief in the Church, the source of all authority, without whose consent nothing is to be done; that the presbyters are subordinate to him, derive their authority from him, are bound to reverence him and under a special obligation, more than others, to refresh him or support him; that the deacons are third in office, and are ministers of the word of God, ambassadors of God, &c. [Appendix, see epistle to the Magnesians, section 6; Trallians, sect. 2; Philadelphians, sect. 4, 10, 11; and to the Smyrneans sect. 12.] and lastly THAT WITHOUT THESE THREE ORDERS THERE IS NO CHURCH. (Appendix, epistle to the Trallians, sect. 3.)

Dr. Miller goes on to observe, after speaking of the vague suggestions and allusions of a few early Fathers, "Several of them expressly represent *Presbyters* as the successors of the Apostles. Among others, *Ignatius*, than whom no Father is more highly esteemed, or more frequently quoted as an authority by Episcopalians, generally represents *Presbyters* as standing in the place of the Apostles." (Miller's Letters, p. 90.) The reader may easily determine how far this assertion is correct by turning to the passages in *Italic letters* in the appendix to these pages.

Dr. Miller goes on to support this assertion respecting Ignatius's sentiments, by some quotations from his epistles. He says, "The following quotations are from his far-famed *Epistles*. "The Presbyters succeed in the place of the bench of the Apostles."

These words are taken from the 6th section of the epistle to the Magnesians, and are detached from their connexion with what precedes and follows them. Take the whole together and the meaning is precisely the reverse of that which Dr. Miller represents it to be. The whole passage runs thus, the words in *Italics* and inclosed in a parenthesis being those only which Dr. Miller quotes; "Forasmuch therefore as I have in the persons before mentioned, seen all of you in faith and charity; I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: YOUR BISHOP PRESIDING IN THE PLACE OF GOD, (*your Presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles;*) AND YOUR DEACONS MOST DEAR TO ME, BEING ENTRUSTED WITH THE MINISTRY OF JESUS CHRIST; who was with the Father before all ages, and appeared in the end to us." [See the appendix, epistle to the Magnesians, 6th section.]

Dr. Miller's next quotation is in the following words: "In like

manner let all reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ, and the Bishop as the Father, and the Presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and college of the Apostles."

This passage is found in the 3rd section of the epistle to the Trallians.

If these passages represent the Presbyters as standing in the place of the Apostles, they place the Bishop as far above them as he could by any language be represented to be.

Dr. Miller has not quoted a few words which, in the passage quoted last, immediately follow the word *Apostles*: viz. "WITHOUT THESE THERE IS NO CHURCH." These words throw a blaze of light on the subject. It must be remembered, that Dr. Miller is contending for the Presbyterian doctrine, that there is *but one order of ministers* and that this order, viz. the Presbyters are the successors of the Apostles, authorized by the same commission and standing on a footing of official equality with those to whom it was originally delivered, so far as their office was ordinary and perpetual: on the contrary, that the Episcopalian doctrine is that there are three orders of ministers of which the Presbyter is the second, the Bishop being his superior. The words omitted, viz. *without these there is no Church*, show that there were three orders. *These* what? These three orders just named in the fore part of the quotation, viz. *the Bishop, the Presbyters, and the Deacons*. Without *these* there is no Church; and of these the Bishop is the chief, not the Presbyters: for if the words be considered as "representing the presbyters as standing in the place of the Apostles," they represent the Bishop as standing in the place of God. It is evident that Dr. Miller represents Ignatius as meaning what he never intended to say—what he has not said—and the very opposite of what he obviously has repeatedly said.

Dr. Miller's next quotation is in these words: "Be subject to your Presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope."

This passage is found in the second section of Ignatius's epistle to the Trallians; and is detached from its connexion with the words which precede and follow it. Take the whole passage and the meaning is as different as it well can be. The whole passage runs thus, the words *in Italics*, inclosed as before, being those which Dr. Miller quotes: "It is therefore necessary, THAT AS YE DO, SO WITHOUT YOUR BISHOP YOU SHOULD DO NOTHING: ALSO [*be ye subject to your Presbyters, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope;*] in whom

if we walk, we shall be found in him. The deacons also, as being the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all. For they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God." [See Appendix, 2d section of the epistle to the Trallians.]

It is evident that here also Ignatius is represented as saying what he does not say, and as meaning what he never intended.

Dr. Miller's next quotation is as follows: "Follow the Presbytery as the Apostles."

This passage is taken from the 8th section of Ignatius's epistle to the Smyrneans, and does not stand there in the order the words are quoted. The passage runs thus: viz. "SEE THAT YE ALL [*follow*] YOUR BISHOP, AS JESUS CHRIST, THE FATHER: AND [*the Presbytery, as the Apostles.*"] The words in small capitals are omitted, those only *in Italics*, and inclosed as before, are quoted by Dr. Miller. Read the words in Italics without those in small capitals, and the passage runs precisely as Dr. Miller has quoted it; and it has, to the ear, the appearance of supporting his doctrine. Read the whole as Ignatius wrote it, and the conviction is irresistible that his meaning was not what Dr. Miller represents it to be.

Dr. Miller proceeds in his fourth letter, to make some extracts from Ignatius, which he prefaces with the following observations: "I will venture to affirm, that instead of yielding to the cause of *diocesan Episcopacy*, that efficient support which is imagined, they do not contain a *single sentence* which can be construed in its favour; but on the contrary, much which can only be reconciled with the primitive, *parochial Episcopacy*, or Presbyterian government, so evidently portrayed in scripture, and so particularly defined in my first letter." [The words *in Italics* are thus printed in Miller's Letters.]

"The following extracts from these *epistles*, are among the strongest quoted by Episcopal writers in support of their cause."* (Miller's Letters, p. 140.) At the close of these extracts, he makes some observations which end with the following words: "I have been thus particular in attending to the testimony of *Ignatius*, because the advocates of prelaey have always considered him as more decidedly in their favour than any other Father, and have contended for the genuineness of his writings with as much zeal as if the cause

*"To cut off all occasion of doubt, as to the fairness used in translating these extracts, I think proper to state, that I adopt the translation of Archbishop Wake." [Dr. Miller's own note.]

of Episcopacy were involved in their fate. But you will perceive that these writings, when impartially examined, instead of affording aid to that cause, furnish decisive testimony against it." (Miller's Letters, p. 148.) Here follow the extracts:

"*Epistle to the Church of Ephesus. Sect. v.* "Let no man deceive himself; if a man be not within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, as we are told; how much more powerful shall that of the Bishop and the whole Church be? He, therefore, that does not come together into the same place with it, is proud, and has already condemned himself."

"*Epistle to the Church of Magnesia. Sect. 2.* "Seeing then, I have been judged worthy to see you, by *Damas*, your most excellent Bishop, and by your very worthy Presbyters, *Bassus*, and *Apollonius*, and by my fellow servant, *Sotio*, the Deacon—I determined to write unto you." *Sect. 6.* "I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord; your Bishop presiding in the place of God; your Presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles; and your Deacons most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages, and appeared in the end to us. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you; but be ye united to your Bishop, and those who preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality." *Sect. 7.* "As, therefore, the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him; neither by himself, nor yet by his Apostles; so neither do ye any thing without your Bishop and Presbyters: Neither endeavour to let any thing appear rational to yourselves apart; but being come together into the same place, have one common prayer, one supplication, one mind; one hope, in charity, and in joy undefiled. There is one Lord Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God; as to one altar; as to one Jesus Christ; who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to one."

"*Epistle to the Trallians. Sect. 2.* "Whereas ye are subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ; who died for us, that so believing in his death, ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary, that, as ye do, so without your Bishop, you should do, nothing. Also be ye subject to your Presbyters, as to the Apos-

bles of Jesus Christ our hope, in whom if we walk, we shall be found in him. The Deacons, also, as being the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all." *Sect. 7.* "Wherefore guard yourselves against such persons. And that you will do, if you are not puffed up; but continue inseparable from Jesus Christ our God, and from your Bishop, and from the command of the Apostles. He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does any thing without the Bishop, and Presbyters, and Deacons, is not pure in his conscience."

"*The Epistle to the Church at Smyrna. Sect. 8.* "See that ye all follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ, the Father; and the Presbytery as the Apostles: and reverence the Deacons as the command of God. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the Church separately from the Bishop. Let that Eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the Bishop, or by him to whom the Bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people also be: as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful, without the Bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the holy communion. But whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God; that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done." *Sect. 12.* "I salute your very worthy Bishop, and your venerable Presbytery, and your Deacons, my fellow servants; and all of you in general, and every one in particular, in the name of Jesus Christ."

"*Epistle to Polycarp.* "*Ignatius* who is also called *Theophorus*, to *Polycarp*, Bishop of the Church which is at *Smyrna*; their overseer, but rather himself overlooked by God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ: all happiness!" *Sect. 1.* "Maintain thy place with all care, both of flesh and spirit: Make it thy endeavour to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Speak to every one as God shall enable thee." *Sect. 4.* "Let not the widows be neglected: be thou, after God, their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent: neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy. Let your assemblies be more full: inquire into all by name: overlook not the men nor maid servants; neither let them be puffed up, but rather let them be more subject to the glory of God, that they may obtain from him a better liberty." *Sect. 5.* "It becomes all such as are *married*, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the Bishop; that so their marriage may be according to godliness, and not in lust."

“These are the passages in the Epistles of *Ignatius*, which Episcopal writers have triumphantly quoted, as beyond all doubt establishing their claims. Nothing stronger or more decisive is pretended to be found in these far famed relics of antiquity. Now I ask you, my brethren, whether there is in these extracts, a sentence that can serve their purpose?” (Dr. Miller’s Letters, pp. 140—144.)

But before the reader allows himself to answer the question with which this quotation from Dr. Miller closes, let him compare these extracts of his, with the epistles themselves in the appendix; and he will find that the Doctor has not by any means brought forward the strongest passages.

Dr. Miller has not quoted section 4 of the epistle to the Ephesians, which contains a very strong passage *in Italics*: see the appendix.

In quoting section 5, he has omitted the words printed *in Italics*, another strong passage: see the appendix.

He has not quoted section 6, containing a strong passage *in Italics*: see appendix.

In quoting section 2 of the epistle to the Magnesians, he has omitted the passage *in Italics*, a strong one: see appendix.

He has not quoted section 3, containing a passage decisively showing the inferiority of Presbyters to the Bishop, and that they are bound to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father: see appendix.

In quoting section 2 of the epistle to the Trallians, he has omitted the following short sentence immediately succeeding that which he quotes; viz. “For they (that is the Deacons) are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God.” This passage bears directly and decisively on the controversy between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians; the latter insisting that there is but one order of ministers in the Church, viz. the Presbyters, and that *Deacons are not ministers of the word*.

Dr. Miller has not quoted the 3rd section of the epistle to the Trallians, containing a most decisive passage *in Italics*: see the appendix.

He has not quoted section 12 of the same epistle, also containing a decisive passage *in Italics*.

He has not quoted section 13 of the same, containing a strong passage *in Italics*.

He has not quoted section 4 of the epistle to the Philadelphians, containing a strong passage: and,

He has not quoted section 9 of the epistle to the Smyrneans, containing a very strong passage.

All this may be seen by turning to the appendix, and comparing it with Dr. Miller's quotations, pages 22 and 23 of this essay.

It may be added that Dr. Miller has quoted among those passages which, he states, are triumphantly quoted by Episcopalians, four from Ignatius's epistle to Polycarp; viz. two sentences out of section 1, most of the 4th, and part of the 5th section. These extracts certainly are not among the strongest passages on the point in dispute; and as Dr. Miller is professing to give the strongest passages that have been advanced by Episcopalians, he has not done what he professed to do. One of these passages from Ignatius's epistle to Polycarp, is so far from being among the strongest quoted by Episcopalians, that it is made use of by Dr. Miller himself as an argument in his own favour. And now that it is mentioned, it is not amiss to say that *it* likewise is represented to signify what it does not. [Compare pp. 144 and 145 of Miller's Letters.]

Dr. Miller represents Ignatius as telling Polycarp it was his duty "to be *personally acquainted* with all his flock; to take notice, *with his own eye*, of those who were *absent* from public worship; to attend to the *widows* and the *poor* of his congregation; to seek out all *by name*, and not to overlook even the *men* and *maid-servants* living in his parish." But the language of Ignatius is, "Let not the widows be neglected: be thou, after God, their guardian, let your assemblies be more full: inquire into all by name: overlook not the men and maid-servants;" &c.

The words in *Italics* in this quotation from Dr. Miller are so marked by him: he therefore specially directs the attention of the reader to those words—and yet there is scarce one of them but what conveys a different idea from what the words of Ignatius do. Thus,

Ignatius says, "Let your assemblies be more full."

Miller represents him as saying; Take notice *with your own eye* of those who are absent from public worship.

Ignatius; "Inquire into all by name: overlook not the men and maid-servants."

Miller; *Seek out all by name* and do not overlook even the *men and maid-servants* living in the parish. *Be personally acquainted* with all the flock.

Ignatius does not say any thing which implies the necessity of

personal acquaintance with all, nor the necessity of noticing *with his own eyes* those who absent themselves from public worship, nor that of *seeking out* all by name. He urges no duties which a man may not perform in a large diocess.

Ignatius says, "Let not the widows be neglected." This he *could do* by causing the presbyters and deacons to do their duty, without seeing one of them.

Ignatius says, "Let your assemblies be more full." He could attend to this over a considerable extent of country, as the presiding Elders of the Methodist Society do. They attend to this throughout their charge, and their districts are sometimes 300 miles long; urging the people and the preachers, as they pass and repass, and inquiring continually how far it is attended to.

Ignatius says, "Inquire into all by name; overlook not the men and maid-servants." This can be done without personal acquaintance. The preachers of the Methodist travelling connexion, on many circuits, have above a thousand, and on some twelve or fourteen hundred persons under their care, [See their printed Minutes,] sometimes spread over circuits of fifty or sixty miles in extent, and they inquire *into all by name*, not overlooking the men and maid-servants, *every four weeks*, and many of these they do not recognize if they meet them in the road. Mr. Wesley in his journal, (the passage I cannot refer to at this moment, not having the book,) speaks of going into a town where there were many hundred persons in the Methodist Society, and, taking the lists into his hands, inquiring into the state of all by name: and this kind of superintendance Mr. Wesley exercised over all England. It is most obvious therefore that the injunction of Ignatius may without much difficulty be attended to, even when great numbers are spread over a large space.

It surely cannot be deemed uncharitable to call this a forced and strained paraphrase of Ignatius's advice to Polycarp; and this, connected with *Dr. Miller's expressions*, "to attend to the widows and the poor of the congregation," and "not to overlook the men and maid-servants *living in the parish*," is evidently intended to induce the reader to believe, contrary to the whole tenor of the epistles of Ignatius, who wrote this to Polycarp, that the attention of the latter was confined to a single congregation or parish in Smyrna.

It cannot be doubted that these omitted sections, sentences, and

parts of sentences, have a most material bearing on the question. The passages selected by Dr. Miller are so worded, or are so altered, that a person previously persuaded of the Presbyterian doctrine, that there is but one order of ministers, (and these called bishops in the Confession of Faith,) having under them elders or presbyters and deacons, may find nothing in them inconsistent with his views. But the omitted passages show beyond all question, that these inferior orders are ministers of the word. The deacons, the lowest order, are called ambassadors of God, [See appendix, epistle to Philadelphians, sect. 10, 11.] are said to be entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, [Epistle to the Magnesians, sect. 6.] to be ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ; and not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God: [Epistle to Trallians, sect. 2.] and why should it be doubted that deacons are ministers, when we know from scripture, that when the disciples were driven out of Jerusalem, *the deacon* Philip went down to Samaria, and preached the Gospel and baptized the converts there, and in other places. [Acts, viii, 5, 12, 35-38, 40.]

It is farther to be observed, that in that part of his volume in which he makes these extracts, Dr. Miller is compelled by the positive assertion of the superiority of the Bishop, to contend that he (the Bishop) is a parochial or presbyterian Bishop, with his elders or presbyters under him. He says, "But is there a single hint in these extracts which looks as if the Bishops mentioned in them were of a distinct and superior order?" [Miller's Letters, p. 145.] After answering his own question in the negative, he asks of the presbyters, "But what kind of officers were these presbyters? The friends of prelaey, without hesitation, answer they were the inferior clergy, who ministered to the several congregations belonging to each of the diocesses mentioned in these Epistles; an order of clergy subject to the Bishop, empowered to preach, baptize, and administer the Lord's Supper; but having no power to ordain or confirm. But all this is said without the smallest evidence." [Miller's Letters, p. 146.] "The whole strain of these epistles, then, may be considered as descriptive of Presbyterian Government. They exhibit a number of particular churches, each furnished with a Bishop or Pastor, and also with Elders and Deacons." [Miller's Letters, p. 148.] And yet these very Elders or Presbyters, *here* represented as nothing more than the elders in a Pre byterian Church, subordinate to the pastor, are *in another part*

of the volume represented as standing in the place of the Apostles; and the very same passages are quoted to prove both. This will appear at once on comparing Dr. Miller's quotations from the epistles of Ignatius, p. 91 of his letters, (p. 19 &c. of this essay,) with the extracts from the same stated in p. 141 &c. of his Letters, (p. 22 &c. of this essay.) This utter inconsistency, the necessity for taking different and opposite grounds in different parts of the argument in order to maintain this doctrine, shows that it has no strong ground to rest upon.

After proceeding with quotations from several other Fathers Dr. Miller observes, "I have now gone through the testimony of those Fathers who lived and wrote within the first *two Centuries* after Christ, the limits which I prescribed to myself at the beginning of this letter. And I can solemnly assure you, my brethren, that the foregoing extracts, besides what I have deemed favourable to our own cause, also contain, to the best of my knowledge and belief, *the strongest passages* that are to be found, within that period, in support of diocesan Episcopacy. I may confidently challenge the most zealous Episcopalian to produce, out of the writers of these times, a single sentence which speaks more *fully* or *decidedly* in favour of his system, than those which have been presented. If there be any such, I have not been so fortunate as to meet with them; nor have the ablest Episcopal writers with whom I have been conversant, appeared to know of their existence. You have before you, not merely a *specimen* of those quotations which they consider as most favourable to their cause, but in fact, *the great body* of the strongest and best passages for their purpose, that they are able to produce.

"Let me, then, appeal to your candor, whether the assertions made at the beginning of this letter, are not fully supported—Have you seen a single passage which proves that Christian *Bishops*, within the first two centuries, were, in fact, an order of clergy, distinct from those *Presbyters* who were authorized to preach and administer sacraments, and superior to them?"

How far Dr. Miller is authorized to use this strong language, the reader may judge from the comparison he has already made of his quotations from Ignatius's epistles, with those epistles themselves. It may be observed that the words in *Italics*, in the quotation above, are so marked in Miller's Letters.

Moreover, the reply to the question with which this quotation

concludes, viz. "*Have you seen* A SINGLE PASSAGE which proves that Christian Bishops, within the first two centuries, were, in fact, an order of clergy distinct from those Presbyters who were authorized to preach and administer sacraments and superior to them?"—the reply, I say, to this question the reader is requested to make for himself, after reading the passages in *Italics*, in Ignatius's epistles in the appendix to this essay, with the word *Presbyter* substituted for the word *Bishop* in every case. This substitution is perfectly proper, if *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are names of the same officer in the church, with the same character and powers, as Dr. Miller contends. [p. 6.]

If this substitution be made in the 4th section of the epistle to the Ephesians, it will run thus: "Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your *Presbyter*, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery, (or council of *Presbyters*) worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the *Presbyter* as the strings are to the harp."

The same substitution being made, of *Presbyter* for *Bishop*, the 3rd section of the epistle to the Magnesians will run thus; "Wherefore it will become you also not to use your *Presbyter* too familiarly upon the account of his youth; but to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father; as also I perceive that your holy *Presbyters* do," &c.

In the same way we shall have in section 7 of the same epistle, "so neither do ye do any thing without your *Presbyter* and *Presbyters*."

In section 12 of the epistle to the Trallians, we shall have, "For it becomes every one of you, especially *the Presbyters*, to refresh *the Presbyter*," &c.—and so of other passages in *Italics* in the appendix.

In making these quotations I have had in view nothing but the maintenance of the truth. It has been done with a feeling of regret: but *let the truth prevail* ought to be the sentiment of every man; let parties fall before it, "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men."

It is proposed lastly to show from a statement of facts drawn from scripture, that the Apostolic Church was Episcopal; and,

from the testimony of those who succeeded the Apostles in the charge of the Church, that it continued to be so after the times of the Apostles.

WHEN important concerns are the subject of controversy, it is of great moment to ascertain the points on which the parties agree, and those which are in dispute. The parties to the controversy now under consideration, agree in some capital particulars. Dr. Miller gives the following striking and correct view of the subject.

“Religion is the common business of all men. Its duties cannot be performed by delegation. Every man is required to examine, to believe, and to obey the Gospel for himself, and for himself to receive the promised reward. We may commit other concerns to the wisdom and fidelity of our fellow-men: but the care of his own soul belongs to each individual; and if he neglect it, no solicitude, no exertions on the part of others, can possibly avail him.

“But although Religion be a concern which equally belongs to every man, yet it has pleased the all-wise Head of the Church to appoint an order of men more particularly to *minister in holy things*.” “If all the interests of the Church are precious in the view of every enlightened Christian, it is evident that the *mode of its organization*, cannot be a trivial concern.” “Christians, in all ages, are bound to make the Apostolic order of the Church, with respect to the ministry, as well as other points, the model, as far as possible, of all their ecclesiastical arrangements.” [Miller’s Letters, p. 3, 6, 8.]

These important points agreed upon, the question to be decided is, What was the order of the Church established by the Apostles?

2.* The conversion of Paul and his call to the ministry, are decidedly the most remarkable on record. The Lord Jesus Christ

* The sections are numbered for the convenience of reference.

called to him at mid-day, when overwhelmed with the brightness of His presence and fallen to the earth, and said, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, TO OPEN THEIR EYES, AND TO TURN THEM FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT, AND FROM THE POWER OF SATAN UNTO GOD; that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith that is in me." [Acts of the Apostles, xxvi, 12-18.]

3. Paul, without delay, commenced the work thus committed to his hands; and devoted himself with such boldness, ardour and perseverance in the cause as has never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled. He planted churches in various places, particularly in Asia, spending several years in building up the Church in one city and then passing to another, leaving the work in the hands of chosen men on whom he could rely. To these churches and to these men he wrote various epistles, consisting chiefly of directions for the conduct of those to whom they were addressed; and, consequently, those to the persons to whom he had given the charge of churches, contain full directions for their conduct in every particular *as to the order of the Church*, and it is from these full directions that we are to learn the apostolical order of the Church, in order to ascertain whether any particular ecclesiastical arrangements agree with that order.

4. One of the Churches established and built up by the labour, care, and perseverance of Paul, was that of Ephesus. On his first visit to that city "he entered the synagogue and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not: but bade them farewell, saying I must by all means keep this feast that cometh, in Jerusalem: but I will return again unto you, if God will." [Acts xviii, 19-20.]

5. Some time afterwards, Paul went again to Ephesus, and found about twelve disciples; "and he went into the synagogue and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued

by the space of two years: so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." [Acts xix, 7-10.]

Paul therefore was about three years in Ephesus preaching the word, as he tells us himself, [Acts xx, 31.] and great numbers believed. [Acts xix, 11-20.]

6. "After these things were ended Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there I must also see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timothy and Erastus: but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." [Acts xix, 31, 22.]

7. While he remained yet a short time in that country, there was a great uproar produced by Demetrius, in consequence of the decline of his business of making shrines for the Heathen Goddess Diana, from the numbers converted to God by the preaching of Paul. "And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia:" as he had determined.

8. "And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria (on his way to Jerusalem) he purposed to return THROUGH MACEDONIA:" while his company (one of whom was Timothy,) going before (by water) tarried for him at Troas:— [Acts xx, 1-5.]

9. Having left Ephesus, and expecting never to return [Acts xx, 25,] Paul discovered the utmost anxiety for the prosperity of the Church in that city. This is shown in that most interesting narration contained in the twentieth chapter of the Acts.

10. It is proposed to show from the scripture, that in this state of anxiety for the welfare of that church, Paul left Timothy in charge of it, with directions for his conduct towards all in it; and that those directions, contained in the first epistle to Timothy, show that he exercised episcopal authority over the whole Church; the presbyters being subject to his authority, as well as the deacons.

2nd. That Timothy continued in charge of the Church at Ephesus five years and a half at least; how much longer being uncertain: and,

3rd. These points being established by scriptural statements, it will be clearly shown, from the testimony of those who immediately succeeded the Apostles in the care of the Church, and who like many of them sealed the truth with their blood, that Timothy's successors exercised the same authority.

11. And first, that Paul left Timothy, his constant companion for several years before [Acts, xvi, 1-4; xvii, 14-16; xviii, 5; xix, 22; xx, 4, 5.] in charge of the church at Ephesus, with directions for his conduct towards all in it, which show that he exercised episcopal authority over presbyters, deacons and people.

12. Paul in his first epistle to Timothy, says, "I besought thee *to abide still at Ephesus*, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other doctrine." [I. Timothy, i, 3.]

He tells him, "This charge I commit unto thee, Son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee [I. Tim. iv, 14; II. Tim. i, 6.] that thou by them mightest war a good warfare." [I. Tim. i, 18.] "I exhort, *therefore*, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men." [I. Tim. ii, 1.]

He proceeds to give him directions respecting the order of the Church, [I. Tim. ii.] and to guide him in the choice of proper persons for the offices of Presbyter or Bishop and Deacon; [I. Tim. iii.] and tells him, "These things write I unto thee hoping to come unto thee shortly: but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."— [I. Tim. iii, 14, 15.]

He directs him, if a presbyter behave well to honour him; if not, to rebuke him before all, that others also (that is the rest* of them) may fear; charges him before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, to observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality; and closes this solemn charge respecting the government of the elders, with warning him to take care whom he put into this office; *Lay hands suddenly on no man*. [I. Tim. v, 17-22.]

* The word in our translation is *others*, "that *others* also may fear." This is, however, much more indefinite than the original Greek. The words translated *others*, are *hoi λοιποι*, *reliqui*, *the rest*, "that *the rest* also may fear." The proper Greek word for *others*, is *heteroi* or *alloi*; and one of these would have been used by the Apostle if he had intended to speak indefinitely of all other persons. Of the correctness of this, most men may readily inform themselves.

Finally, Paul charges Timothy in the following weighty words, "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession; that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, UNTIL THE APPEARING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." [I. Tim. vi, 13, 14.]

13. In these passages from the first epistle to Timothy, written by Paul expressly for his direction in the regulation of the Church, are contained full evidence of ample episcopal authority. Timothy was to remain at Ephesus to regulate the Church, to restrain those who should preach false doctrine, to select proper persons for presbyters and deacons, to prove or try them, [I. Tim. iii, 10.] to ordain such as were found worthy, to honour them if they behaved well, to rebuke them that sinned, before all, that the rest might fear, and to continue in this charge until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. The episcopal powers which are most offensive to those who derive their ordination through presbyters, are here plainly laid down; viz. the power exercised by Timothy of selecting; after sufficient proof, of ordaining; and of governing the clergy as well as the laity—and that for an unlimited time.

14. It is important to determine when this charge of the Church at Ephesus was given to Timothy, and there are a number of circumstances stated in the Acts, which, when compared, enable us to determine the time.

15. Paul says he besought Timothy to abide still at Ephesus *when he (Paul) went into Macedonia.* [I. Tim. i, 3.]

It is related in the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul made two visits to Macedonia after the Church was established at Ephesus; and the account of his journeys, is so particular and minute, from the time of his leaving Ephesus until the close of the narrative, that it is evident he did not make any other journey into Macedonia within the period embraced in that narrative. This will appear from the following statement.

16. After spending three years in Ephesus in establishing the Church, [Acts xix, 8, 10; xx, 31.] he determined to go to Macedonia. [Acts xix, 21.] After the uproar, an account of which is related in Acts xix, 23–41, he executed his purpose of going into that country. [Acts xx. 1.] From Macedonia he went to Greece and spent three months there. [Acts xx, 2, 3.] From Greece, as he was about to sail into Syria, he determined *to return through Ma-*

cedonia, in order to avoid the Jews who, he was informed, were lying in wait to kill him on his way to Syria (Acts xx, 3.) leaving his company to go on towards Syria and wait for him at Troas, a sea-port town on the coast of Asia. (Acts xx, 5.) After passing through Macedonia, and continuing there until after the days of unleavened bread, he sailed from Philippi, a principal city of that country, and overtook his company at Troas. (Acts xx, 6.) After spending a week in Troas, Paul and his company pursued their way and in a few days arrived at Miletus. (Acts xx, 6 15.) From Miletus he went by Coos, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre, Ptolemais, and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. (Acts xxi, 1 15.) Soon after he arrived in Jerusalem he was arrested and imprisoned, carried thence to Cæsarea and imprisoned there likewise, and after several examinations before Claudius Lysias, Felix, Portius Festus, and Agrippa, he appealed to Cæsar, and was sent in chains to Rome. (Acts xxi, 27, 33; xxii, 24, 30; xxiii, 1, 10, 23, 35; xxiv, 1, 27; xxv, 2, 4, 9, 10, 12, 27; xxvi, 1, 32; xxvii, xxviii;) and at Rome, in prison, the history leaves him. (Acts xxviii, 16, 30, 31.)

17. It is manifest, therefore, that we have no account of Paul's having made any other than these two visits to Macedonia, after the church was established at Ephesus; viz. one from Ephesus to Macedonia, (Acts xx, 1.) and the other from Greece to Macedonia a few months afterwards, to avoid the Jews. (Acts xx, 3 6.)

18. On the first of these visits to Macedonia, he had sent before him "Timothy and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." (Acts xix, 21, 22 and xx, 1.) It was not therefore at this time that Paul besought Timothy to remain at Ephesus; but on the second visit he made this earnest request of him: viz. while they were in Greece together, and Paul, to avoid the Jews, *was going* into Macedonia. The word translated *when I went*, is the present participle, *poreuomenos, proficiscens, journeying*. The passage, therefore, runs thus, *I, going into Macedonia, (or when going) besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*. The difference is not material, but the fact of the *present participle* being used, points most clearly to the precise meaning of the passage.

19. In his first epistle to Timothy, (i, 3.) Paul says, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went (or was going) into Macedonia." The epistle was therefore written *after* that time; the verb *besought* being in the past tense.

20. In the same epistle, (iii, 11, 15.) Paul says, "These things

write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly*: but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." This epistle was written, therefore, at a time when he expected soon to see Timothy. Timothy was then waiting at Troas, with the rest of the company, for Paul's return from Macedonia, (Acts xx, 5.) and Paul left Philippi in Macedonia "after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days. (Acts xx, 6.)

21. The first epistle to Timothy, therefore, was written *in Macedonia*, after Paul went there from Greece, and *before* he rejoined Timothy and the rest of his company at Troas.

22. Another passage in the same epistle, "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," (I. Tim. iv, 13.) shows in the clearest manner that Paul was then expected, and that Timothy was waiting his arrival; and, considering that Timothy had consented to take charge of the Church at Ephesus, (as his subsequent situation shows,) there could not well be more suitable advice given him.

23. Some have supposed that Timothy was then in Ephesus: but this is totally inconsistent with the whole narrative and with Paul's own declaration.

The narrative shows that after Paul left Ephesus, to travel through Macedonia and Greece, to Jerusalem and Rome, he did not go to Ephesus, unless after being at Rome, and in that case, as will clearly be shown in the sequel of this essay, at least five years passed before he was set at liberty, so as to have an opportunity of going to Ephesus.

Add to this that Paul determined *to pass by Ephesus*, and himself told the elders of Ephesus, at Miletus, a few days after he left Troas, that he knew that they should see his face no more, (Acts xx, 16, 25.) showing in the plainest manner, that he had no idea, when he wrote the epistle to Timothy, a little before his arrival at Troas from Macedonia, of seeing Ephesus in a short time.

It was therefore not in Ephesus, that Paul expected to see Timothy shortly after writing that epistle; but in Troas, where the company, of which Timothy was one, were then waiting for Paul, and where Paul actually did see him shortly after. (Acts xx, 3 6.)

24. Paul and his company spent a week at Troas, after he rejoined them, and then pursuing his voyage towards Jerusalem, he ar-

rived at Miletus, near Ephesus, and sent for the elders of the Church in the latter city, in order to give them his last advice and charge. [Acts xx, 5, 6 17, &c.]

It is important to determine the time of this meeting also. In this there is no difficulty.

25. We are informed, that Paul, after preaching till late, and sitting up all night talking with his friends, whom he was about on the morrow, to leave for ever, [Acts xx, 25.] left Troas in the morning to proceed on his way. His company sailed from Troas to Assos, another town on the coast not far off, he himself going on foot. As soon as he came up with them, they sailed to Mitylene; and the next day came over against Chios; and the next day arrived at Samos, an island separated by a narrow strait from the main land, and tarried at Trogyllium, a town on the main land opposite the island; and the next day they arrived at Miletus. [Acts xx, 7-17.]

26. The distance from Troas to Mitylene, judging from the map of ancient geography, is not as great as that from Mitylene to Chios, or from Chios to Samos. The two last distances having been traversed in one day each, the presumption is, that the first occupied the same time; the general course being the same, and therefore the wind equally favourable, and Paul showing on every occasion, in this voyage, the utmost anxiety to get to Jerusalem before the day of Pentecost. The whole voyage, therefore, occupied four days; and consequently, allowing another day for the messenger who sailed from Miletus to Ephesus, a shorter distance, by the map, than from Mitylene to Chios, or from Chios to Samos, only five days elapsed from the time of leaving Troas until the day the elders left Ephesus to go to Miletus to see Paul.

27. To return to Timothy, he may have travelled from Troas to Ephesus by land or by sea.

28. If we suppose that he travelled by land, it was not possible considering the directness of the route by sea, the much more indirect route by land, the much greater slowness of travelling by land than by water, and the distance from Troas to Ephesus, extending over four and a half degrees of latitude, or at least 400 miles, that Timothy could have arrived at Ephesus when the elders left that city for Miletus—that is, in five days.

29. If any one should wish to know how the distance from Troas to Ephesus, is ascertained to be 400 miles, I answer; there are four and a half degrees of latitude between the two places, or at least

270 geographical miles; indeed somewhat more, as the places do not lie exactly North and South from one another. To determine how many miles of road this would make, I had no better way than to take the distance between two of our towns in geographical miles, and by comparing this with the same distance in road miles, to ascertain the probable distance between Troas and Ephesus in the same. Thus, the distance between Boston and Baltimore, is about 284 geographical miles— the distance in road miles, that is to say by the common computation, is 421 miles. The proportion 284 geographical to 421 road miles, gives for 270 geographical miles, 400 road miles between Troas and Ephesus.

30. Such a distance Timothy could not have travelled in five days. It would take a man ten or twelve days to travel it on horseback, without any allowance for interruptions, and few men do it even in that time. Therefore, Timothy could not have arrived at Ephesus at the time of this meeting between Paul and the elders at Miletus.

31. If, on the other hand, we suppose Timothy to have travelled by water, he must have made the voyage in company with Paul; and in every point of view this is the most probable. They had been many years constant companions; (11) they had designed to sail together from Greece to Asia; and when this design was frustrated, and Paul returned through Macedonia to avoid the Jews who were lying in wait to kill him, Timothy went on with the others to Troas, and waited there until he rejoined them. [Acts xx, 5.] The company spent a week at Troas, [Acts xx, 6.] and then proceeded on their way to the very neighbourhood where Timothy was also to go. [Acts xx, 13 17.] It was nearer by sea than by land: the journey could therefore be made more speedily, more pleasantly, even if Paul were not on board; much more with him for a companion. In fact the pleasure of such a trip, with an old and valued friend, taking his leave for an unknown length of time, would induce most men to go considerably farther round, much more to take a better, shorter, and pleasanter way. Add to all these considerations, that we have no account of Timothy's leaving the company at Troas, and it is in the highest degree probable that he did not leave them there; and, consequently, that he was present at the interview between Paul and the Elders.

32. If, however, he was not there at the time, it is manifest he could not have arrived by land before they left Ephesus and con-

sequently, in either case, these elders were in the Church at Ephesus before he took charge.

33. This view of the case is strongly confirmed by the consideration of the improbability that Paul would have laboured three years to establish this Church, and, although he showed great attachment to it, and great anxiety for its welfare, have left it, never expecting to see it again, without bringing it to proper order, and placing it on the best footing in his power; and the more especially when we recollect how careful he was TO ORDAIN ELDERS IN EVERY CHURCH, [Acts xiv, 23.] long before this. [Acts xviii, 11, 18, 20-23; xix, 8, 10; xx, 31.] Such a supposition would be totally inconsistent with every trait in his character. Ardent, indefatigable, with such a talent for order and method as is displayed in his epistles, and particularly in that to Timothy, he could not have suffered the Church to be without order for three years. He must have arranged its affairs long before he left it, and *ordained elders here as in other Churches.*

34. The same view is confirmed likewise by the whole tenor of the address to the elders of Ephesus. Paul reminds them, in very touching language, of the manner in which he had devoted himself to instructing them, and makes a strong appeal to their feelings, to induce them to be faithful; telling them that he never should see them again. He *therefore* urges them to take care to feed the Church over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers; and he warns them to be faithful, *because** he knew that some among them would thereafter arise and speak perverse things. His whole object evidently was *to excite them* to perform the duty which had been committed to them (of feeding the Church, an expression unquestionably relating to the doctrine they should teach); and *to warn them* that he apprehended some of their own selves would thereafter "arise speaking perverse things," which shows that he had discovered in some of them a tendency to do this, in the course of his acquaintance with them. The whole tenor of the address shows, that Paul was intimately acquainted with these elders, in consequence of his three years residence in Ephesus.

35. It is evident, moreover, from a passage in the first epistle to Timothy, that Paul had this very state of things, in the Church at

* The original word translated *for*, in the passage *For I know this &c.* [Acts xx, 29.] is GÁR, *nam, enim, for; igitur, therefore; quippe, because*; it is a conjunction relating to cause, *conjunctio causalis.*

Ephesus in view when he wrote that epistle. He says, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went to Macedonia, *that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.*" He must have had some certain persons in view: and if we look at the exact meaning of the word translated *some*, we shall see at once the correctness of this idea. The word is ΤΙΣΙ, and signifies QUIDAM, *some certain persons*: it is also used indefinitely to signify somebody, some or other, *indefinitum* ALIQUIS. Paul evidently must have used the word in the *definite* sense: he could not have meant to tell Timothy to charge some body or other, but to charge some certain persons, whom he had in view, *not to teach any other doctrine.*

36. It may be added here, that the very expression of Paul to Timothy, *that thou mightest charge some to TEACH no other doctrine*, implies that there were *teachers then* in Ephesus. He had therefore these very *teachers* in view when he wrote the instructions to Timothy, and afterwards calling them all together, he himself warns them of this very evil, which he had before directed Timothy to charge them to abstain from.

37. The conclusion drawn from the impossibility of Timothy's having reached Ephesus, when the elders were sent for, to meet Paul at Miletus, (32) is, therefore, confirmed by the latter considerations, (33-36) and it is manifest that there were elders in the Church at Ephesus when Timothy was appointed to take charge of it.

38. We have now seen that Paul, after spending three years in planting and building up the Church at Ephesus, being about to go to Rome, besought Timothy to abide in Ephesus in charge of the Church, with authority over all in it, including the Presbyters:

That Paul on this occasion wrote, for his instruction in the government of the Church, his first epistle to him, while in Macedonia, and a little before rejoining him at Troas, when Timothy was waiting for him.

That Paul left Troas for Jerusalem, where he meant to spend a short time before going to Rome, stopped at Miletus, and sent for the elders of the Church at Ephesus, before Timothy could possibly have reached that city: and therefore,

That there were elders in Ephesus when Timothy was appointed to take charge of that Church.

39. We have moreover seen that Timothy had authority to exercise in the Church, ample episcopal powers; to select the presbyters and deacons, to prove or try them, and on proper trial to

ordain them, if they proved faithful to honour them, if otherwise to rebuke any that sinned *before all, that the rest might fear* the like treatment in case of improper conduct. Indeed so far from the presbyters being on a footing of equality with him in power, more is said about keeping them in order than any body else—a circumstance which unquestionably may be explained by the knowledge Paul had of the perverse disposition of some of them, which he tells them of in his address to them at Miletus.

40. The difference between the character and office of Timothy and the elders, will appear in a striking point of view, on comparing the commission given to him, (see 12, 13, 39,) with the address to them.

To the elders there is not one word said about ruling, the sole charge to them being to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, and to avoid teaching perverse doctrines *to draw away disciples after them*.

To Timothy the power is given, to restrain those who teach false doctrine; he is the source of authority to preach; ("*lay hands suddenly on no man,*") he is, to the presbyters, the source of honour, the punisher of offences, a praise to them that did well, a terror to them who should do evil. He was in short the overseer of the whole—the Bishop of the Church at Ephesus.

41. Here, then, we undoubtedly have three distinct orders of ministers in the Church. Timothy over all; the source of ministerial authority in that church; the presbyters and deacons selected and ordained by him; and these, as well as those who were in the Church when he took charge, subject to his rebuke if found acting improperly; the presbyters feeding the Church, teaching the people; and the deacons, though not mentioned, in express words in the epistle to Timothy as preaching, yet in other places as preaching and baptizing. (Acts vi, 9, 10; viii, 5, 12, 35, 38, 40.)

42. It has been said that Timothy exercised these powers in quality of an evangelist; as it is said, "But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, *do the work of an evangelist*, make full proof of thy ministry. (II. Tim. iv, 5.)

It is answered,

1. The objection embraces the admission that Timothy had superior authority.

2. *Evangelist* was not the name of an order of ministers. *The Deacon Philip was an evangelist.* (Acts xxi, 8.)

The word evangelist is so nearly the same as evangelium, the (gospel,) as to make it evident that an evangelist was, in general, one who preached the gospel, who spread the good news. It bears the same relation to evangelium, that the old English word, gosseller, does to gospel: and hence it was that the deacon Philip was called an evangelist.

43. It is objected as a difficulty in the way of receiving this doctrine, that the presbyters are called overseers or bishops. They are so called; overseers *over the flock*: but that name did not point out their *powers*. The extent of the oversight which they had in the church is expressly stated. They were to take heed *to feed the Church and to avoid false doctrine.* (34) No other power or authority is mentioned, than *feeding the flock*: and notwithstanding this *name*, there was one over them, from whom they derived their ordination, and who honoured them or rebuked them according to their deserts. He was *their overseer*, their Bishop.

44. If it be asked why then was not Timothy called a Bishop, the answer is given in the plain statement of the fact, that those who bore the relation he did to the Church were *then* called Apostles; and that *afterwards* it became the practice to use the title of *Bishop* instead of that of *Apostle*, and to distinguish the elders by the title *Presbyter* alone.

45. With regard to the assertion that those who had the charge of churches were originally called Apostles, we find that Paul gives that title, in his second epistle to the Corinthians (viii, 23) to Titus and another who was with him. In our English Testament the word is translated messengers; but the word in the Greek is *apostoloi*, *apostles*. This word, *apostoloi*, signifying *messengers*, is used to designate *the messengers of God* sent to preach the gospel. It is not therefore proper to translate the word in this case *messengers* merely—seeing that these men really were *messengers of God*; of one of whom it is said in the 18th verse of the same chapter, that his praise was in the gospel throughout all the churches, and of both that they were *the glory of Christ.* (II. Cor. viii, 23.)

Epaphroditus is also called *messenger* in the English Testament (Philip. ii, 25;) but the word in the original is the same, (*apostolon*, in the singular number,) and the strong words used with it, show that he was what he is called in the original, the Apostle of the Philippians; “Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, *my brother and companion in labour* (assistant or colleague,)”

and fellow-soldier, but your Apostle, and he that ministered to my wants."

46. It may be objected to this, that Epaphroditus carried to Paul the contribution of the Philippians, and therefore he was their messenger literally. But this was what Paul himself frequently did: if carrying a contribution is evidence that the bearer is not an apostle although so called, and called by Paul colleague or assistant and fellow-soldier, Paul must have been merely a messenger. In those times of persecution, when the leading men of the Church were continually liable to be arrested and carried to Rome, while prisoners there they were visited by their brethren, colleagues and fellow-soldiers, who governed the churches in the countries around the Mediterranean sea, and they very commonly carried them something to render their imprisonment comfortable. Thus, between 40 and 50 years after the death of Paul, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was carried to Rome, and during his long journey, Onesimus Bishop of the Ephesians, Damas Bishop of the Magnesians with two presbyters and a deacon, and Polybius Bishop of the Trallians, went to attend to him and comfort him on his way. [See the appendix.] These Bishops in these cases carried the contributions of their respective churches; but this did not make them mere messengers.

47. The objection to considering as apostles, any but the twelve and Paul, and to reject the claim of others whom Paul in his epistles calls apostles, leads to the rejection of the claim of Barnabas likewise. Accordingly Dr. Miller attempts to show that he also is but *a messenger* of the Churches. (Miller's Letters, p. 59.) It has however been satisfactorily shown that Barnabas was an Apostle (p. 16 of this essay,) and Paul himself calls him an Apostle in the following passage in which he is speaking of his own claim to the title of an Apostle, "My answer to them that do examine me, is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and BARNABAS, have not we power to forbear working?" (I. Corinth. ix, 3-6.) The objection to Epaphroditus, Titus, and others whom Paul calls Apostles, is equally invalid.

48. The assertion that those persons who occupied the chief station in the Church and were originally called *apostles*, were afterwards called *bishops*, is of such a nature that it can be shown to

be true or false only by evidence, and the appeal therefore is to evidence. This in the very nature of things must be drawn from the writings of those who succeeded the apostles in the care and charge of the Church. These are the best witnesses that possibly could be thought of; men who spent their lives in the service of the Church, devoted to God; men who chose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;" men who "had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment;" men who not only "hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," which the Apostles, elders and brethren at Jerusalem speak of as a high recommendation of Barnabas and Paul, (Acts xv, 25, 26,) but who deliberately yielded up their lives to a violent death by the sword, by fire, and by wild beasts, rather than deny the Lord that bought them. Let any man read the martyrdom of Ignatius and the 3rd to the 8th sections of his epistle to the Romans, in the appendix to these pages, and then, laying his hand on his heart and looking up to God, say that Ignatius is not to be credited as a witness respecting the order of the Church in his time.

49. Ignatius was an old man when, for his steadfast refusal to deny the Saviour, he was thrown into the amphitheatre at Rome and devoured by lions. This occurred in the year 116 of the Christian era, and about forty-six years after the death of Paul. He was about forty years in the service of the Church, and consequently he was in that service almost the whole interval between Paul's death and his own. He was a disciple of the Apostle John, and as the latter lived till about the year 96 he died only twenty years before Ignatius.

50. In his epistles, written in the year 116, on his way to Rome to suffer martyrdom, Ignatius speaks very frequently of all the orders of ministers. He speaks of the Bishop in the singular number in every instance, and in such terms as carry conviction to the mind that there was but one in a church at one time. He attributes to him powers and authority fully equal to that exercised by the Apostles. The Bishop, according to Ignatius, was the source of authority in the Church; without his approbation nothing was to be done; in his absence the flock had no other shepherd but God. (Sect. 9th of the epistle to the Romans.) Timothy was no more, Timothy was no less in Ephesus. According to Ignatius the presbyter had no longer the title of Bishop: but he was no less than the

presbyter of Ephesus under Timothy. He was the very same in every duty, but derived all his authority from the Bishop. The same is true of the deacon. These all, according to Ignatius, were still, as in Ephesus, ministers in the word. There was no change whatever in the constitution of the Church. The principal minister had adopted another name, perfectly appropriate, Bishop or overseer of the Church: and this, which in the beginning belonged to the second order of ministers, they no longer retained; but with the name of presbyter, they retained all the duties of the presbyter of Ephesus.

51. It is, moreover, admitted by the Presbyterians, that Timothy exercised authority over the elders in the Church at Ephesus, but they allege that it ceased with him. Of this, however, there is not the slightest evidence. The scriptures say nothing about it. To the Fathers only can they go for evidence, and they are decidedly against them. Ignatius in his epistle to the Ephesians speaks of Onesimus their Bishop—of course such a Bishop as he continually alludes to, exercising all the power that Timothy did.

52. It may also be remarked that the manner in which Ignatius speaks of the three orders of ministers, shows that the change in the name of two of them had been made some time: for there is not, I think, one syllable of allusion to *the change* in all his epistles: it was therefore not a recent one; and the whole tenor of the epistles shows that it had become the settled practice of the Church.

53. In these epistles, then, we observe the fact, that that man who exercised the authority in the Church, which the Apostles in their lifetime exercised, was called *Bishop*.

54. It is also to be observed that there is only one Bishop spoken of in one church at a time, but many presbyters—*Bishop* always in the singular, *Presbyters* always in the plural—and often mentioned together, *the Bishop* and presbyters, or the Bishop and *his* presbytery or council of presbyters (sect. 4 of the epistle to the Philadelphians) so as to show as perfectly as language can show the difference between them.

55. The same state of things existed in one of the Churches to which Ignatius wrote an epistle, in which he, for obvious reasons, was not led to say any thing of their ministers, I mean the Romans. This we learn from a passage from Irenæus, book third, chapter third.

“The Apostles, founding and instructing that Church, (the

Church of Rome,) delivered to *Linus* the *Episcopate*; *Anacletus* succeeded him; after him *Clemens* obtained the *Episcopate* from the Apostles. To *Clement* succeeded *Evaristus*; to him *Alexander*; then *Sixtus*; and after him *Telesphorus*; then *Hugynus*; after him *Pius*; then *Anicetus*; and when *Soter* had succeeded *Anicetus*, then *Elcutherius* had the *Episcopate* in the twelfth place. By this succession, that tradition in the Church, and publication of the truth, which is from the Apostles, is come to us."

This passage, extraordinary as it may seem, with the words marked in Italics, is taken from Miller's Letters, p. 151. It will be noticed again hereafter.

56. Others of the Fathers state distinctly that Timothy was Bishop of the Ephesians, as appears from the following quotations from Dr. Bowden's Letters to Dr. Miller, vol. 1, p. 257.

"1. From a fragment of a treatise by *Polykrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, towards the close of the second century. This fragment is preserved in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, and quoted by Archbishop *Usher* in his discourse on Episcopacy. In that fragment it is said, that "*Timothy* was ordained Bishop of *Ephesus* by the great *Paul*." 2. It appears from *Eusebius*, who says, "it is recorded in history that *Timothy* was the first Bishop of *Ephesus*." 3. From the *Commentary* under the name of *Ambrose*. He says, "Being now ordained a Bishop, *Timothy* was instructed by the epistle of *Paul*, how to dispose and order the church of God." 4. From *Epiphanius*, who says, "The Apostle, speaking to *Timothy*, being then a Bishop, advises him thus,—"*Rebuke not an Elder*," &c. 5. By *Jerome*, who, in his tract of *ecclesiastical writers*, says, that "*Timothy* was ordained Bishop of the *Ephesians* by the blessed *Paul*." 6. By *Chrysostom*, who says, "*Paul* directs *Timothy* to fulfil his ministry, being then a Bishop; for that he was a Bishop appears from *Paul's* writing thus to him, "*Lay hands suddenly on no man*."— 7. By *Leontius*, Bishop of *Magucsia*, one of the Fathers in the great council of *Chulceilon*, who declared, that "from *Timothy* to their time, there had been twenty-six Bishops of the church of *Ephesus*." 8. By *Primasius*, who says, "*Timothy* was a Bishop; and had the gift of prophecy with his ordination to the Episcopate." 9. By *Theophylact*, who gives this reason for *St. Paul's* writing to *Timothy*, "because that in a church newly constituted, it was not easy to inform a Bishop of all things incident to his place by word of mouth;" and in his *Commentary* on the fourth chapter of the first

epistle, he styles *Timothy, Bishop*. 10. By *Occumenius*, who, on these words, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, gives this gloss,—“He ordained him Bishop.”

In remarking on Dr. Miller’s omitting the striking passages in favour of Episcopacy, in his quotations from the Fathers, Dr. Bowden says, “Thus, you do not exhibit the following pointed testimonies from *Hilary*. ‘The Bishop is the chief; though every Bishop is a Presbyter, yet every Presbyter is not a Bishop. He declares that *James* was constituted Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles, and that the Apostles were Bishops.’ He affirms, that ‘*Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the *Asiatic* churches were Bishops’—Bishops in the appropriate sense of the word. He says, ‘In the Bishop all orders are contained, because he is the *Prince*, or *Chief* of the Priests.’ He affirms that ‘the Bishop is the *Vicegerent* of Christ, and represents his *Person*,’ and that ‘he decreed every church should be governed by one Bishop, even as all things proceed from one God the Father.’ And in several other places this author affirms, ‘that in a church there were several Presbyters and Deacons, but never more than one Bishop, even in the Apostle’s times.’” [See p. 37 of Bowden’s Letters, vol. 1.]

He asks Dr. Miller, “Why, Sir, did you not inform your Christian brethren that *Theodoret* maintains, that those who had the appropriate title of Bishop in his day, and for ages before, were called *Apostles* in the first age of the Church? Why did you not lay before them the following passage? ‘*Epaphroditus* was called the Apostle of the *Philippians*, because he was entrusted with the Episcopal government, as being their Bishop. For those now called Bishops, were anciently called Apostles; but in process of time, the name of Apostle was left to those who were truly Apostles, and the name of Bishop was restrained to those who were anciently called Apostles; Thus *Epaphroditus* was the Apostle of the *Philippians*, *Titus* of the *Cretans*, and *Timothy* of the *Asiatics*.’”—[See p. 41 of the same.]

Here, therefore, we have a perfectly satisfactory account of the reason why the names *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were no longer applied to the same office as they had been in the scripture—the name of *Apostle* was dropped—and the name of *Bishop* was now “restrained to those who were anciently called Apostles.”

“There is another writer who was contemporary with *Theodoret*, that deserves to be noticed—I mean *Isidore*, Bishop of *Pelusium*,

of whom *Mosheim* gives the following character. ‘He was a man of uncommon learning and sanctity. A great number of his epistles are yet extant, and discover more piety, genius, erudition and wisdom, than are to be found in the voluminous productions of many other writers.’ *Isidore* says, ‘The Bishops succeeded the Apostles—they were constituted through the whole world in the place of the Apostles.’ He then says, that ‘*Aaron*, the high priest, *was* what a Bishop *is*,’ and that ‘*Aaron*’s sons prefigured the Presbyters.’” [See p. 46 of the same.]

57. Having thus established, by abundant evidence drawn from scripture, that Timothy exercised all the powers of a Bishop in the Church at Ephesus, the presbyters and deacons deriving their authority from him, and being subject to his superintendence and government, receiving from him honour when honour was due, and rebuke before all when deserved, in order that the rest might be influenced by fear of punishment to avoid like offences; and that the Fathers who succeeded the Apostles in the care of the Church, called Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, it is proposed in the next place to show that he continued in that charge, certainly five years and a half; and longer, but how much longer is uncertain.

58. Paul in his first epistle to Timothy gives him charge “until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ;” which is evidently for an unlimited time.

When the second epistle to Timothy was written, he was still in Ephesus. This is not questioned, and appears evident from several circumstances.

1. Paul in his first epistle, relative to the affairs of Ephesus, speaks of Hymeneus having made shipwreck of faith; (i, 19, 20) and in the second epistle, (ii, 17, 18) speaks of the same person as still being in the way of the truth, “saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrowing the faith of some.”

He also speaks in the first epistle of Alexander making shipwreck of faith; (I. Tim. i, 20;) and in the second, tells Timothy to beware of him. (II. Tim. iv, 15.)

2. In the second epistle he informs Timothy that Onesiphorus *when he was in Rome sought him out diligently*; and adds “in how many things he ministered unto me *at Ephesus, thou knowest very well*;” (II. Tim. i, 16, 17, 18;) and towards the close of the epistle he says, “salute Prisca and Aquilla, *and the household of Onesiphorus*.” (II. Tim. iv, 19.) The former of these passages

shows that Onesiphorus was an inhabitant of Ephesus who ministered to Paul during the long residence of himself and Timothy in that town; and the latter that Timothy was his fellow-townsmen, because Paul desires him to salute his household.

59. It being thus established that the first epistle to Timothy was written a few weeks before he took charge of the Church at Ephesus, (21, 22) and that he was still at Ephesus when the second was written; (58) he must, during the intermediate time, have governed the Church in that city. This interval was above five years and a half, of which positive evidence shall now be stated from scripture: and very strong evidence, that a longer time elapsed.

60. That the second epistle to Timothy was written above five years after the first, is completely established by the following considerations.

61. We have seen that Paul wrote his first epistle to Timothy in Macedonia, immediately before his voyage to Jerusalem and Rome. (21) From Philippi in Macedonia he sailed to Troas, remained there a week, went on to Miletus, and would not visit Ephesus, because he was anxious to reach Jerusalem by the day of Pentecost. [Acts xx, 6-16.] From Miletus he passed on to Jerusalem. [Acts xxi, 1-17.] In this city he was imprisoned, in consequence of a clamour raised against him by the Jews of Asia, and confined two years by Felix the Governor of Judea. [Acts xxi, 33; xxiii, 10, 35; xxiv, 27.] Having appealed to Cæsar, [Acts xxv, 10-12] he was at length sent to Rome. [Acts xxvii, 1, &c.]

As he went to Jerusalem to the feast of Pentecost, which was in the spring of the year, and was imprisoned by Felix two years, and sent to Rome by Festus soon after his entrance on the government, it must have been at least the summer of the third year when he left Judea for Rome.

The voyage to Rome was interrupted by various accidents and by shipwreck on the coast of the island of Melita, now called Malta. [Acts xxvii, 7-14.] It was then cold weather, [Acts xxvii, 12; xxviii, 2, 3] and Paul and the ship's company wintered in the island, and in the spring of the year arrived at Rome. [Acts xxviii, 11-14.] Three years therefore had now elapsed since Paul left Timothy in charge of the Church at Ephesus.

Paul having arrived at Rome in the spring, was suffered to hire a house and dwell with a soldier to guard him; [Acts xxviii, 16;] and he continued two whole years "in his own hired house, and receiv-

ed all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, *no man forbidding him.*" [Acts xxviii, 30, 31.]

62. The history of Paul contained in the Acts, here closes.—How much longer he continued to preach in Rome we do not know. We know however, that after a time he was brought into difficulties with the Emperor, perhaps in consequence of the conversion of some of his family which we know took place. [Epistle to the Philippians iv, 22.] The time of his departure drawing nigh, he wrote to Timothy the second time, [II. Tim. iv, 6, 16] telling him he greatly desired to see him, [The same, i, 4] and begging him to visit him, and to endeavour to come to him before winter. [The same iv, 9, 21.] If he was able to effect this, above five years and a half had elapsed from the time that Paul left Timothy in charge of the Church at Ephesus; viz. two years while he was imprisoned by Felix; one year spent partly in Judea in prison after Festus was made governor, and partly on the voyage to Rome, including the winter spent in Melita or Malta; two years spent by Paul in Rome in his own hired house, and half a year between the spring and winter, when Timothy was entreated to visit him; besides the time that elapsed between the close of the history in the Acts and the first and second trial of Paul. [II. Tim. iv, 16.]—Five years and a half are certain; and there are some circumstances which render it very probable that the time was considerably longer.

63. For instance, it is by no means certain that this epistle was written in the beginning of the third year of Paul's stay in Rome. In consequence of no charge against him having been sent to Rome by the Jews, he was allowed to preach undisturbed for two years. Luke, who wrote the account, continued with Paul and is mentioned in almost every one of his epistles written from Rome [Colossians iv, 11; Philemon 24; II. Tim. iv, 11] and if there had been any probability of an immediate change, any probability of liberty or immediate death, he would not have closed his history with such a statement of his quiet state. His silence shows that things were likely to remain for some time as they were. After this, but how long afterwards we are not informed, Paul was called to account: and from what he writes to Timothy in his second epistle, viz. "*At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.*" [II. Tim. iv, 16] we may fairly infer that he had

then been called to account more than once. If we consider the time which probably elapsed, after the close of the history in the Acts, before the proceedings against Paul commenced, the time which elapsed between his first and second trial, the length of time required to make the voyage to Ephesus with the letter to Timothy, it is evident that a considerably longer time elapsed than that which we have actually proved: but the time expressly stated in the Acts amounts to full five years and a half.

64. The foregoing observations proceed upon the supposition that Paul was put to death not long after the close of his history in the Acts. But there was in the ancient Church a tradition that he was set at liberty after the close of that history, and again imprisoned at Rome some time afterwards. This tradition is supported by exceedingly strong evidence in some of the epistles: indeed such as cannot be controverted: and consequently the unknown length of time during which he was at liberty, must be added to the five years already proved to have passed between the writing of the first and second epistles; and, therefore, to the length of time during which Timothy had charge of the Church in Ephesus.

65. In the second epistle to Timothy we find the following passage, “Erastus abode at Corinth; but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.” [iv, 20.]

66. When Paul wrote this second epistle to Timothy, the time of his departure was at hand, [iv, 6] he having been more than once before the Roman tribunals. [iv, 16.] If this epistle was written during his first imprisonment in Rome, he had, when he wrote it, been *in confinement* above five years, [61–63] and consequently could not have been at Miletum, to have left Trophimus there, *after he was arrested in Jerusalem and carried to Rome.*

67. This occurrence must therefore have taken place, either *before his arrest in Jerusalem, or after having been discharged from confinement in Rome.*

68. It could not have occurred before the first epistle to Timothy was written.

1. If it had, Paul would have mentioned it in that epistle.

2. The first epistle was written a few weeks before Paul set out from Macedonia to go to Jerusalem, [21] and the second epistle must have been written above five years afterwards, even upon the supposition that Paul was confined but once in Rome. [61–63.]—If Trophimus had been left sick at Miletum before the first epistle

was written, Paul certainly would not have mentioned it above five years afterwards, in such a manner as he has. If it had been mentioned so long afterwards, it would have been for some special reason which would have been stated; whereas it received only a passing notice, in few words, as if a late occurrence.

3. Paul, when he wrote the first epistle, had lately left Ephesus, where he had spent three years. [5, 6, 10, 15, 21.] From Ephesus he went northward, about the time of Pentecost, [I. Corinth. xvi, 8] to Macedonia through Troas [II. Corinth. ii, 12, 13] turning his back upon Miletus which is near Ephesus to the southward.— In Macedonia he spent some time, and went thence to Greece; [Acts xx, 2,] and spent three months there, and returned to Macedonia; [Acts xx, 3,] and thence he sailed, after the days of unleavened bread, a few weeks before Pentecost, in the year following that in which he left Ephesus, to Troas, where Timothy was waiting for him, [Acts xx, 5, 6] after the first epistle was written. [21.] Of course Paul was not at Miletus for four years at least, including the time of his residence at Ephesus, before the first epistle was sent to Timothy, which was obviously written in consequence of Paul's determination to leave Ephesus and Timothy's consent to abide there still. [I. Tim. i, 3.]

69. For these three reasons, this occurrence could not have happened before the first epistle was written.

70. Neither was Paul at Miletus more than once between the time in which he wrote the first epistle to Timothy and his arrest in Jerusalem. The first epistle, it has been shown, was written a few weeks before Paul set out on his voyage to Jerusalem, from Philippi in Macedonia. (21.) In five days from that time he saw Timothy and spent a week with him in Troas, (Acts xx, 6) and in four days after that he arrived at Miletus on his way to Jerusalem. (25, 26.) In the latter city he was arrested and sent to Rome and there confined, so that he could not have been at Miletus, except this time, after writing the first epistle and before his arrest in Jerusalem. It was not, however, on that visit to Miletus that Paul left Trophimus there sick; because the latter went to Jerusalem with him, and was the cause of his being arrested a few days after his arrival; the Jews being excited to violence by the supposition that Paul had carried him, (Trophimus) an Ephesian, into the temple, because they had seen them together in the city. (Acts xxi, 29.)

71. Paul therefore did not leave Trophimus sick in Miletum, before his arrest in Jerusalem; so that this occurrence must have taken place after his confinement in Rome mentioned in the Acts, (67) and he must have been set at liberty after the close of that narrative.

72. This is still further confirmed by the following consideration. While a prisoner in Rome, Paul was visited by a number of persons from different Churches who carried him presents to enable him to live comfortably in confinement. Epaphroditus was one of these from Philippi. (Philip. iv, 18.) Timothy also visited him—and it would have been very extraordinary if he had not, when others were so doing, if we consider the long intimacy and friendship between them. Now it is evident that Paul would not have mentioned his leaving Trophimus sick at Miletum, in a letter to Timothy written after this visit, if that circumstance occurred several years before the visit, as must have been the case if it occurred before his imprisonment. It must then have occurred after Timothy's visit to Rome, and consequently Paul must have been set at liberty or he could not have been at Miletum to leave Trophimus there.

73. It may possibly be alleged by some on a slight examination of the subject, that the second epistle to Timothy was not written after his visit to Rome, but that it was written before the visit and was the cause of it. Let us examine this.

74. While Timothy was in Rome his name was joined with Paul's in his addresses to several churches.

Paul and Timothy to the Philippians, was written from Rome, as is evident from this passage; "So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace and in all other places:" (Philippians i, 13:) also from this; "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household." (Philip. iv, 22.)

Paul and Timothy to the Colossians, was also written from Rome as appears from the following passages: "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you:" "Remember my bonds." (Coloss. iv, 10, 18.)

Paul and Timothy also wrote to Philemon from Rome, as appears from the address, "Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ," &c. (Philemon l.) His being a prisoner is also mentioned in the 9th, 10th, and 23rd verses.

75. In the epistle to the Colossians and in that to Philemon,

Epaphras, Luke, Aristarchus, Marcus, and Demas are mentioned as sending salutations. (Coloss. iv, 10, 12, 14; Philemon 23, 24.) The former epistle was sent by Tychicus and Onesimus: (Coloss. iv, 7, 9:) the latter, being of a private nature, and particularly concerning Onesimus, was committed to his charge. (Philemon 12.) The latter was addressed to Archippus as well as to Philemon, (Philemon 2) and in the former there was a special message to him (Archippus) respecting the ministry; (Coloss. iv, 17;) therefore Archippus, and consequently Philemon, lived in Colosse. Written by the same persons, to different persons in the same town, by the hands of the same persons, these epistles were written from the same place, and therefore the proof in each case, that the epistle was written from Rome during Paul's confinement there, is proof in both.

76. Demas is mentioned in both these epistles as greeting the persons to whom they were addressed; (Coloss. iv, 14; Philemon 24;) but in the second epistle to Timothy, Demas is mentioned as having forsaken Paul, having loved this present world. (II. Tim. iv, 10.) The second epistle to Timothy was therefore written after the joint epistles of Paul and Timothy to the Colossians and to Philemon, consequently after Timothy had returned to Ephesus and left Paul in confinement at Rome.

77. Further strong confirmation of the truth of the tradition of the Church, that Paul was set at liberty after the close of his history in the Acts, is derived from the following circumstances taken in connexion.

The Jews sent no charge against Paul to Rome. (Acts xxviii, 21.) In consequence of this he remained undisturbed in confinement in his own house for two years, and preached to all that went to see him, no man forbidding him, and the history closes with this account of his undisturbed state. (Acts xxviii, 30, 31.) During this quiet state of things, or soon after, the epistles to the Philippians, &c. were written, in which Paul expresses himself thus: "And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all," &c. (Philipp. i, 25) and again, "But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly; (Philipp. ii, 24;) and in his epistle to Philemon he says, "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." (Philemon 22.)

Moreover, in Paul's epistle to the Hebrews he says, (xiii, 23, 24)

“Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, *I will see you*. Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. *They of Italy salute you*.” The last sentence of this passage shows that Paul wrote from Italy; and the first, that he was at liberty; *I will see you*.

To this it may be added that Clement, who was contemporary with the Apostles and is mentioned by Paul, (Philipp. iv, 3) says of him that “he preached both in the East and in the West, leaving behind him the glorious report of his faith, and so having taught the whole world righteousness, and for that end travelled *even to the utmost bounds of the West*; he at last suffered martyrdom,” &c. (Clement’s epistle to the Corinthians sect. 5.) It is certain that Paul’s preaching was confined to the East and the eastern border of Europe before he was carried to Rome, (80, 16) and therefore he must have been liberated in order to have preached in the extreme West. We know that he contemplated this just before he was arrested; as he tells the Romans in his epistle to them, that he is going to Jerusalem, to carry a contribution made for the Christians there by them of Macedonia and Achaia, (16) and when he performed this he promised to visit them on his way to Spain. (Rom. xv, 25–28.)

78. There was however another town called Miletum, in Crete. But the same or greater objections lie to the occurrence of this circumstance, before the arrest of Paul in Jerusalem, in any town of that island. Paul’s time was so fully occupied for many years before his arrest in Jerusalem, that he could not have been in Crete during those years, and consequently could not have left Trophimus there, as will appear immediately.

79. Paul planted a Church in that island, and gave Titus the charge of it; but this could not have occurred before his confinement in Rome. There is no period of time from that in which Barnabas went from Antioch to Tarsus, to seek Saul or Paul, (Acts xi, 25) until he was carried from Judea to Rome on his appeal to Caesar, in which he could have been in Crete to establish a Church; every moment being occupied in places expressly stated in the Acts.

80. From Tarsus, in Cilicia, Paul went with Barnabas to Antioch in Syria, and spent there a whole year teaching the people. (Acts xi, 26.) “And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch;” and one of them having prophesied that there would be a great and general dearth, the disciples of Antioch determined

to send relief to the brethren in Judea by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. (Acts xi, 27-30.) "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministry." (Acts xii, 25.) After their return to Antioch "as they (and others) ministered to the Lord and fasted the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." (Acts xiii, 2.) "So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; (a neighbouring sea-port) and from thence they sailed to Cyprus." (Verse 4.) They landed in this island at Salamis, and passed through its whole length to Paphos. (Verses 5, 6.)—From Paphos they sailed to Perga on the main land, in Pamphylia. (Verse 13.) From Perga they travelled to Antioch in Pisidia; (Verse 14;) from Antioch to Iconium, a town in Lycaonia, (Verse 51) and *there abode a long time*; (Acts xiv, 3;) from Iconium they were obliged to fly, first to Lystra (Verses 6, 8) and then to Derbe, (Verse 20) neighbouring cities of Lycaonia; and from Derbe they returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch; (Verse 21;) and went to Perga and Attalia in Pamphylia; (Verse 25;) and sailed thence to Antioch (in Syria) from whence they had set out; (Verse 26;) and there they abode a long time. (Verse 28.)

While they abode there, some difficulties having been raised about circumcision, Paul and Barnabas, and some others, were sent by the Church at Antioch to the Apostles and elders in Jerusalem about this question; (Acts xv, 1-4;) and when it was settled they returned to Antioch. (Verses 22, 30.) There they remained for a short time, (Verses 35, 36) and after *some days* Paul went with Silas through Syria and the neighbouring country, Cilicia, confirming the churches. (Verses 36, 41.) From Cilicia he went into Lycaonia which adjoins it, and again visited the disciples in the cities of Derbe and Lystra. (Acts xvi, 1.) From Lycaonia they travelled into the neighbouring countries or provinces of Phrygia and Galatia, and thence into Mysia, to Troas on the sea-coast. (Verses 6, 7, 8.) From Troas, in consequence of a vision, Paul sailed to Samothrace, a neighbouring island, and the next day to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi in Macedonia, which was not far off, and in that city they remained some time. (Verses 11, 12.)—From Philippi they went to the neighbouring towns Amphipolis, Apollonia, and Thessalonica." (Acts xvii, 1.) An uproar arising in the latter city, Paul went to the neighbouring city, Berea; (Verse 10;) and being driven from Berea by the Jews of Thessa-

lonica who followed him, he was conducted through the country to Athens. (Verse 15.) There he waited for Silas and Timothy, whom he left behind in Berea, (Verse 16,) but before they arrived he went to Corinth (Acts xviii, 1) where Silas and Timothy rejoined him, (Verse 5) and there Paul continued near two years. (Verses 11, 18.)

From Corinth he sailed into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, and he came to Ephesus and left them there. (Verses 18, 19.) From Ephesus he went to Jerusalem, to keep the feast, and from thence he went down to Antioch. "And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening all the disciples;" (Verses 21-23;) and "Paul having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus," and there remained three years. (Acts xix, 1, 8, 10; xx, 31.)

His travels from this time until he was arrested in Jerusalem and carried to Rome are minutely stated in the 16th section of this essay; and it is evident from the most careful attention to the subject, that there is no period of this time in which he established a Church in Crete.

81. Titus, moreover, was with Paul in the commencement of this period, having gone up to Jerusalem from Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; (Galatians ii, 1, 3; Acts xi, 30;) and he is mentioned as having been engaged in journeys for Paul, immediately before his voyage to Jerusalem and thence to Rome: that is, he is mentioned, in the second epistle to the Corinthians, as having been engaged in travelling backwards and forwards from Macedonia to Corinth; and this epistle was written from Ephesus a few months before Paul made the voyage to Jerusalem, as appears from the following considerations.

82. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul tells them that he has sent Timothy to visit them, (iv, 17) mentions his going to Jerusalem, tells them that he shall pass through Macedonia, and that he will visit them and probably winter with them, but that he shall "tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." (iv, 19: xvi, 3-8.)

In the second epistle to the same, he refers, in the 15th and 16th verses of the first chapter, to his promised visit. The 23rd verse shows this promise had not been fulfilled. The 12th and 13th verses of the second chapter show that Paul passed by Troas in travelling from Ephesus, and had gone into Macedonia, as he

had written to them he should do. (I. Cor. xvi, 5.) The 5th and 6th verses of the 7th chapter, the first &c. of the eighth, and the second of the ninth, (*I boast* &c. in the present tense) show that he was in Macedonia: and the 3rd, 4th, and 5th verses of the ninth chapter show that he was about going to Corinth.

83. All these transactions correspond precisely with what is related in the Acts; [xix, 21, 22; xx, 1, 2;] and we have there the additional account, that after spending the winter in Greece, [xx, 3] as he had promised, he sailed to Jerusalem in the spring, as he had also informed the Corinthians he had thoughts of doing. [xx, 6 &c. and xxi, 1-17.]

84. These considerations fix the time of writing the epistles to the Corinthians, and consequently of the employment of Titus by Paul. When the latter arrived at Troas he expected to meet him. [II. Corinth. ii, 12, 13.] His arrival is mentioned in the 6th verse of the 7th chapter, and his return to Corinth in the 16th and 17th verses of the 8th chapter.

85. From the whole account there is no ground to believe either that Paul planted a Church in Crete, or that he left Titus there in the period mentioned: viz. from the time that Barnabas went to Tarsus to seek him, until his voyage to Jerusalem and Rome: and consequently these things must have been done after Paul's confinement in Rome.

86. Paul's epistle to Titus was written after his settlement in Crete. [i, 5.] In it, it is said, "Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting to them." [iii, 13.] Apollos was instructed in the way of the Lord at Ephesus, by Aquila and Priscilla, a short time before Paul commenced his operations in that city; [Acts xviii, 26;] and a little before the latter arrived there, Apollos went to Greece, [Acts xviii, 27] was still at Corinth when Paul arrived at Ephesus, [Acts xix, 1] and remained there long enough to obtain great influence. [I. Corinth. i, 12; iii, 4.] He was not therefore in Crete when Paul went to Ephesus, and it could not have been at that period that Paul wrote to Titus to bring Apollos on his journey from Crete.

87. In the 12th verse of the same chapter of the epistle to Titus in which he is urged to bring Zenas and Apollos on their way, Paul says, "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis; for I have determined there to winter."

It is certain that Paul did not leave Ephesus for three years, (50, 16) and that he did not in that time, or in any subsequent period included in the history of the Acts, winter in Nicopolis; and therefore this epistle must have been written after that period, and consequently Paul was at liberty after the confinement in Rome mentioned in the Acts.

88. It is from all these considerations, evident that Paul was set at liberty after some years' imprisonment in Rome, when he was carried there from Jerusalem as related in the Acts, and was actively engaged in preaching the Gospel. (64 to 87)

89. From the tenor of the second epistle to Timothy and from the strong expressions of Paul, it is evident that he was again in prison in Rome and near his end, having been more than once before the tribunals. He says, "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me." (II. Tim. iv, 16.) And again, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." (II. Tim. iv, 6, 7.)

90. When this epistle was written Timothy was still at Ephesus in charge of the Church, as is evident from what has been already stated, (58) as well as from the following passages of the epistle. "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou has heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." "I charge thee, therefore, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom; preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." (II. Tim. i, 13; ii, 2; iv, 1, 2.) Compare these passages with I. Tim. v, 21, and vi, 13, 20.

91. Timothy therefore governed the Church at Ephesus for an unknown length of time, in addition to the five and a half years which elapsed before Paul was discharged from his first imprisonment: and it is evident that the charge given him by Paul, in the beginning, was for an indefinite length of time; "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, UNTIL THE APPEARING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST."

This passage shows that the charge was for an unlimited time, during which Timothy exercised the Episcopal powers of governing the clergy as well as the laity, and of ordaining; (11, 12, 13) and in conformity with this he was called Bishop of Ephesus by the ancient Fathers, who also say that those who after the death of the Apostles were called Bishops, were in their life time called Apostles. (56)

92. Dr. Miller objects to the Episcopal character of Timothy that Presbyters participated in his ordination; a thing never admitted in the ordination of a Bishop. (Miller's Letters p. 54.) There is however no evidence that Presbyters imposed hands on him when he was ordained Bishop. The passage in which "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery" is mentioned, is in the first Epistle to Timothy, (iv, 14.) This Epistle was written by Paul immediately after Timothy had consented to take charge of the Church at Ephesus. They were then about to sail from Greece to Asia, and Paul was suddenly compelled to leave the company and go through Macedonia, intending to rejoin them at Troas in Asia where they landed; which he afterwards did. (18 to 21.) While in Macedonia, having in contemplation the important office that Timothy was about to assume, he wrote this Epistle to him, (21;) in which we find the following strong and appropriate language: "Till I come give attendance to reading, to exhortation, (or prayer) to doctrine; (or learning; *crudition.*) Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting *may be manifest in all.*"*

93. In this passage Timothy is spoken of as having *then* possession of the gift; *the gift that was given thee*: But this was before he took charge of the Church at Ephesus, and refers to an event which *had then passed*. Now, Timothy had been many years preaching before that time. He is mentioned as having preached at Philippi and Thessalonica, when Paul and he were there together immediately after he went forth. (I. Thessalonians, i, ii.) He is also mentioned as a minister of God in Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, (iv, 17; xvi, 10,) which was written before Paul left

* The English translation stands thus: "that thy profiting *may appear to all.*" The words in the original, however, corresponding to those in Italic letters above, are as follow: "phanera e en pasin;" which cannot be correctly translated otherwise than as in section 92, viz. *may be manifest in all.*

Ephesus. Timothy therefore was ordained a Presbyter long before the first Epistle was written to him: and this ordination Paul refers to in the passage in question. (I. Tim. iv, 14)

94. It is proposed in the next place to show that Timothy had successors with the same powers we find him possessing in the Church of Ephesus.

95. It may be observed that Paul evidently contemplated his having successors, because he not only says to him, "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus;" but also says, "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."—(II. Tim. i, 13; ii, 2.)

96. Let it be remembered that the evidence to be brought forward relates to *the practice of the Church*; to the matter of fact question, whether there were in the Apostolick times *one or three orders of ministers*; and that the witnesses are those venerable men who succeeded the Apostles in the charge of the Church, some of them having been the disciples of the Apostles; men who valued the order of the Church and its doctrines more than life, who freely delivered themselves up to cruel deaths in defence and maintenance of the truth; men who have been emphatically called *martyrs*, that is *witnesses* of the truth of the Gospel; the Greek word ΜΑΡΤΥΡ signifying a WITNESS.

97. It is alleged, however, that by calling in the testimony of these ancient Fathers, Episcopalians admit that their system is not *directly* laid down in the word of God; but assert that *the facts* stated in scripture *taken in connexion* with the writings of the *early Fathers*, decidedly support their claim. (Miller's Letters, p. 119.)

98. The Episcopalians assert, that the scriptures show that the Apostles were over the Presbyters and Deacons, and appointed, ordained, and ruled them: (12, 13,) and therefore that there were in the Apostolical Church three orders of ministers—the Apostles, the Presbyters, and the Deacons.

99. Having shown this, they appeal to those contemporaries of the Apostles to whom the government of the Church was committed by them, and to their successors, for their testimony as to the question of fact, whether there were in the Church *one or three orders of ministers* in their time. They also appeal to them for the reason why the title of Apostle ceased in the Church, and to

explain the difficulty that has been made by those who wish to confound the offices of Bishop and Presbyter, by showing *when* and *why* the first order assumed the title of Bishop in place of that of Apostle.

100. This is the only possible mode of deciding these points. In the very nature of things there can be no other. If men who depart from the established order of the Church, endeavour to justify themselves by alleging that the practice of the Church was originally as they wish to have it, to whom can they go for evidence respecting that practice, if not to such as lived in those days? some of whom had even been conversant with the Apostles. Did not these men know what was the order of the Church? Are not they, men who gave up their lives for the truth, to be trusted to say what it was?

101. These witnesses say, that when the Church was every where established, the name of *Apostle* was left to those who were truly *Apostles*, (or *messengers*, *apostoloi*;) and the name of *Bishop* was restrained (or confined) to those who were anciently called *Apostles*. Thus Titus and Timothy are called by some *Apostles* and by others *Bishops*; more commonly *Bishops*, because most of the writers who mention them lived after this change of title was made.— (45, 46, 47, 55.)

It may also be remarked that in the Acts, chap. i, 20, 25, both in the original and in the English translation, the words *Bishoprick* and *Apostleship*, *Episkope* and *Apostole*, are used as synonymous terms.

102. This evidence does not, however, satisfy men who are loth to yield; and they demand *express warrant* "that *Bishops* are an order of *Clergy* superior to *Presbyters*; that their superiority rests on the appointment of *Christ*: and that with this superior order alone, are deposited all the treasures of ministerial order and succession." (Miller's Letters p. 71.)

103. To this demand it is answered, that we have *express warrant* for saying, that *there was an order of clergy superior to Presbyters: that their superiority rests on the appointment of Christ, and that with this superior order alone, were deposited all the treasures of ministerial order and succession.* (See sec. 12, 13, § 41; and Acts xiv, 23; Titus i, 5.) Moreover that we have the positive testimony of those to whom *this superior order* committed the Church, *as their successors*, that they, when the Church was settled, dropped the name

of Apostles, *messengers*, and, now that they were confined *to the oversight* of the Church in one city and the district of country surrounding it, assumed to themselves the more appropriate name of *OVERSEERS* or *Bishops*, and continued to exercise the powers of the superior order, viz. the Apostolic order. [56.]

104. After having answered the demand, it certainly is not improper to remark upon the modesty of those, who, being by their own acknowledgment innovators upon the settled order of government for 1300 or 1400 years, and setting up a claim *to be the first and sole order of ministers* instead of the second, instead of showing *express warrant* for their innovation, turn about upon those from whom they derived their ordination to the second order, and demand of them *express warrant* for continuing in the authority which they had had from the beginning, derived from the Apostles who constituted them their successors. [44 to 56.]

105. What reply have they to make, to the demand of *express warrant* for a *Presbyter's* assumption of the whole ministerial power? for presbyters being the only order of ministers, the successors of the Apostles? or for instituting the two lay-orders of Ruling Elders and Deacons? What is their *express warrant*, for instance, for a *Presbyter's* power to ordain? They do not pretend to bring any; but in support of the claim to the power of ordaining, offer a defective argument as has been shown, and three cases in which it is pretended that presbyters ordained; in one of which *the ordainers* are not shown to have been presbyters, and *the ordained* were both Apostles, one of them for seventeen years before; in another, the ordained is expressly said to have received the gift *by* the laying on of the hands of Paul and *with* those of the presbyters; and in the third the pretended ordaining presbyter is expressly called an Apostle in the Acts. [p. 6 to 16.]

106. Let us carry this a little further. What reply do they make to the demand for *express warrant* for baptizing infants? for baptizing by pouring, or sprinkling with water? for the change of the sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week? They have none to give: and having, on the question of church government, denied that *facts which are mentioned in the sacred history, taken in connexion with the writings of the early Fathers*, are sufficient authority; having demanded *a warrant which would be indubitable and satisfactory, if all books, excepting the Bible, were banished from the Church*, [Miller's Letters, p. 119, 72] they are without any

authority but what they can infer from the facts of scripture: and to this Dr. Miller is driven. When asked for his *express warrant* for Infant Baptism, he says, "We can prove from scripture, with absolute certainty, the divine right of INFANT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP; and we can prove, from the same source, and with equal certainty, the divine right of BAPTISM TO ALL CHURCH MEMBERS. This is *warrant as express* as could be desired." [Miller's Letters p. 121.]

No man in his senses, however, can be induced to believe, that there is an *express warrant* for that which requires for its establishment a long argument in two parts; 1st, to prove the right of infants to church membership, and 2ndly to prove that all members of the Church have a right to Baptism. The presbyterian writers have, accordingly, not thought proper to rest the doctrine of the Baptism of Infants on this argument, but have, with one consent, proved it to have been the practice of the Church by the testimony of these very Fathers, whose evidence they have endeavoured to discredit on the subject of Church Government.

107. Thus Dwight quotes in support of this practice, "Justin Martyr, born near the close of the first century;" "Irenæus, born about the year 97, a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of John;" "Clemens Alexandrinus, born about the middle of the second century;" "Tertullian, born about the same time with Irenæus;" "Origen, born about the year 184, and a man of more information than any man of his time;" "Cyprian, who was contemporary with Origen;" "Gregory Nazianzen, born in the early part of the fourth century;" "St. Augustin, born in the middle of the fourth century;" and "Pelagius, a contemporary with Augustin." [Dwight's Theology, vol. 5, p. 318, 319.]

It follows beyond the possibility of question with disinterested men, that they would not have objected to the testimony of the Fathers on this subject, had it not been in their way.

108. The Father who has expressed himself as positively and as clearly as any other whose writings have been preserved, is Ignatius. Accordingly, the greatest efforts have been made to set aside his testimony.

109. There are two editions of his epistles, called the larger and the smaller. Dr. Lardner, who was an English dissenter, and therefore a Presbyterian in doctrine, and whose work on "The Credibility of the Gospel History" is a standard production, says in that

work, [Vol. 2, p. 68] "I have carefully compared the two editions, and am very well satisfied, upon that comparison, that the larger are an interpolation of the smaller, and not the smaller an epitome or abridgement of the larger. I desire no better evidence in a thing of this nature." He says again, [p. 69] "As the interpolations of the larger epistles are plainly the work of some *Arian*, so even the smaller epistles may have been tampered with by the Arians, or the Orthodox, or both; though I do not affirm, there are in them any considerable corruptions or alterations."

110. These two passages compared, show that the additions made to the smaller edition of these epistles, consist of interpolations made to favour the doctrines of Arius, in the controversy between him and the orthodox, and possibly of some made by the orthodox themselves. They are therefore such as relate to that controversy, which had nothing to do with the subject of Church Government, or Episcopacy, but related to the nature of our Lord Jesus Christ; viz. whether he was a divine person, or only the most exalted of created beings. It is evident, therefore, that there is not the slightest ground to suspect the interpolation of passages to favour Episcopacy. Indeed the passages respecting the three orders of ministers are so numerous in these Epistles, are so completely interwoven with their whole substance, and arise so naturally out of the subject of the Epistles; viz. advice to the Christians of the different Churches addressed, respecting their conduct to one another and to those who had the rule over them, that it is impossible to separate these passages from the rest without utterly destroying the whole structure and tenor of the Epistles.

111. The only question, then, to be considered is, whether or not these are the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. Let Dr. Lardner be heard on this subject. He writes as follows: (Vol. 2. p. 66.)

"Having given this general account of the age of Ignatius, I shall next transcribe the most ancient testimonies concerning him and his epistles. And then I shall make a few remarks.

"We have this passage in Irenæus: 'As one of our people, for his testimony of God condemned to wild beasts, said: I am the wheat of God, and ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found to be pure bread.' Which words are in §. 4. of Ignatius's epistle to the Romans. And this passage is also cited from Irenæus by Eusebius; who in another place likewise says: 'Irenæus mentions Justin Martyr, and Ignatius, making use of testimonies out of their writings.'

"We meet with Ignatius twice mentioned by Origen. 'Final-

ly,' says he, 'I remember, that one of the saints, Ignatius by name, has said of Christ: My love is crucified.' Which words are in the same epistle to the Romans, §. vii. Again: 'I have observed it elegantly written in an epistle of a martyr, I mean Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch after Peter, that the virginity of Mary was unknown to the prince of this world.' See the epistle to Ephesians, §. xix.

"Eusebius, beside what has been already taken from him, says in another place, after the mention of Polycarp and Papias, as contemporaries: 'At the same time also flourished Ignatius, who is still highly honoured, being the second in the succession of the church of Antioch after Peter. It is said, that he was sent from Syria to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts, for the testimony of Christ. And making his journey through Asia under a strong guard, he confirmed the churches in every city by his discourses, and especially cautioned them against the heresies then springing up, and gaining ground; and exhorted them to adhere to the tradition of the apostles. And for the greater security, he also put down his instructions in writing. Therefore when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote an epistle to the church at Ephesus, another to the church in Magnesia upon the [river,] Meander—and another to the church at Trallium—and beside these, he wrote also to the church at Rome; [from which Eusebius quotes a long passage.] These things he wrote from the forementioned city to those churches. Afterwards removing from Smyrna he wrote to the Philadelphians from Troas, and to the church of Smyrna, and in particular to their president Polycarp.' Eusebius proceeds then not only to refer to a passage of this epistle to Polycarp, but quotes also distinctly a passage from the epistle to the church of Smyrna; and then puts down a passage of the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, in the latter part of which he says to them: 'The epistles of Ignatius sent by him to us, together with what other have come to our hands, we have sent to you, which are subjoined to this epistle: by which you may be greatly profited. For they treat of faith and patience, and of all things pertaining to edification in our Lord.' And thus we have seen also Polycarp's testimony in general to these epistles, who collected them.

"To the same purpose St. Jerom in his book of Illustrious men: 'Ignatius the third bishop of the church of Antioch after the apostle Peter, in the persecution under Trajan was condemned to wild beasts. And when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp the disciple of John was bishop, he wrote an epistle to the Ephesians, another to the Magnesians, a third to the Trallians, a fourth to the Romans: and when he was gone thence, he wrote to the Philadelphians, the Smyrneans, and in particular to Polycarp.'

"I shall transcribe no more testimonies of the ancients, but refer the reader for the rest to the *Patres Apostolici* of Le Clerc."

112. What inducement then can there be for rejecting these Epis

ties, seeing that they are most unexceptionable and are written in the very spirit of an ardently pious Christian? Let another Presbyterian answer this question; one of whom Dr. Miller speaks in the following terms: "The celebrated Grotius, whose great learning and talents will be considered by all as giving much weight to his opinion on any subject, is full and decided in maintaining that the primitive church was formed after the model of the Synagogue." (Miller's Reply to Dr. Bowden p. 105.) In a note to this passage Dr. Miller says, "Though Grotius was bred a Presbyterian; yet being soured by what he considered ill treatment from the Church of *Holland*, he discovered a strong predilection for Episcopacy.—When this is considered, the declarations above cited, carry with them peculiar force."

113. The celebrated Grotius then, when writing to Vossius concerning Blondel's opinion of these Epistles, says, "The *Epistles of Ignatius*, which your son brought out of *Italy*, pure from all those things which the learned have hitherto suspected (*in the larger epistles*, 109) *Blondel* will not admit, because they afford a clear testimony to the antiquity of Episcopacy." (Bowden's Letters vol. 1, p. 176, quoted from Pearson's Viud. chap. v.) Blondel, Grotius, and Vossius were all most learned presbyterian writers.

The following passage, showing the same disposition with regard to these epistles, is from Mosheim, a most learned Lutheran clergyman, and no friend to Episcopacy. "Perhaps there would have been no contention with most persons about the Epistles of Ignatius, if those who contend for the divine origin and antiquity of Episcopal government had not been enabled to support their cause with them." (De Rebus Christian. ante Constant. p. 160—See Religious World Displayed vol. 2, p. 281, note.)

114. Let us now proceed with the subject. It was proposed to show that Timothy had successors with the same powers which he exercised in the Church at Ephesus. (92.)

115. In the epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, the very church over which Timothy had presided, written about forty years after the death of Paul, there is complete evidence of this. He writes to the Ephesians in the following manner: "I received therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in *ONESIMUS*; who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to the flesh is your Bishop, whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ, to love; and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who has grant-

ed unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent Bishop." (Sect. I, appendix.)

116. From this quotation it is evident that, as Ignatius mentioned ONESIMUS, with great marks of respect, as the Bishop of the Ephesians, he must have exercised all the powers that that Father represents as belonging to the Episcopal office. What those powers were, can be seen in the passages *in Italics* in the appendix.—They include those of ordaining, and of ruling the clergy, as well as the laity.

117. "Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History says, 'That Euodius having been the first Bishop of Antioch, Ignatius succeeded him.' With whom St. Jerome agrees. In his Chronicle, Eusebius places the ordination of Ignatius in the year 69, after the death of Peter and Paul at Rome. Nevertheless some think that Ignatius was ordained by Peter; and suppose that Euodius and Ignatius were both Bishops of Antioch at one and the same time; the one of the Jewish and the other of the Gentile Christians: but that after the death of Euodius they all came to be under Ignatius as their Bishop." (Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. 2, p. 65.)

118. Ignatius, therefore, having been ordained in the year 69, which was about the year of Paul's death, was contemporary with both Timothy and Onesimus, and, if there was any between them, with him also. He must also have been well acquainted with the order of the Church before his ordination, and consequently the powers he ascribes to the Bishop, were exercised by Timothy and others in the life time of the Apostles, and until the death of Ignatius.

119. This is in the strongest manner confirmed, if confirmation it need to any man's conscience, by the address of Ignatius in his Epistle to the Trallians; in which he speaks of THAT CHURCH CONTINUING IN THE APOSTOLICAL CHARACTER. See the words *in Italics* in the address to the Epistle to the Trallians, in the appendix: and in this Epistle, it is to be remarked, some of the strongest passages are to be found respecting the existence of three orders of ministers, and the supremacy of the Bishop. See the passages *in Italics* in sections 2, 3, 7, 12, 13, of the Epistle to the Trallians.

120. Ignatius likewise in the address to the Philadelphians salutes them "*especially if they are at unity with the Bishop and Presbyters who are with him, and the Deacons appointed according to the*

mind of Jesus Christ; whom he has settled according to his own will in all firmness by his Holy Spirit." This epistle also contains strong passages showing the existence of three orders, the supremacy of the Bishop, and the ministerial character of the Deacons: See passages in *Italics*, in sections 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, of the Epistle to the Philadelphians.

121. See also the remarkable address to the Smyrneans and the 8th and 9th sections of the epistle, for striking evidence of the same.

122. See also *the address* to Polycarp, Bishop of the Church at Smyrna, and the 4th and 6th sections.

123. These quotations show most unquestionably that Ignatius, who was acquainted with some of the Apostles, and was the disciple of John, considered these churches, in which it is so repeatedly stated that the Bishop is the source of all ministerial authority, and to be revered by all, and *especially by the presbyters*, as CONTINUING IN THE APOSTOLICAL CHARACTER.

124. We also see in Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, evidence of the same kind. He was the fellow disciple and intimate friend of Ignatius, with whom he spent some short time at Smyrna while on his journey to Rome to be devoured by lions.

With regard to the authenticity of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, we have the most satisfactory evidence from Irenæus. Irenæus himself is thus spoken of by Mosheim. He says of *his five books against heresies*, they "are considered as one of the most precious monuments of ancient erudition." (Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Century II. Part II. Chap. II. Sect. v.) Lardner also, speaks of him with great respect throughout his account of him.

125. "Irenæus says in his excellent work against all heresies: 'And Polycarp teaches the same things, who was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also by the Apostles appointed Bishop of the Church of Smyrna in Asia. Whom also I saw in my early age (for he lived long, and at a great age had a glorious and splendid martyrdom:) I say Polycarp always taught these things, which he had learned from the Apostles, which he delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. To this bear witness all the Churches in Asia, and they who to this time have succeeded Polycarp,' &c.— 'There is also a most excellent Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians; from which they who are willing, and are concerned

for their own salvation, may learn both the character of his faith, and the doctrine of the truth." (Lardner's *Credibility &c.* vol. 2, p. 86, 87.)

126. In this epistle Polycarp speaks of *the blessed Ignatius; of Ignatius, Paul &c. not having run in vain; and of their having gone to the place that was due to them from the Lord.* He tells the Philippians, "The epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us, together with what others of his have come to our hands, we have sent to you according to your order; which are subjoined to this epistle; by which you may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus." (Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians sec. 9.)

127. This strong expression of approbation and exalted esteem, this ranking Ignatius with Paul, this claim of an inheritance in the kingdom of Heaven for him, and this great regard and value set on the letters he left behind, show that Polycarp completely agreed with Ignatius in relation to the great concerns of the Church. All that we see, therefore, in the passages *in Italics* in the Epistles of Ignatius, stands supported by the evidence of Polycarp, as completely as if he had himself written those Epistles.

Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in the year 148, according to Bishop Pearson, who makes it earlier than any other writer: many learned men place it in 167 or thereabouts. (Lardner 2, 88.)

128. Irenæus was the disciple of Polycarp according to Eusebius and Jerome. "Tertullian mentions him as one of the most considerable writers of the Christian Church." "Eusebius says, 'when Pothinus had been put to death with the martyrs in Gaul, Irenæus succeeded him in the Bishoprick of the Church of Lyons; who, in his youth, had been a disciple of Polycarp.'" (Lardner's *Credibility, &c.* vol. 2, 151.)

After making other extracts from Eusebius respecting Irenæus, Dr. Lardner says, "It is perhaps needless to put down after these, St. Jerome's testimony: I shall, however, take a part of his account of this excellent person, which we have in his book of *Illustrious Men.*

"Irenæus, presbyter of Pothinus, who was Bishop of the Church of Lyons in Gaul, carried a letter from the martyrs of that city concerning some disputes of the Church to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, in which letter he is honourably mentioned. Afterwards, Pothinus having obtained the crown of martyrdom, when he was

almost ninety years of age, he was substituted in his room. It is certain, he was a disciple of Polycarp, Bishop and martyr. He wrote five books against heresies." (Lardner vol. 2, p. 156.)

Mosheim says of him, "Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, a Greek by birth, and probably born of Christian parents, a disciple also of Polycarp, by whom he was sent to preach the gospel among the Gauls, is another of the writers of this century, (the second) whose labours were singularly useful to the Church. He turned his pen against its internal and domestic enemies, by attacking the monstrous errors which were adopted by many of the primitive Christians, as appears by his *five books against heresies*, which are yet preserved in a Latin translation, and are considered *as one of the most precious monuments of ancient erudition.*" (124.)

129. The reader will bear in mind that Tertullian, Eusebius and Jerome are names of highest reputation in ancient times; and Lardner and Mosheim in modern days, and that the two latter were not Episcopalians, the former of the two being a dissenter from the English Church and the latter a Lutheran. Many other testimonies might be added from writers in different ages of the Church. Let us now inquire what Irenæus has written on the subject of Episcopacy. The following is a translation of the third chapter of the third of those books against heresies, said by Mosheim to be "*one of the most precious monuments of ancient erudition.*"

130. "It is, therefore, with all in the church, who wish to hear the truth, to understand fully the tradition of the Apostles published through the whole world; and we can enumerate *those who were appointed by the Apostles Bishops in the Churches, and their successors even to us*, who have taught no such thing; neither have they known what is idly talked of by these. (viz. the heretics.) For if the Apostles had known hidden myteries, which they taught apart and secretly to the perfect, they would have delivered them to those especially to whom they committed even the Churches themselves. For they wished those to be very perfect and irreprehensible in all things, *whom they left their successors, delivering (to them) their own place of governors*, who acting correctly, great benefit would arise; but the greatest calamity, if they should fall away. But seeing that it is very long, in such a volume as this, to enumerate *the successions of all the churches*, by pointing out the tradition of the greatest, the most ancient, and universally known church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, which (tradition) it has from the Apostles, and the faith announced to mankind, coming even to us by the successions of Bishops, we confound all those who, in whatever manner, either through their evil inclination, or through vain glory, or

through blindness and wicked designs conclude, more than is fit:—*For, with this Church, on account of its greater pre-eminence, it is necessary that every Church should agree; that is, those which are in all respects faithful; in which is always preserved, by those who are roundabout, that tradition which is from the Apostles. The blessed Apostles, therefore, founding and instructing the Church, delivered to Linus the Bishoprick TO GOVERN THE CHURCH.* Paul makes mention of this Linus in the epistles which are to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; after him in the third place from the Apostles, *Clement obtained the Bishoprick; who both saw the Apostles themselves, and conferred with them, when as yet he had the preaching of the Apostles sounding in his ears, and their tradition before his eyes. Not indeed alone; many as yet remained, at that time taught by the Apostles.*

“Under this Clement, no slight dissension having arisen among the brethren who were at Corinth, the Church which was at Rome wrote the most powerful letters to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace, and refreshing their faith, and declaring the tradition which they had recently received from the Apostles, announcing one God Omnipotent, the Maker of heaven and earth, the creator of man, who caused the flood, and called Abraham, who led his people out of the land of Egypt, who spoke to Moses, who appointed the law, and sent the prophets, who will prepare a fire for the devil and his angels. They who desire may learn from the Scripture that He is declared to be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and may understand the Apostolical tradition of the Church, although those, who now teach falsely, and pretend there is another God above the Creator and Maker of all these things which exist, should have a more ancient epistle. To this Clement however, succeeded Evaristus; and to Evaristus, Alexander; and then Sixtus was appointed, the sixth from the Apostles; and after him Telesphorus, who likewise suffered martyrdom most gloriously; and then Hyginus, then Pius, after whom Anicetus. And when also Soter had succeeded Anicetus, now Eleutherus has the Bishoprick in the twelfth place from the Apostles. BY THIS ORDINATION AND SUCCESSION, that tradition in the Church which is from the Apostles, and the doctrine of the truth, hath come even unto us. And this is a most full showing that there is one and the same lively faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now and handed down in truth.

“And POLYCARP ALSO; who was not only taught by the Apostles and conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was likewise appointed by the Apostles Bishop in that Church which is at Smyrna in Asia, whom we also have seen in our younger days: for he continued a long time, and departed this life when very old, most gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom: (literally bearing witness, fideius martirium;) He always taught those things which he had learned from the Apostles, which he likewise delivered to the Church, and which are alone true. And all the Churches which are in Asia bear testimony to these things, and those who succeeded Polycarp until this time: which man is a witness of

much greater authority; and a more faithful witness of the truth, than Valentine and Marcion, and the rest who are of a perverse opinion. For it is he who, when he came to the city *under Anicetus*, converted many heretics, of those whom we have before mentioned, to the Church of God, declaring that he had received this one and sole truth from the Apostles, which likewise he delivered to the Church. And there are those who heard him saying, that John the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus, when he saw Cerinthus within, went hastily out of the bathing house without washing, saying that he feared lest the house should fall while Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was in it. And Polycarp himself, Marcion meeting him once and saying, Do you know me? answered, I know you the first-born of Satan. So much did the Apostles and their disciples fear, lest they should even by a word communicate with any one of those who adulterated the truth; as Paul likewise says, A man that is heretical after one reproof, avoid; knowing that he who is so, is perverse and condemned by himself. And there is also a most excellent Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which they who wish and have regard for their own salvation, can learn the character of his Faith and the Doctrine of the Truth.

“And the Church which is at Ephesus, founded indeed by Paul, but John remaining with them even to the time of Trajan, is likewise a true witness of the Doctrine of the Apostles.”

(It is proper to remark that I had not seen Irenæus's works until after the 55th section of this essay had been printed off.)

131. This passage from Irenæus is most explicit in every particular. It is expressly stated,

1. That the Apostles appointed Bishops in all the Churches, and left them as their successors to GOVERN THE CHURCH.

2. That the Episcopate or Bishoprick was delivered to one person, and one Bishop only *at a time*, is ever mentioned as governing the Church: thus the Apostles delivered the Episcopate to Linus to govern the Church at Rome; Anaclethus succeeded him, and after him, in the third place Clement obtained the Episcopate; and the names of twelve successive Bishops are given, who governed that Church, each in his day; as indicated by the expressions, *under Clement, under Anicetus*. (See 130.)

3. It is expressly stated that there were successions of Bishops in all the churches, and that with the Church at Rome, in which the names of twelve successive Bishops are given, every church should agree, that is, *those which were in all respects faithful*.

4. That Polycarp was taught by the Apostles, and was *by them appointed Bishop of Smyrna*.

132. This doctrine is repeated in other chapters. In the 63rd

chapter of the 4th book, Irenæus says, "True knowledge is the doctrine of the Apostles, &c. according to the successions of the Bishops, to whom they (viz. the Apostles) delivered that Church which is in every place," &c.

133. In the 20th chapter of the 5th book, speaking of those who derive their authority from the Apostles, in comparison with heretics, he says, "For they are all far behind *the Bishops to whom the Apostles delivered the churches*, and this we have with all carefulness made apparent in the third book:" In which it is shown that the Apostles delivered the government of the Church in each place to one Bishop at a time; (130) and that in immensely populous cities where there were numerous presbyters, as in Rome, the population of which has been estimated to have been, about that time, above a million.

134. Testimony more conclusive cannot, perhaps, be produced upon any subject *not a matter of controversy when the writer lived*. Had the doctrine ever been advanced, that the Apostles had committed the episcopate to the whole body of the presbyters in Rome, for the government of the Church, a more explicit declaration to the contrary could not have been necessary.

135. Strong however as is this testimony, Dr. Miller has made an effort to show that Irenæus is "an important and decisive witness on the subject before us." Important and decisive he truly is; but not on the side of the question Dr. Miller would have his readers believe. To make good his assertion, he quotes several passages.

136. In p. 150 of Dr. Miller's Letters, he has given, as a quotation from the commencement of the 3rd chapter of the 3rd book of Irenæus, the following words. "The Apostolic tradition is present in every church. We can enumerate those who were constituted *Bishops* by the Apostles in the churches, and *their successors even to us*, who taught no such thing. By showing the tradition and declared faith of the greatest and most ancient church of *Rome*, which she received from the Apostles, and which is come to us *through the succession of the Bishops*, we confound all who conclude otherwise than they ought."

137. By comparing this with the translation given in a preceding section. (130) it may be observed that, independently of other liberties taken with the passage, several sentences are entirely left out, viz. commencing at the words, "For if the Apostles," and ending with the words, "*enumerate the successions of all the Church*."

es." In this omitted part is contained the very substance of the controversy, viz. that the Apostles left the Bishops "*their successors, delivering (to them) their own place of government.*"

138. In the next page, Dr. Miller gives, as a quotation from the same book of Irenæus, the words stated in the 55th section of this essay. By comparing the quotation from Dr. Miller, in the 136th section in connexion with that in the 55th section, *with the translation in the 130th section*, it will be found that the two passages are intimately connected.

139. Dr. Miller has however not only omitted the connecting sentences between these two passages, but he has interposed between them, several quotations from the 4th and 5th books of Irenæus. The effect is to break the thread of the argument.

140. Irenæus asserts that *he could enumerate those who were appointed by the Apostles Bishops in the churches, and their successors to his time, whom the Apostles left as their successors, delivering to them their own place of governors.* But seeing that it would be too long to enumerate the successions of all the churches, he confines himself to pointing out the tradition in the Church at Rome. Then follows *the reason* for this, which Dr. Miller has omitted; "*For, with this church, on account of its greater pre-eminence, it is necessary that every Church should agree; that is, those which are in all respects faithful.*" &c. Irenæus then goes on to say, "The blessed Apostles, therefore, founding and instructing the Church, (viz. at Rome) delivered to Linus the Bishoprick to govern the Church," &c. (See top of p. 72 of this essay.)

141. So much for the connexion between these two passages.—It is necessary to make a remark or two upon the passage itself, (contained in the 55th section.)

On comparing the translation given above (130) with Dr. Miller's, (55) it will be observed that in his quotation the words, TO GOVERN THE CHURCH, are not to be found, in the passage stating that the Episcopate or Bishoprick was delivered by the Apostles to Linus.

After the statement that Anacletus and Clement succeeded Linus, several sentences are omitted, not however very material as relates to the question before us, and the quotation is resumed at the commencement of *the Italic lines* in section 130: "To this Clement," &c. In Dr. Miller's translation the word ORDINATION is left out,

The passage in Irenæus runs thus, *By this ordination and succession, &c.*—Dr. Miller has it, *By this succession* that tradition &c. is come to us.

That the reader may have an opportunity of judging for himself of this matter, the whole 3rd chapter of the 3rd book of Irenæus will be annexed to these pages, in the Latin.

142. Dr. Miller also quotes several other passages from Irenæus, in which the word *Presbyter* occurs, and he endeavours to show thereby that *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are one, immediately in the face of the fact that there were always numerous *presbyters* in Rome, and never more than one *Bishop*.

143. He quotes these words: "We ought therefore to adhere to those *presbyters* who keep the *Apostle's doctrine*, and together with the *presbyterial succession* do show forth sound speech. Such *Presbyters* the Church nourishes; and of such the Prophet says—I will give them *Princes* in peace, and *Bishops* in righteousness."—(Book iv, Chapter xlv.)

144. In this passage Irenæus is speaking of iniquitous *presbyters*, and says, "From all such we ought to depart: but we ought to adhere to those who keep the doctrine of the Apostles, as we have before said, and with the law or discipline* of a *presbyter*, show forth sound speech and a conversation without offence, for the information and correction of the rest." Then follows a long passage giving an account of the conduct of Moses, Samuel, and Paul in the performance of the duties imposed upon them severally: and immediately afterwards follow the words constituting the last sentence of Dr. Miller's quotation, "Such *Presbyters*" &c. From which it is evident that Moses, Samuel, and Paul are referred to, and that Irenæus uses the term *presbyter* or *elder*, in a very general way. There is certainly nothing in the passage that bears definitely on the question at issue: and nothing would be gained by taking the passage precisely as Dr. Miller has it. For the whole amount of it, as it stands, is, To such *presbyters* (as with the discipline of a *presbyter*, show forth sound speech &c.) I will give

* The passage runs thus in Irenæus: "Adhærere vero his qui et Apostolorum, sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, et eum *presbyteri ordine* sermonem sanum," &c. It is manifest that the words, *presbyteri ordine*, do not signify *presbyterial succession*, as Dr. Miller has made it. To bear this signification there should be an adjective to agree with *ordine*, or the noun should be in the plural, *presbyterorum*. As it stands, it can only mean something belonging to a *presbyter*. We frequently meet with the expression *successiones episcoporum*, not *episcopi*: so if this passage meant *presbyterial succession* or a succession of *presbyters*, the word used, would have been *presbyterorum*, not *presbyteri*.

Princes in peace and *Bishops* in righteousness. Certainly it would not appear from this form of expression, that the Presbyter was the Bishop.

145. He likewise quotes the following passage: "Obey those Presbyters (the word is *obaudire*, we ought to *hear* those presbyters) in the Church who have the succession, as we have shown, from the Apostles; who with the succession of the Episcopate, received the gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father." (Irenæus, book iv, chap. xliii.)

146. That Irenæus was here speaking of Bishops is concluded from the word episcopate, and from the reference to what he had said before. The marginal reference at this place is to book i, chap. iii: where he shows that the Church received the doctrine and faith, and although scattered over the whole world, diligently guarded it, and, as if having one soul, and one heart, in perfect concert preached, and taught, and handed down these things, as if possessing but one mouth. "And neither can he, of those who govern the churches, (*qui præsumt Ecclesiis*) who is very able in speech, say any other things than these." Neither of the words, Bishop or Presbyter, are mentioned; but the two considerations show that Irenæus sometimes uses the word Presbyter in speaking of those who govern the churches; *qui præsumt Ecclesiis*. There are three other passages in which he does the same.

147. It is evident, however that he uses the word, Presbyter, in that sense in which the Apostles were sometimes called Elders; according to the declaration of Hilary, "The Bishop is the chief; though every Bishop is a Presbyter, yet every Presbyter is not a Bishop." [See section 56, p. 47.] This is evident because Irenæus elsewhere speaks, in the plainest manner, *of the Church being governed by the Bishop, BY ONE BISHOP AT A TIME*, and mentions the names of twelve in succession, who *singly* governed the Church, *each in his day*, (including the very persons named in the passage quoted by Dr. Miller as Presbyters, and whom he represents as ordinary presbyters,) at the very time that there were in Rome many thousands of Christians and numerous presbyters. To say that Irenæus means by the word Presbyter, in the passage quoted by Dr. Miller, *the ordinary Presbyter*, or the Presbyter *in the common acceptation* of the word, would make him contradict himself: because these did *not govern the Church*, in the sense in which the word (*præsumt*) is used. It could not have been said

of any one of the ordinary presbyters at Rome in the time of Linus, Anacletus, or Clement, *Præst Ecclesiæ Romæ*; he governs the Church at Rome: But of Linus to whom the Apostles delivered the Bishoprick to govern the Church, it could have been said: and so likewise of Anacletus who succeeded Linus; and of Clement also, who in the third place from the Apostles obtained the Bishoprick. (130.)

In one of the very letters quoted by Dr. Miller there is a most explicit passage on this subject. In the letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome who succeeded Eleutherius, Irenæus says, "Atque cum beatus Polycarpus, *Aniceto Episcopatum administrante*, Romam adventaret;" that is, "But when the Blessed Polycarp went to Rome, *Anicetus governing the Bishoprick*," &c. In the 3rd chapter of the 3rd book the same circumstance is mentioned, viz. Polycarp's visit to Rome *under Anicetus*. (See page 73.)

148. While remarking on this quotation from Irenæus, (145) it will not be amiss to give the reader the sentence immediately following it. To convey the meaning fully, both sentences are given in connexion. "Wherefore we ought to hear those presbyters who are in the Church, those who have their succession from the Apostles, as we have shown, who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the sure gift of the truth, according to the decree of the Father: *But the rest who depart from the principal succession*, in whatever place they are collected, *to suspect*, either as heretics and of evil designs, or as schismatics, and puffed up, and thinking well of themselves, or again as hypocrites, doing this for the sake of lucre, and of vain-glory." And again in the same chapter; "Those who tear and divide the unity of the Church, receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam." (Irenæus, Book iv, chap. xliii.) See Epistle to Philadelphians, sec. 3, 8: to Smyrneans, sect. 9.

149. One statement respecting Irenæus made by Dr. Miller it is necessary to notice. He says, "Irenæus, we are told, was Bishop of the church of Lyons in France. While he held this station he was sent by the Church of which he was Pastor, on some special ecclesiastical business to Rome. On this mission he carried with him a letter from the *Presbytery* of his church, directed to *Eleutherius*, Bishop of Rome, in which he is called a *presbyter*, and in which they stile him their *brother and collegue*." (Miller's Letters, p. 154.)

150. This is a misstatement of facts, from which, notwithstanding, no benefit is to be derived. Dr. Miller has given no authority for the statement; and if he could establish it, he would make a difficulty which he would find not easy to solve. For, no presbyter, the pastor of a church, has a presbytery or council of presbyters *in his church*, who are his brothers and *colleagues*.

151. The fact is, that when this letter was written, Irenæus was not Bishop of Lyons. He was then a Presbyter, and therefore the presbyters of that church could with propriety call him brother and colleague: in proof of which take the extract from Jerome in sect. 128, (at the bottom of the page) and the following passage from Eusebius. He says, speaking of the sufferings of the Christians, "This account of things the churches of *Lyons* and *Vienne*, communicated in an epistle to the churches of Asia and Phrygia; and likewise to Eleutherius, Bishop, in a letter which they sent by Irenæus, *then one of their Presbyters*, with a special recommendation of the person who carried it." (Bowden's Letters 1. 169.)

152. The unsoundness of the argument used by Dr. Miller, (that the occasional application of the title of presbyter or elder to the Bishop, shows that the person using it considered them as one and the same officer in the Church,) is shown in a striking light by the fact, that it has been done by those who have expressed themselves in the most decided manner respecting the superiority of the Bishop over the presbyter.

153. Thus Dr. Miller quotes the following from Cyprian, whom he very properly calls "the venerable Bishop of Carthage." "The people should not flatter themselves that they are free from fault, when they communicate with a sinful *priest*; and give their consent to the *presidency* of a wicked *Bishop*," &c. (p. 174.) The quotation is long and remarkably clear upon the subject, of which more perhaps may be quoted hereafter. The object at this time is to show the fallacy of concluding that a person who sometimes calls a Bishop a priest, or a presbyter, must intend that they are the same. No Bishop surely would deny that he was a priest. Cyprian surely would not, and yet he does not hesitate to assert the superior authority of that order of priests called Bishops. He uses the following language: "What greater and better thing can I wish for, than to see the flock of Christ illuminated by the honour of your confession? For as it is the duty of all the brethren to rejoice on this account, so particularly the Bishop's portion of the common joy is

greater, inasmuch as the glory of the Church is the *superior's* glory." "What reason have we to be afraid of the wrath of God, when some *presbyters*, neither mindful of *their own station*, nor regardful of the Bishop, *their superior*, are bold to assume all to themselves, to the reproach and contempt of their *superior*, a thing never heretofore attempted under any of my predecessors." [Bowden's Letters, 1. 167.]

154. Jerome is another writer whom Dr. Miller represents on similar grounds as a decisive witness in his favour, although we have the most positive evidence to the contrary. Thus, he says, "We know that what Aaron and his sons *were*, that the Bishop and Presbyters *are*." Again addressing the Church, he says, "The Apostles were thy fathers, because that they begat thee. But now that they have left the world, thou hast *in their stead* their sons, the Bishops." He asserts, "Without the Bishop's license, neither presbyter nor deacon has a right to baptize." He says, "It is the custom of the Church, for Bishops to go and invoke the *Holy Spirit*, by imposition of hands, on such as were baptized by Presbyters and Deacons, in villages and places remote from the mother Church." "Do you ask," says he, "where this is written? In the Acts of the Apostles." Speaking of the difference between the Church and the *Montanist heretics*, he says, "With us, the Bishops hold the place of the Apostles; *with them* the Bishop holds the third place." [Bowden's Letters, vol. 1, p. 6, 7, 8.] He also "calls Presbyters *Priests of the inferior degree*, and Deacons the *third degree*." [Religious world Displayed, by Robert Adam, B. A. Oxford, vol. 2, p. 280.]

155. This is more than enough to show, that a man may occasionally call a Bishop a *Priest or a Presbyter*, without conceiving that they are of the same degree; and that Irenæus's clear and express declarations, *that the government of the Church at Rome was committed to one Bishop at a time, and successively to twelve whom he names, each in his day governing that Church*, are not to be rendered void of meaning by the simple circumstance of his sometimes applying to a Bishop the term Presbyter.

156. We have now, therefore, seen that Lardner speaks in very high terms of Irenæus; of "his learning, integrity and good sense;" (Vol. 2, p. 157;) and that Mosheim mentions his five books against heresies as "one of the most precious monuments of ancient literature." (128.)

157. We have seen that this Father, who was acquainted with many of those who were taught by the Apostles, and with some who were by them appointed Bishops of the Churches, and is said to have suffered martyrdom, in other words, to have borne witness to the truth (96) at the expence of his life, in the year 202; we have seen, that *he expressly says*, that the Apostles appointed the Bishops as their successors in the government of the Church; that he says that this was the case in all the churches that were *in all respects faithful*; that he could enumerate the successions of Bishops *in all the churches*, but, as this would take up too much room in one volume or book, he enumerates those only who successively governed the Church at Rome, *as a specimen of the order and government of all the others*; that, in mentioning those who governed the Church at Rome, in order, by name, he says the Apostles delivered the Church to Linus *to govern it*, and after him to Anacletus, and so on to twelve, the last of whom governed that Church at the time the book was written; and that, *by this ordination and succession* the doctrine of the Church was handed down from the Apostles, and had come even to the Christians of his day. (130)

158. We have moreover seen that Irenæus speaks in the most exalted terms of Polycarp, and of his Epistle to the Philippians; (pp. 72, 73;) and that Polycarp uses similar strong language in speaking of the Epistles of Ignatius, whereby the statements of Ignatius are as completely supported by the evidence of Polycarp, as if he had himself written those Epistles. (126, 127.)

159. We have seen that the testimony of Ignatius is as strong as that of Irenæus as to the fact that the government of the Church was in the Bishop, all ministerial authority proceeding from him; (See 118 123, with the references to the Epistles of Ignatius in the appendix;) but that the former is more particular with regard to the different orders; speaking *expressly*, in many places, of three orders, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and in plain terms calling the latter, ministers of *the mysteries of Jesus Christ and ambassadors of God*. (Epistle to the Trallians, sect. 2; Magnesians, sect. 6; Philadelphians, sect. 10, 11.) That he also unequivocally, in many instances, speaks of the Bishop as the object of the reverence of the other two orders, and of their being subject to him. (See Epistle to the Magnesians, sect. 2, 3, and the passages *in Italics* generally, in the Epistles of Ignatius in the appendix.) That he speaks of *the presbyters being particularly bound to refresh the*

Bishop; (Epistle to the Trallians, sect. 12;) and as having no authority but what they derive from him, even to administer the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: (Epistle to the Smyrneans, sect. 8:) And lastly, that these orders are all essential, and that he expressly says, without them there is no Church.— (Epistle to the Trallians, sect 3.)

160. Of this state of things in the Church, evidence more and more abounds as we progress through the third century, because more and more learning was enlisted in the cause of the Christian Religion, and because more of the writings of the Fathers of the succeeding centuries have been preserved. It is, however, needless to carry the investigation further for two reasons.

161. First, it is admitted by all, that the government of the Church, from the Reformation up to a very early period, was Episcopal; and the controversy relates to the nature of the government *only during the time, between the commencement of the preaching of the Gospel and that period in which it is admitted that the Church was Episcopal.*

162. The most learned Presbyterian writers admit that the Church was Episcopal in the year 140. The Provincial Assembly of London, in the appendix to the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Anglicani* ask this question—"How long was it that the Church of Christ was governed by the common council of Presbyters without a Bishop set over them?" To which they thus answered, "Dr. Blondel, a man of great learning and reading, undertakes in a large discourse, to make out that before the year 140, there was not a Bishop set over Presbyters; to whose elaborate writings we refer the reader for further satisfaction in this particular." Blondel in his preface "labours to prove that the change of government was made at Jerusalem, about the year 135 or 136; at Alexandria about the year 143, and at Rome about the year 140." (Bowden's Letters, vol. 3, pp. 82, 83.)

It has however been shown that the Church was Episcopal throughout the first two centuries, and consequently throughout the period in controversy; and therefore it is not necessary to prosecute the inquiry further.

163. The second reason is, that if the fact be established that the Church was Episcopal in its government for the first two centuries; even if it should be made evident that it was Presbyterian in the next five, it would only be evidence that the Church had depart-

ed from the Apostolical plan. Having therefore established the fact, that the Church was for two centuries Episcopal, it is unnecessary to inquire further into the matter. We are under the most positive obligations to conform to the Apostolical form of government of the Church; and if it should be made to appear that we have departed from it, *we are bound to return to it.* This is an obligation so far from being questioned, that *it is a first principle not barely admitted, but laid down as a fundamental position,* by Dr. Miller himself. His words are, "If all the interests of the Church are precious in the view of every enlightened Christian, it is evident that *the mode of its organization* cannot be a trivial concern; and if the Saviour, *or those who were immediately taught by his Spirit,* have laid down any rules, or given us any information on this subject, it behoves us carefully to study what they have delivered, *and to make it our constant guide.*" And again, he says, "We unite with such of them as hold the opinion, *that Christians, IN ALL AGES, are bound to make the Apostolic order of the Church, with respect to the ministry,* as well as other points, *the model, as far as possible of all their ecclesiastical arrangements.*" (Miller's Letters pp. 6, 8.)

164. But although it is not necessary, strictly speaking, to proceed with this investigation regularly through the third and fourth centuries, it may not be amiss to make some remarks upon the semblance of argument on this subject, derived from other writers than those heretofore mentioned.

165. Clemens Romanus is quoted by Dr. Miller in support of the doctrine, that there is but one order of ministers. He was the third Bishop of Rome, in which city there were numerous Presbyters. It will subsequently appear that there were forty six of this order of ministers under one of his successors.

Clement and the Church at Rome, in order to compose a disturbance in which the Corinthians had deposed their priests, (all of them it appears,) wrote a very long letter to them, fully as long as the whole seven Epistles of Ignatius together, in which he uses every possible argument to induce them to return to a quiet and orderly state. Very little mention is made of the Priests, against whom they were violently excited. He mentions once *Bishops* and *Deacons* and once *Presbyters*, and in a third place *the chief Priest, the Priests, and the Levites.* (Sections 40, 42, 41.)

The third, Dr. Miller objects to admitting as applicable to the

Christian Church. But they to whom the letter was addressed, were not Jews, and he mentions these orders of priests in connexion with the services God required of *them, who were Gentiles*; and half a century before that, it had been determined by the Jewish Christians, that the Gentiles were not bound to regard the Jewish ceremonies. Let this be as it may; it is certain, first that the mention of two orders is destructive, as far as this testimony goes, of that doctrine which insists only on one; and as far as it goes, supports that which insists on three: for, two are mentioned, and one of the terms, *Presbyter* or *Priest*, is a general one, sometimes used to include *Bishop*, (56, p. 47, and 147) and is even applied to the *Apostles*.

But further, Polycarp is likewise quoted by Dr. Miller as being an aid in support of the doctrine, that there is but one order of ministers; and he commences with saying, "This venerable martyr, like Clemens, speaks of only *two orders* of Church officers, viz. *Presbyters and Deacons*. He exhorts the Philippians to obey these officers in the Lord." "The word *Bishop* is no where mentioned in his whole Epistle; nor does he give the most distant hint as if there was any individual or body of men vested with power superior to *Presbyters*." (p. 138.)

This is a most extraordinary declaration. An ancient Father is quoted to prove the truth of the doctrine that there is but one order of ministers, when it is roundly admitted in the very outset that he speaks of two, and when we know that he himself belonged to a third. But independently of this circumstance, does the omission of the name of an officer, in an Epistle not written on the subject, prove that there is no such officer? Polycarp says in this very letter, "The Epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us, together with what others of his have come to our hands, we have sent to you according to your order; which are subjoined to this epistle; by which you may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and of *all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus*." (Sect. 13.) One of these epistles was written to him and another to the Church at Smyrna, over which he presided. His is addressed to "*Polycarp Bishop of the Church which is at Smyrna*," &c. Polycarp's own letter is directed "*Polycarp and the Presbyters that are with him to the Church of God which is at Philippi*," &c. In the letter to Polycarp, Ignatius tells him, "Let nothing be done without *thy* knowledge and consent." (Sect. 4.) In that to

the Smyrneans there is enough to satisfy any man of the sentiments of Polycarp, shown by his approbation of the contents. — (See the Epistle to the Smyrneans in the appendix.)

166. If no ancient writer had mentioned Bishops as a separate and superior order of ministers, the omission would have shown that there were none. But when all but a few mention them, it is absurd to argue their non-existence from the silence of the few.

If all Ignatius's Epistles, except that to the Romans, had been lost, the argument for the non-existence of Bishops as a separate order, would have been strengthened by the circumstance that that name is but once mentioned in that Epistle, and that no other order is mentioned at all; so that we cannot determine any thing on the subject from the Epistle to the Romans. The loss of all the Epistles of Ignatius except that to the Romans, would have been the more unfortunate because we should thereby have been deprived of the benefit of the evidence of Polycarp; the latter consisting only of a full assent to the testimony that Ignatius had previously given: which, though as positive as that which is assented to, requires the knowledge of what that is, in order to our determining what itself amounts to.

If therefore the Epistles of Ignatius, except that to the Romans, had been lost, we should have had one Epistle from each of three very remarkable men, living in the first and second centuries of the existence of the Christian Church, without any express mention, in either of them, of Bishops as a separate order, superior to Presbyters. But the preservation of the other Epistles of Ignatius, besides that to the Romans, shows in the most striking manner, that a man may write a letter to a church, scarcely mentioning a single order of ministers; at the same time that in other epistles he may, in the most marked manner, state the number and the powers of the different orders. Had, therefore, all the Epistles of Polycarp and of Clement been preserved, it is plain from the case of Ignatius, that we might have had as ample testimony from their epistles, in support of the three orders, as we actually have from his.

That we could not have any thing of an opposite character from Polycarp, is evident from the circumstance of his being himself Bishop of the Church at Smyrna, with Presbyters under him; which appears from a comparison of the address of Ignatius's Epistle to Polycarp, with the address of Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians.

In the former he is called Bishop, in the latter he speaks of *the Presbyters with him*. That Polycarp does not style himself Bishop, is no evidence that he did not occupy that station in the Church at Smyrna. Ignatius does not in one of his Epistles style himself Bishop.

That we should not have any thing of an opposite character from Clement, is evident from the circumstance of his being Bishop of the Church at Rome, and having numerous Presbyters under him. One of Clement's successors, about 150 years after him, had forty six presbyters and seven Deacons under him. (Eusebius, Book vi, chap. 43, quoted by Bowden I, 74.)

167. Dr. Miller (p. 149) quotes "Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, a city of Asia, said to have been 'a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp.' He flourished about the year 110 or 115." "The only thing," he says, "remarkable in this passage, is, that the writer, obviously, styles the *Apostles, Presbyters*." This might have been shown as easily by quoting the New Testament. See on this subject section 56, (p. 47) and section 147 of this essay.

168. He also quotes (p. 155) Justin Martyr, (whose works I have not been able to procure) to show that *the president of the brethren* officiated at the public assemblies for worship; a passage entirely destitute of bearing on the subject, as far as I am able to judge. *The president of the brethren* is he who presides, without designation of order. The Bishop presides if he be present. The Presbyters preside in his absence. In absence of both, the Deacons. The question in debate is not who presides; but who is the source of authority to preside.

This very passage, like almost every one quoted by Dr. Miller, is destructive of his system of Church Government, by containing evidence of more than one order of ministers. *The president* distributes the bread and wine, "and to those that are absent it is sent by the Deacons." (p. 156.) See with respect to their ministerial character, sections 41, 120.

169. The testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus, a Presbyter of the Church at Alexandria, Dr. Miller thinks, as he does that of Ignatius, in favour of the doctrine of one order of ministers in the Church.

170. He quotes the following: "We who have *rule over the churches*, are Shepherds or Pastors, after the image of the good Shepherd." (p. 157.) There is nothing in this contrary to the

doctrine of three orders. The Presbyters do rule the churches in subordination to the Bishop. Paul says, "Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour," in the same chapter (I. Tim. v) in which, instructing Timothy how to deal with these Elders, he says, "Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others (the others or the rest) also may fear." (See the note to p. 33 of this essay.)

171. Again, speaking of the impropriety of women wearing the hair of others, Clement says, "On whom or what will the *Presbyter* impose his hand? To whom or what will he give his blessing? Not to the woman who is adorned, but to strange locks of hair, and through them to another's head." (p. 158.) Here a Presbyter confirms, which being (Dr. Miller argues) the office of a Bishop, it is evident that Bishops and Presbyters are one. (p. 161.) To this it is replied, that in Egypt it was the custom, *when the Bishop was absent*, for the Presbyters to confirm. "Apud Egyptum Presbyteri confirmant, si præsens non sit Episcopus." (Com. q. vulgo Ambros. dic. in 4 Epis. ad Ephes. §9. See Hooker vol. 2, p. 256, note.) This very exception proves the rule, that it was the Bishop's special duty. It was only when he was absent that the Presbyters confirmed: and moreover the statement that *in Egypt* this was the custom, implies that it was not the common practice of the Church. It is evident therefore that the conclusion from this circumstance, that Bishop and Presbyter are one, is exactly the reverse of what fairly flows from it, when *all the facts* are stated.

172. Dr. Miller also quotes a long passage to show that Clement, in speaking of the Bishop in one instance, calls him a Presbyter.—It has been already fully shown that this is sometimes the case with those who unquestionably assert a difference between them; (155 and preceding sections) for the reason, that Bishops are Presbyters or Elders, but all Presbyters are not Bishops. (56) And this distinction is as completely made by Clement as by other writers. He says, "Now in the Church here, the progressions of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, I deem to be imitations of the evangelical glory," &c. "Many other commands, appertaining to select persons, are written in the sacred book; some to *Presbyters*, some to *Bishops*, some to *Deacons*, and some to widows." (Miller's Letters pp. 158, 159.) Can any man conceive that Clement in these passages had in view a ministry of a single order?

173. Dr. Miller next quotes Tertullian, whom he also thinks a

supporter of the doctrine he maintains. He brings forward the following passages. (1.) "In our religious assemblies certain approved *Elders* *preside*, who have obtained their office by merit, and not by bribes." (2.) "We receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of none but the *Presidents* of our assemblies."— (3.) "Before we go to the water to be baptized, we first, in the Church, under the hand of the *President* profess to renounce the devil." (4.) "It remains that I remind you of the custom of giving and receiving Baptism. The right of giving this ordinance belongs to the highest Priest, who is the *Bishop*. Then to the *Elders* and *Deacons*, yet not without the authority of the Bishop, for the sake of the honour of the Church. This being secured, peace is secured; otherwise even the *laity* have the right." (p. 170.)

174. On these quotations Dr. Miller remarks, "This Father tells us, that in his day, *Presbyters* *presided* in their assemblies; that the *Presidents* of their assemblies *alone*, in ordinary cases, *baptized*; and that they received the Lord's Supper from no other hands but those of the *Presidents*; and at the same time he informs us, that administering *baptism* is the appropriate right of *the highest Priest, who is the Bishop*. What," he says "are we to infer from this representation, but that *Presbyter, President, and Bishop* are employed by Tertullian as titles of the same import?" (p. 171.)

175. The first of these quotations (173) was found after long search over 67 pages folio (Dr. Miller having omitted references in too many instances) at p. 67 of Tertullian's "Apology for the Christians against the Nations." The words are, "President probati quique *seniores*, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti." "Certain approved *Seniors* (or *old men*) *preside*, having obtained that honour by merit, not for a price." *Presbyters* are not mentioned. Addressing the heathen nations in general, it was sufficiently explicit to say that *certain approved old men* *presided*; and this term is so general that it certainly does not indicate *Presbyters* particularly.

176. The second and third quotations in section 173, are taken from Tertullian's book written concerning a Christian soldier, who would not wear on his head a crown he had received as a reward of merit, and was hurried to prison covered with his own blood.— The third precedes the second in Tertullian: See chap. iii.

177. In this sentence, (the third in 173), the word Dr. Miller has translated *President*, is *ANTISTES*. *Antistes*. Ainsworth says, sig-

is *properly a chief priest, prelate, bishop, or abbot, but is also used for a chief man or one who is eminent among others.*

178. In this sense Tacitus uses it in speaking of Ignatius in his life of Trajan, section xci. "Ignatius, Antiochiæ Christianorum ANTISTES, difficilia tempora, quibus multi periere, erat clapsus; cum tandem accusatus, coram Trajano sistere se jussus est. Is pervicax perstitit, seque Theophorum dicebat. Trajanus jubet, eum comprehendere, duci Romam, et in amphitheatro bestiis objici; ut Populus Romanus Theophori spectaculo fruatur." "Ignatius, the Bishop of the Christians at Antioch, had escaped the difficult times in which many had perished; when at length being accused, he was commanded to present himself before Trajan. He continued immoveable, and called himself Theophorus. Trajan commanded him to be taken, to be led to Rome, and to be cast to beasts in the amphitheatre; that the Roman People might enjoy the sight of Theophorus."*

179. In the second quotation in section 173 the word translated, *Presidents*, is in Tertullian *Præsidentium*. This word is a participle and signifies *presiding persons*, and does not designate the office they bore. *Præses* is the word for President.

180. The whole passage, including both these sentences runs thus: "Finally that I may commence with Baptism, *About to go to the water, we profess there, but likewise a little before in the Church, under the hand of the Bishop, that we renounce the devil*, and his service, and his angels. And then we are three times immersed, doing somewhat more than our Lord appointed in the Gospel.—Thence being taken up we taste a mixture of milk and honey;—and from that day we abstain from the daily bath for a whole week. *We take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, commanded to all by our Lord, at the season of eating, even in our meetings before day light, *nor from the hand of any others than the presiding persons.*" (Tertulliani De Corona Militis Liber, Cap. iii.) The words in *Italics* correspond with what Dr. Miller has quoted.

181. It is to be remarked that the most solemn time of Baptizing

* Tacitus mentions Ignatius again in section xcv, in the following manner. "Meantime Ignatius, whom we have above mentioned, had arrived at Rome.—When the sports were about to close, on the 13th of the kalends of January, he was cast to lions and immediately torn to pieces, being more greedy of death than the mass of mankind are of life. The same alacrity of the Christians was seen not only in the City, but in the provinces: and it was of service to them; for it was a shame to punish with death, those to whom it was a pleasure to die."

was from the feast of the Passover until the day of Pentecost. -- (Tertulliani De Bap. Lib. Cap. xix.) During this solemn time the new converts, after frequent prayers, fastings, and watchings, with confession of all their sins, (Ibid. cap. xx) being about to go to the water, renounced under the hand of the Bishop, the devil &c. and afterwards received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of *the presiding persons*.

182. The question is who are these presiding persons? They could not mean the Bishop alone: for there was but one Bishop in a city according to the unanimous voice of the Fathers. (130, 131, 147.) And accordingly in the passage quoted by Dr. Miller, (173, 3) the word *antistitis* is singular, though in order to draw his conclusion in section 174, he has been obliged to make it plural, *presidents*.

183. The question (182) is answered even by the very passage quoted by Dr. Miller in section 173, marked (4); which runs thus in Tertullian: "Superest ad concludendam materiolum de observatione quoque dandi & accipiendi baptismum commonefacere. *Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus. Dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, NON TAMEN SINE EPISCOPI AUCTORITATE propter Ecclesie honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est.* (Tertul. De Bap. Lib. cap. xvii.) "It remains to remind you, &c. *The highest Priest, who is the Bishop, has the right of Baptizing. After him the Presbyters and Deacons, not however without the permission of the Bishop, on account of the honor of the Church.*" &c. And this also agrees with the unanimous voice of the Fathers, that the Presbyters and the Deacons, by virtue of authority given them by the Bishop, administered Baptism. They therefore, together with the Bishop, were the *presiding persons*: and in his absence, likewise, they were the presiding persons, and had authority from the Bishop, by virtue of their ordination, to baptize, and to do *those things necessary to the exercise of religion*; but there were things that they could not do, as appears not only from the Epistles of Cyprian; of which one has been already quoted, (153) and others will presently be produced. (See 191, 192, 194, 197 to 203, and most of the passages in *Italics* in Ignatius's Epistles in the appendix.)

184. Dr. Miller's inference, therefore, in section 174, is without foundation: indeed, to conclude that Bishop and Presbyter are one, in the face of such a quotation as the last from Tertullian,

is doing such violence to language, that too much time has, perhaps, been devoted to pointing it out.

185. The following passages from Tertullian will further show how extremely absurd it is, to quote detached sentences without reference to the circumstances in which the piece was written, or to whom, and by means of them to endeavour to explain away the clearest expressions. Tertullian speaking of heresies, says: "But if any dare to mingle themselves with the Apostolic age, that thus they may appear to be handed down from the Apostles, because they were under the Apostles, we can say: Let them then produce the origins of their churches: let them declare the series of their Bishops, so running down from the beginning by successions, that that first Bishop may have some one of the Apostles, or Apostolic men who yet continued constant with the Apostles, for their author and predecessor. For, in this manner the Apostolical Churches trace their origin: as the Church of the Smyrneans having Polycarp, relates that he was placed with them by John. As the Church of the Romans tells of Clement ordained by Peter: in like manner also the rest of them show that they have grafts of the Apostolic seed, who were appointed to the Bishoprick by the Apostles. Let the heretics do any thing like this." (Tertullian against the Heretics, chapter xxxii.)

186. It is worth remarking here, that Tertullian who lived at the same time with Irenæus, the former a Presbyter in Carthage and the latter Bishop of the Church at Lyons in France, agree entirely. It is also observable that they both wrote against heretics, and the challenge with which the last quotation from Tertullian concludes, shows the confidence he felt that what is there stated could not be contradicted.

187. The following short quotation is of the same import. "We have Churches, the foster-children of John. For if Marcion denies his Revelation, nevertheless the succession of Bishops rehearsed to the beginning will stand in John their author. Thus likewise the excellency of the rest is recognized." (Tert. against Marcion, Book iv, chapter v.)

188. The next Father quoted by Dr. Miller is Cyprian, who was ordained Bishop of Carthage in the year 248, having before that time been a Presbyter, according to the testimony of his Deacon Pontius, and of Eusebius and Jerome, quoted by Dr. Bowden vol. 1, p. 96.

In the passage quoted in section 153, ("The people should not," &c.) there is mention of a Priest and a Bishop, which is repeated in the sentences following that quoted: but to say nothing of the obvious truth that a Bishop is a Priest, (Sect. 56, p. 47, and sect. 155) there is nothing in this sentence to show that Cyprian was speaking of the same character. The language would be perfectly proper if he was speaking of two, both Bishop and Priest; and what follows shortly after, shows that he had no idea of there being one order of ministers only.

He says, "And we may take notice that the Apostles observed this, not only in the ordination of Bishops and Priests, but also of Deacons," &c. Here are the three orders distinctly mentioned in the same epistle: and in the 32nd, "Seeing a Church consists of a Bishop, Clergy, and all that stand faithful." (Mill. Let. p. 175, 176.)

189. The following is another passage quoted by Dr. Miller. (p. 176.) "The Deacons ought to remember, that the Lord hath chosen Apostles, that is *Bishops and Presidents*; but the Apostles constituted Deacons, as the ministers of their Episcopacy, and of the Church." In this passage Bishops and Apostles are spoken of as one. Presbyters are not mentioned, because Cyprian is comparing Bishops and Deacons; and therefore these two orders only are mentioned.

190. The existence of these three orders of ministers is clearly expressed by Cyprian on many occasions. While Bishop of Carthage he was induced by threats of being thrown to lions, to conceal himself for a time. In his concealment he continued to govern the Church by letters to his presbyters.

191. In his 41st Epistle we are informed that he deputed two Bishops and two of his Presbyters "to examine the ages, qualifications, and merits of some in Carthage, that he whose province it was to promote men to ecclesiastical offices, might be well informed about them, and promote none but such as were meek, humble and worthy." (Bowden's Letters 1, 100.)

192. In his 59th Epistle he says, "Is glory given to God, when *Presbyters*, contemning and trampling on *their Bishops*, should preach peace with deceiving words, and give the communion," &c. (Bowden's Letters, 1, 104.) See two other striking passages of similar import, from Cyprian, in the 153rd section of this essay.

193. "When Cyprian sent Numidicus to be placed among the Presbyters of Carthage, he gives this reason for it; 'that he might

adorn the plenty of his Presbyters with such worthy men, it being now impaired by the fall of some,' that is during the persecution.* (Bowden 1, 65.) And speaking again of the same person, Cyprian says, "It is the pleasure of our Lord, that he should be joined with our clergy, and that our numbers which the lapse of some Presbyters hath diminished, should be recruited, and adorned with such illustrious Priests." (Ibid. p. 69.)

191. His 39th Epistle "runs thus, 'Cyprian to his Presbyters and Deacons, and to all the people, his brethren, sendeth greeting.'" The quotations given just above, (192, 193) show that these were Presbyters in the proper sense of the word, who in subordination to the Bishop governed the Church, administered the Sacrament, &c. Cyprian's writings abound with passages totally irreconcilable with the scheme of Presbyterian government, and as completely consonant to the Episcopal. He says in one place, "Yea, it is not a matter left to our own free choice, whether Bishops shall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is, that every act of the Church be governed by her Bishops." (Bowden 1, 67; Hooker 2, 259.)

195. The number of Presbyters under Cyprian is not known. — He however mentions eight besides some who had lapsed in the persecution. (Bowden 1. 70.) At one time six Presbyters left the Church, and after that Cyprian mentions three by name as being the chief or principal Presbyters. (Ibid. p. 66.) There were at least six churches in Carthage mentioned by name, besides two great churches without the city; one where Cyprian suffered martyrdom, and the other in which he was buried. And 'I do not question,' says Stillingfleet, 'there were many others which I have not observed;' &c. (Ibid p. 70.)

196. This notice of Cyprian must not be dismissed without remarking on some extraordinary assertions of Dr. Miller. Comparing the powers of the Bishop and Presbyters, he says, "And in what respects he (Cyprian) differed from the other *Presbyters*, whether only as a standing *chairman* or *moderator* among them, as seems to be intimated by his calling them repeatedly his *colleagues* or *co-presbyters*, we are no where informed. All we know is, that writing to them in his exile, he requests them, during his absence, to perform *his duties* as well as *their own*; which looks as if *Cyprian* considered the Presbyters of his Church as clothed with full power to perform all these acts which were incumbent on him as

Bishop, and consequently as of the same order with himself.— (p. 177.)

197. *In what respects he differed from the other Presbyters, &c. we are no where informed,* says Dr. Miller, (196.) See what Cyprian says in sections 153, 191, 192, 194, with regard to the difference between him and his Presbyters.

198. *All we know is, that writing to them in his exile, he requests them, &c.* says Dr. Miller, (196.)

Cyprian's words are not quoted. The defect is here supplied from Hooker, (vol. 2, 259:) "*By these letters I both exhort and command, that ye whose presence there is not envied at, nor so much beset with dangers, supply my room in doing those things which the exercise of Religion doth require.*"

199. — *Which looks as if Cyprian considered the Presbyters of the same order with himself,* says Dr. Miller, (196.) But what says Cyprian to this? While he *exhorts and commands* the Presbyters to supply his room in doing those things which *the exercise of religion requires*, his letters show that he exercised even in his exile *his peculiar powers*, and that he reprobates any attempt of the Presbyters to exceed their subordinate authority, and encroach on *his superior power*. (191, 192, 194, 153.)

200. Cyprian was chosen Bishop when he had been but a short time a Christian. He assumed the office with reluctance; and was in the habit of consulting his Presbyters and Deacons on most occasions. Writing when in exile, to the Presbyters and Deacons, and informing them that he had ordained Aurelius a reader in the Church, he says, "In all ecclesiastical ordinations, most dear brethren, I used to consult you beforehand, and to examine the manners and merits of every one with common advice." (Bowden 1, 100.)— Here he speaks of what he chose to do; *I used to consult you*, implying the right to do it or not.

201. But although he treated them with such deference and respect, he was very far from considering the Presbyters of his Church in the light Dr. Miller would have his readers believe. — (196.)

The Presbyters in the absence of Cyprian had admitted the lapsed to the communion without having exacted the full penance, and without his consent. He wrote to them several letters on the subject, sharply reproofing them, in which he uses the following expressions:

"I have long preserved my patience, very dear brethren," &c. "For what danger ought we not to fear from giving offence to the Lord, when some Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor of their own place, nor bearing in mind the future judgment of the Lord, nor the Bishop now set over them, assume all (power) to themselves with the injury and contempt of him that is set over them, which was never done at all under our predecessors." In addition to this plain assertion of his own superiority, he suspended the persons who had been received until he should return, and promises them a fair hearing before him, in the presence of the confessors and all the people. (Taylor's Works, vol. vii, p. 163.)

202. Cyprian in his two next epistles, (10th and 11th) says more on this subject, telling the Presbyters that they ought to have asked the Bishop's leave, "as was always done in time past under our predecessors." And upon its being alleged that the confessors, whose requests were almost always granted, had interceded for the lapsed, he writes, that the confessors should have kept their petitions for the Bishop to consider, and because they did not, in so doing, "reserve for the Bishop the honor of his office and chair," he suspended them, as before mentioned; until he might be able to return and examine their cases. (Ibid.)

203. With like views, Cyprian, in his Epistle to Rogatianus, who complained to him of a Deacon who had abused him, his Bishop, writes, "Exercise the power of your office upon him, and either suspend him or depose him." He likewise commends Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, for driving Felicissimus, the schismatic, from the Church "with full authority, as becomes a Bishop."—(Ibid.)

204. Dr. Miller says, "Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, who was contemporary with Cyprian, in an Epistle addressed to the latter, has the following passage. *Cyprian. Epist. 75*: 'But the other heretics also, if they separate from the Church, can have no power or grace, since all power and grace are placed in the Church, where *Elders* preside, in whom is vested the power of baptizing and imposition of hands, and *ordination*.'" (p. 179.)

205. In this very letter, however, Firmilian says, "How is this, that when we see *Paul* baptized his disciples again after *John's* baptism, we should make any doubt of baptizing them who return from heresy to the Church, after that unlawful and *prophane* baptism of theirs, unless *Paul* was less than these Bishops of whom we are speaking now," &c. (Bowden 1, 138.)

206. In his 75th epistle he says, "Where we may observe, that the power of remitting sins was granted to the Apostles, and to those Churches which they, when sent forth by Christ, formed and founded, and to those Bishops who succeeded them, in a due and regular course of vicarious succession. Under what other notion can we, therefore, consider these adversaries of the one Catholic Church, whereof we are members, these enemies of ours, or us, *I say, who are successors to the Apostles,*" &c. (Bowden 1, 140.)

207. From a comparison of these quotations (204 to 206) it is manifest that they were Bishops whom he speaks of under the name of Elders in the first, (204.) Being a Bishop and calling himself a Bishop and a successor of the Apostles, (206) he must have had the same powers with other Bishops of the age, such as Cyprian, with Presbyters under him: consequently he did not mean to call those who were Bishops, Presbyters in the inferior sense. It has been already shown that some writers occasionally used the general term Presbyter, or Priest in speaking of the Bishop, (155 and preceding sections.) and the following quotation from Jerome, (who, according to Dr. Miller, is a decisive witness in his favour,) is an instance of the application of the word Priest to the Bishop, at the same time that the superiority of the latter is declared. Advising Nepotian, Jerome says, "Be thou subject unto thy Bishop, and receive him as the Father of thy soul. This also I say, that Bishops should know themselves to be Priests, and not Lords; that they ought to honour the Clergy as becometh the Clergy to be honoured, to the end their Clergy may yield them the honour which, as Bishops, they ought to have." (Hooker 2, 263.) See 3rd section of the epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians and the 12th of that to the Trallians for passages enforcing this obligation of the Presbyters to honour the Bishop.

208. The preceding sections had been put to press when a very strange objection to the testimony of Irenæus was observed in turning over the leaves of Dr. Miller's Reply to Dr. Bowden.

209. Irenæus states that the Apostles left the Bishops as their successors in the Churches, delivering to them their own places of government; and that having founded and instructed and built up the Church at Rome, they delivered to Linus the Bishoprick, to govern the Church. To him succeeded Anacletus; after him, in the third place from the Apostles, Clement obtained the Bishoprick; who both saw the Apostles themselves, and conferred with

them, &c. To Clement succeeded Evaristus; and Alexander to Evaristus, and so on to twelve, (130.)

Thus the Bishoprick was delivered to one person and after his death to another; and so on, *to one at a time*. But we know that there were many Presbyters at the same time in Rome. Under Cornelius there were forty-six, (Euseb. Ec. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xliii;) and Paul incidentally mentions eight *Sunergoi*, fellow-labourers or helpers in the Gospel, besides two *Diakono*i, Deacons or ministers.*

210. To the question, Why does Irenæus single out Linus, Anacletus, &c. (209) as successive Bishops of the Church at Rome, when there were many others in that Church at the same time, who according to the Presbyterian doctrine, were all equal to the one singled out by name?—Dr. Miller has no other reply to make than this, *that the statement of Irenæus is not to be relied on*. In support of this he makes the following observations.

211. Irenæus “says that Anacletus was before Clemens, and next to Linus. Tertullian and several others assure us that Clemens was next to Peter, and of course before Anacletus. Epiphanius and Optatus say that Anacletus and Cletus were before Clemens. While Augustin, Damasus, and others, assert that Anacletus, Cletus, and Linus, were all antecedent to Clemens. Here is perfect confusion.” (Miller’s Reply to Bowden p. 174.)

212. Dr. Miller has given no references, and after long search I have found Tertullian’s and Epiphanius’s lists. They do not agree with Dr. Miller’s statements.

Tertullian’s list is as follows: Linus, Cletus, Anacletus, Clemens, Evaristus, &c. agreeing entirely with Irenæus except in the intro-

*These are Urbane, our helper in Christ, *Sunergon*, the same title which Paul gives Timothy in the same chapter verse 21, (Rom. xvi, 9;) Aquila and Prisca or Priscilla (Prisca according to Griesbach) my helpers, *sunergous*, (the same title in the accusative plural,) (Rom. xvi, 3;) Marcus, Aristarchus, Jesus who is called Justus, my fellow-workers, *sunergoi*, (the same title in the nominative plural,) (Coloss. iv, 10, 11;) the two former likewise, with Luke, and Demas who afterwards left him in Rome, are styled fellow-labourers, *sunergoi*, in the Epistle to Philemon 24th verse. Besides these eight who are called by somewhat different titles in our translation of the New Testament, but all by the same in the original, *SUNERGOI*, there were two others, Epaphras and Tychicus.

Epaphras is called a servant of Christ, (Coloss. iv, 12,) *doulos*, and our dear fellow-servant, *sun-doulou*, and faithful minister of Christ, *diakonos*, or deacon of Christ, (Coloss. i, 7.) Tychicus is called a faithful minister in the Lord, (Ephes. vi, 21,) *diakonos*, or deacon in the Lord; and also a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord, *diakonos*, or faithful deacon and fellow-servant in the Lord. (Coloss. iv, 7.)

Besides these ten, there were Linus and Clemens, both of whom were afterwards Bishops of the Church at Rome, (139.)

duction of the name *Cletus* after Linus. (Tertull. vs. Marcion, Lib. iii, cap. ix.)

Epiphanius's list is as follows after Peter and Paul: Linus and Cletus, Clemens, Evaristus, &c. agreeing with Irenæus except in the substitution of the name *Cletus* for Anacletus, and the mention of Evaristus's name twice. (Epiphanius, Bishop, against the Heresies, Book A, heresy 27.)

To the other authors I have not access, but it is not material, inasmuch as Dr. Miller says Optatus agrees with Epiphanius, and Augustin and Damasus mention the same names as preceding Clemens, that Tertullian does.

213. The whole difference, then, is in the names intervening between Linus and Clemens. They are almost the same, and might easily be mistaken one for the other. And if Dr. Miller, who lives in an age when the art of printing has so multiplied books, has such mistakes as those above stated, it certainly would not be a strange thing if some of those who in the scarcity of manuscripts in ancient times, often quoted from memory, were to mis-spell the name of Cletus or Anacletus, and thus in process of time cause some to have one name, others to have the other, and a third set to have both in their writings. After this was written I met with the following observation in Cave's Lives, which strongly supports this view of the matter. He speaks of Cletus or Anacletus; "for," he says, "the Greeks, and doubtless most truly, generally make him the same person." (Cave's Lives 2, 169.) This statement reduces the number of lists from three to two, inasmuch as the two Greeks, Irenæus and Epiphanius, differ in nothing but in using different names of the same person, or rather spelling the same name differently; the one being a mere contraction of the other, not more remarkable than occurs in every language. Thus we have Derick for Theodorick, Elmer for Ethelmer, Ralph for Rodolph, Reynaldus for Reginaldus, &c.

214. Tertullian has one passage which, possibly, Dr. Miller had in view in the quotation above. (211.) He says, "Sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit:" "As the Church of the Romans tells of Clement ordained by Peter." The whole passage has been given in a previous section. (185.) Tertullian mentions the ordination of Clement by Peter as a circumstance stated, said, or asserted by the Church of the Romans: he does not state it on any special authority, much less does he say it on his

own. On the contrary he says expressly, "Hæc cathedra, Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum Maxima Roma Linum, *primum* considerare jussit." "In this chair, in which Peter himself had sat, he commanded Linus, settled in Great Rome, *first* to sit." (Tertullian. adv. Marcion. Lib. iii, cap. ix.)

215. But why spend more time upon so insignificant an objection? Is not the statement to be relied on as to *the main fact*, that one was singled out and set over the Church to govern it?—Does not every one, even of Dr. Miller's witnesses, testify as to the fact that there was a succession of individual Bishops, *each in his day governing the Church*? Tertullian uses the strong language, "Evaristus ab hoc *rexit* sine crimine legem." "Evaristus after him *ruled* or *governed* without reproach." The word *rexit* conveys the idea of governing as a king. Speaking of Higinus who succeeded Telesphorus, he uses the word *magister*, a master, ruler, or chief. (See passage last quoted.)

How insufficient too, an objection that will apply to the list of one Church only, while the lists of the successive Bishops of the Churches at Alexandria and Jerusalem, given by Eusebius from the time of the Apostles down, stands unaffected by it.

216. To argue that the statement, *universal in the Church*, that "in one city there could not be more than one Bishop," (Jerome, Miller's Letters p. 182) is not to be relied on, because there is a disagreement among the Fathers, as to the name of one of the Bishops of the city of Rome,—is about as reasonable as to argue that the same city was not governed by a succession of Consuls, but that all the Senators had equal authority in the government, because there is some confusion in the lists which are handed down, of those who successively filled that high office. If there is some uncertainty respecting the exact order in which these succeeded one another, when there was every possible inducement to keep an exact account, and every aid that power could afford to have it done, how much greater might there be expected in the records of a people incessantly persecuted, whose leading men were continually slaughtered, insomuch that for 300 years every Bishop, except perhaps one, suffered martyrdom, and whose Church books were continually sought after and destroyed? How miraculous would it be if there were not some confusion in some of the many lists that were kept of the Bishops of the different Churches!

217. The simple fact that such a list was kept in each Church, is

positive evidence that there was a succession of persons, each of whom was, in his time, distinguished above all others. And how distinguished? By having the government on his shoulders. He was the Bishop, the Overseer of all, ruling all, and from whom all authority flowed. This is expressed sometimes very strongly. Thus, the Bishop was the *Governor, Magister, Antistes*; whose seat is called *cathedra, thronus*, &c. and who *governed, ruled, rexit*, &c. (119, &c. 130, 153, &c. 191 to 203.)

218. Jerome is another writer whom Dr. Miller brings forward in support of his doctrine—"The testimony of Jerome," he says, "is remarkably explicit and decisive." He quotes two long passages to show this; one from his commentary on Titus, the other from his Epistle to Evagrius, (pp. 180, 183.)

219. In the first, Jerome argues that a Presbyter was in the beginning the same as a Bishop. He says himself of what he has written, "These things I have written *to show*, that among the ancients, Presbyters and Bishops were the same." (Miller's Letters, top of p. 183.)

220. He says that at that time, "the Churches were governed by the common council of the Presbyters." (Ibid. top of p. 181.)

221. That when parties were formed in the Church, "it was determined through the whole world, that one of the Presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schism might be taken away," (Ibid. top of p. 181.)

222. That this was done when parties arose in the Church, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*," &c. (Ibid. bottom of p. 180.)

223. And lastly he says, "As, therefore, the Presbyters know that by the custom of the Church, they are subject to him who is their President, so let Bishops know, that they are above Presbyters more by the custom of the Church than by the true dispensation of Christ; and that they ought to rule the Church in common, imitating Moses, who when he might alone rule the people of Israel, chose seventy with whom he might judge the people." (Ibid. p. 183.)

224. To this it is replied, that, admitting, as stated in sections 219, 220, and 221, that Bishops and Presbyters were, in the beginning, the same; governing the Churches in common council; and that it was in consequence of the formation of parties, that one Presbyter

was set over the rest, *to which one all care of the Church belonged*, to prevent divisions, ——— admitting, I say, this statement, and taking in connexion with it the date of the change which Jerome says was made in the government of the Church, the doctrine of the Episcopalians is completely upheld.

225. The date of the circumstance mentioned by Jerome, (222) as having produced the change he speaks of, is easily determined. This circumstance is mentioned in Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians (i, 12,) which it has been shown, (82) was written shortly before Paul left Ephesus, (1. Cor. xvi, 8.) He left that city above six years before the close of his history in the Acts; viz. one year before his arrest in Jerusalem, (68, 3) which occurred five years before the close of his history above mentioned, (61, 62.)

226. We have, moreover, an instance of one Presbyter being set over the rest, within one year of that very time spoken of by Paul and alluded to by Jerome, (222.) Paul within this time (68, 3,) set Timothy, who had been for three years one of his assistants in Ephesus, over the rest, giving him charge of the Church, (11, &c:) and the reason given by Paul to Timothy for wishing him to take the charge, was the very one which Jerome alleges to have led to the change which he speaks of. Paul, knowing that some of the Presbyters of Ephesus would teach strange doctrines, after he left them, in order to draw away disciples after them, (Acts xx, 30) besought Timothy to take charge of the Church in that city that he might as far as possible restrain the evil.

227. In like manner and with similar powers he set Titus over the Cretans; and other Apostles did the same in other places, (130.)

228. This was therefore done by the Apostles themselves; and because done by inspired men, it is a Divine Institution. If the institutions of men inspired by God are not Divine Institutions, then there are none such; God having instituted nothing but through the medium of inspired men. Being therefore divine, *this* is obligatory on all. This obligation Dr. Miller himself asserts. He says, "If all the interests of the Church are precious in the view of every enlightened Christian, it is evident that *the mode of its organization* cannot be a trivial concern; and if the Saviour, or those who were immediately taught by his Spirit, have laid down any rules, or given us any information on this subject, it behooves us carefully to study what they have delivered, and to make it our constant guide." (Miller's Letters, p. 6: the first words in *Italics* in this passage are so printed in the book itself.)

229. This setting one above the Presbyters to restrain and govern them (226) was done, moreover, by that Apostle who was called in a more remarkable manner than any other; viz. by Jesus Christ in person, after his ascent to Heaven, and by Him specially sent to open the eyes of the Gentiles. It was done in that Church with which he remained a longer time than with any other; towards which he showed extraordinary care, witnessed by his most affectionate Epistle, containing the fullest and most particular advice to all manner of persons. It was done in the fullest and most open manner, all authority in that Church being made to depend on Timothy's consent.

230. This custom, then, that one person should be set over the Church to govern it, in order to prevent divisions; which Jerome says was determined through the whole world, and therefore by all the Apostles; (130, 135;) originated with these inspired servants of God; and is, therefore, a Divine Institution, and absolutely binding on all the Church. And to use Dr. Miller's words, *it behooves us to make it our constant guide.*

231. *The custom of the Church*, guides us in deciding the question whether children are to be baptized. We appeal to *the custom of the Church*, to decide the question as to *the mode of Baptism*, the word itself signifying to wet either by affusion or immersion. *The custom of the Church* is eagerly sought after by the disputants on either side of these questions, and relied on confidently, *as indicating the mind of God on the subject.* But who will undertake to produce as clear, as decisive, and as numerous instances of *the custom of the Church*, in relation to either the subject, or the mode of Baptism, as have already been produced, in these few pages, *in relation to its Government?* Who will undertake to produce *a solitary instance* of the Apostles themselves actually baptizing an infant? or *a solitary instance* in which it is *clearly expressed* that they either sprinkled or immersed the person baptized? And who will deny that they actually set one over the Church to govern it? or that they subjected the Presbyters to that one?

232. It has now been shown that this passage from Jerome, taken as it is offered, does not support the doctrine in behalf of which it is advanced; but that it plainly declares that Episcopacy was established through the whole world, by a decree, *decretum est*, after parties were formed in the Church and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephus, &c.* (222) which

was in the time of Paul and other Apostles, (225) and consequently was done by them, and is therefore a Divine Institution; inasmuch as they were inspired of God, and were his immediate agents in the establishment of the order of the Church, (228.)

233. After noticing the bearing of this passage, without objecting to its being offered as testimony on the subject before us, let us look a little into its claim to be considered in that light.

234. Dr. Miller commences his examination of the testimony of the Fathers with a refusal to receive any but those of the *first two centuries*. His words are, "In examining the writings of the Fathers, I shall admit only the testimony of those who wrote within the FIRST TWO CENTURIES." (Miller's Letters p. 126: the three words in small capitals are so printed in that book.) After this round protest, he produces, besides others who lived after the second century, Jerome who wrote near the end of the fourth, as affording decisive testimony in the controversy.

235. Dr. Miller objects to receiving the testimony of the Fathers who lived after the second century, because of the corruptions that began to creep into the Church after this period; Papacy beginning to exhibit its pretensions, &c. so "that the testimony of every subsequent writer is to be received with suspicion." (Ibid p. 126.)—And yet he brings forward Jerome, who has, in the Epistle to Evagrius quoted by Dr. Miller as decisive testimony in his favour, the following words; "Who can endure it that a minister of tables and widows should proudly exalt himself above those (Presbyters) *at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ is made?*" (See Miller's Letters p. 184.)

236. Dr. Miller, moreover, objects at length to receiving any thing from the Fathers but facts. He says, "We protest, therefore, utterly against any appeal to them as an authority on this subject." — "Waving, therefore, all further discussion of their title to credit, I will cheerfully admit them as credible witnesses with respect to matters of *fact*, which might be supposed to come within their knowledge." (Ibid. p. 125; the word *fact* is in *Italics* in the book.)

237. And yet after this plain declaration, that which he brings forward from Jerome, consists almost entirely of *an argument* to maintain what Jerome himself calls *his opinion*, [Miller's Letters p. 181:] and even of the statements as to matters of *fact*, there is one only which can be admitted according to the rule laid down by

Dr. Miller, [236:] which is, the statement made in these words; "And certainly, in one city there could not be more than one Bishop, as they are *now* styled." [Ibid. p. 182; the word *now* is in *Italics* in the book.] Every other statement relates to what passed some hundred years before Jerome's day, [See 220, 221, 222.]

238. Dr. Miller is particularly unfortunate in the production of this passage from Jerome, inasmuch as it contains testimony in favour of the primitive institution of Episcopacy exactly of the kind he requires. He says, "They [Episcopalians] must produce from those venerable remains of antiquity, passages which prove, either by direct assertion, or fair inference, [1] that the *Bishops* of the Primitive Church were a *distinct order* of Clergy from those *Presbyters* who were authorized to preach and administer sacraments, and superior to them; [2] that these *Bishops*, when they were advanced to this superior office, had a new and distinct *ordination*; [3] that each Bishop had under him a number of congregations, with their Pastors, whom he governed; [4] that these *Bishops* were exclusively invested with the right of *ordaining*, and administering the rite of *confirmation*; and [5] that this kind of Episcopacy was considered by *the whole* Primitive Church, as an institution of Jesus Christ. When any *one* of these facts is fairly proved, from early antiquity, the friends of Presbyterian Church Government will feel as if they had something like solid argument to contend with; but not till then." [Ibid. p. 127; the words *in Italics* are so in the book; the figures which mark the different members of this quotation are not: they are placed there for the convenience of reference.]

239. In the passage quoted by Dr. Miller the express statement of Jerome establishes the first, third, and fifth of the particulars which the former requires to be proved. Jerome's words are according to Dr. Miller, [p. 181] "It was determined through the whole world, that one of the Presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schism might be taken away."

240. The first particular required to be proved, [that the Bishops were a distinct order from the Presbyters, and superior to them, 238] is established by the words, *that one of the Presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom ALL CARE OF THE CHURCH SHOULD BELONG*, [233.] Being set above the rest, with all the care of the Church belonging to him, he was superior to the rest. And this

being done *through the whole world*, those who are thus chosen from among the Presbyters and set above the rest, *with all the care of the Church on them*, were surely a distinct order.

241. The 3rd particular, (that each Bishop had under him a number of congregations, with their Pastors, whom he governed, 238,) is established by the words, "*that he should be set above the rest,*" viz. of the Presbyters, (239.) Why was he set over them? Because "every one began to consider those whom he baptized rather his than Christ's." What were the means by which this evil was to be remedied? *Giving him all care of the Church that the seeds of schism (or division) might be taken away,* (239.)

The subordination of the Presbyters to the Bishop is strongly manifested by the letter of the Presbyters and Deacons of Rome to Cyprian, when they wrote, as usual on such occasions, to inform him of the death of Fabian, Bishop of the Church in that city. Speaking of the dissensions that had arisen respecting the receiving of such as had fallen away in time of persecution, on their profession of repentance, they say, "*That they must of necessity defer to deal in that cause till God did send them a new Bishop which might moderate (that is, regulate) all things,*" (Hooker 2, 259.)

242. As to the number of pastors and congregations under each Bishop, (241,) that depended upon the population of the city and its neighbourhood. In Carthage we know there were at least eight Churches, (buildings) and at least as many Presbyters under Cyprian, Bishop of the Church in that city, (195.) Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, about the same time, in a long account to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, of the attempt of Novatus to obtain the Bishoprick of the Church in the former city, mentions incidentally that there were in that Church, forty-six Presbyters, seven Deacons, some inferior officers, more than 1500 widows and afflicted persons, and members innumerable. (Eusebius Ecclesiast. Hist. Book vi, chap. xliii.) See the note to section 269.

243. The 5th particular, (that this kind of Episcopacy was considered by the whole primitive Church, as an institution of Jesus Christ, 238,) is established by the words, "*it was determined through the whole world,*" (239,) that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong.

It was not decreed by any general council of the Church. It was determined by the Apostles before any such council was call-

ed. Irenæus and Tertullian say they could enumerate the successive Bishops in the different Churches, from those who were appointed by the Apostles themselves down to their time, (130, 185.) And from Ignatius, who lived and communicated with the Apostles themselves, we learn that in his time the three orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, were as completely a part of the organization of the Church, and as intimately connected with its existence, as Baptizing and administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It could therefore only have been decreed by the Apostles, no other men having the power to do it, or the influence to cause it to be universally received.

Moreover, that Episcopacy was established by them, appears very plainly not only from Jerome's declaration, that *it was when it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*, which was in the time of the Apostles; but also from the fact that Jerome himself says, that James, Mark, Titus, and Timothy were made Bishops by the Apostles, (Taylor's Works, vol. vii. p. 91;) which declaration of Jerome respecting the two last mentioned, is plainly confirmed by the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus; from which it is evident that Timothy particularly, was set over the Presbyters with whom he had been for three years acting under Paul's superintendence in Ephesus, to prevent them from preaching false doctrine and drawing away disciples after them. (I. Tim. i, 3; Acts xx, 30.)

244. Episcopacy, therefore, was manifestly instituted by the Apostles, and one of the clearest marked cases of the appointment of one person to rule the Presbyters and take charge of the Church generally, is by that Apostle to whom our Lord Jesus Christ personally appeared, after his ascent to Heaven, to commission him to go to the Gentiles and enlighten them. From him therefore, who was so well known by all the Churches to be most careful of the order and doctrine of the Church, and who declared, "I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ:"—from him receiving it, they could but receive it as an institution of Jesus Christ.

245. The first part of the fourth particular, (that these Bishops were exclusively invested with the right of ordaining,) flows from the first and third, (238.) For, the Presbyters being subject to the Bishop, and *all the care* of the Church belonging to the latter,

how could the former have power to give the Bishop assistants he might not like; or to the Church, ministers whom he might think unworthy? The very idea is absurd, that *he* should have *the care*, and *they*, the appointment of ministers. It would be to destroy the very object of instituting Bishops. Instead of all care of the Church belonging to the Bishop, it would be divided with the Presbyters in one of the most important points; and this would enable Presbyters who were opposed to the Bishop, to multiply partisans, and would most effectually promote schism.

246. It is not however left to inference alone. It is plainly asserted by those who lived long before Jerome; of which see an instance in section 191. And Jerome himself has a passage connected immediately with the Epistle to Evagrius, which is quoted by Dr. Bowden, but not by Dr. Miller. The words are, "For what does a Bishop, which a Presbyter may not do, *excepting ordination?*" (Bowden 1, 20.) This passage shows plainly that the Presbyters had not the power of ordaining; but that this belonged exclusively to the Bishop.

247. The second part of the fourth particular, (that the Bishops had, exclusively, the right of confirmation, 238,) is shown by another passage from Jerome. He says, "It is the custom of the Church, for Bishops to go and invoke the Holy Spirit, by imposition of hands, *on such as were baptized by Presbyters and Deacons*, in villages and places remote from the mother Church." "Do you ask," says he, "where this is written? In the acts of the Apostles"—referring to Acts viii and xix." (Bowden 1, 8.)

248. In the first of these cases, Philip the Deacon went down to Samaria, in consequence of the persecution in Jerusalem, and preached the Gospel and baptized the converts both men and women, (Acts viii, 12.) And when the Apostles at Jerusalem heard of this, they sent thither Peter and John, "who laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." The Deacon preached and baptized, but no more: the Apostles confirmed the converts. So Philip afterwards (same chapter) preached to the Eunuch and baptized him, but no more.

249. In the second case, (247) some disciples at Ephesus, who had only been baptized "unto John's baptism," were convinced by Paul of the necessity of being baptized in the name of Christ, and were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus; and then Paul laid his hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost, (Acts xix, 1-6.)

This case Jerome refers to, as an instance of confirmation. Observe, it is not said that *he* baptized them. This was often, if not generally left to others: thus Paul says, "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius"—"and I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides I know not whether I baptized any other. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." (I. Corinth i, 14, 16, 17.) And Peter, in like manner, after seeing that the Holy Spirit had fallen on Cornelius and his company, *commanded them to be baptized.* (Acts x, 48.)

250. This, by the way, shows very plainly what relation the Bishops sustained towards the Presbyters and Deacons, in Jerome's estimation. He says, it is the custom of the Church for the Bishops to go and confirm those whom the Presbyters and Deacons had baptized. And anticipating the question, "Where is this written?" he refers to two passages in which Apostles had done this very thing. Therefore with Jerome, Apostles and Bishops were the same.

251. The second particular, (that these *Bishops*, when they were advanced to this superior office, had a new and distinct ordination, 238,) cannot be proved from this passage from Jerome, but the following is sufficient; part of it from him, and part from authority of a much earlier date.

252. Cyprian was a Presbyter of Carthage and was afterwards ordained Bishop, according to his own Deacon and intimate friend Pontius, and to Eusebius and Jerome, (Bowden 1, 96.) "Cyprian tells us that Cornelius had advanced, gradually through all the inferior stations," and, consequently had been a Presbyter before he was a Bishop. Yet we find, when he was promoted to the See of Rome, he was ordained by sixteen Bishops. (Cyprian's Epistles, 55, 56, quoted by Dr. Bowden 1, 96.) Fortunatus, one of five Presbyters who joined with Felicissimus against Cyprian, set himself up as Bishop at Carthage, and was ordained by five false Bishops, (Bowden 1, 97, from Sage.) Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, in a letter to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, respecting the troubles excited by Novatus, a Presbyter, states that he having been disappointed in his hopes of being elected Bishop, determined nevertheless to be Bishop of his party, and sent two persons to an obscure part of Italy, and induced three Bishops, from the country and very simple men, by a false pretence to go to Rome, and there forced them to lay hands on him and ordain him Bishop. (Euseb. Ec. Hist. Book vi, chap. xliii.) It is evident from this last state-

ment, that it was so universally known that a Presbyter must be ordained to the office of Bishop, that without it Novatus could not hope to succeed in his schemes.

253. It appears, therefore, that the first, third, fifth, and fourth points Dr. Miller requires to be proved by the advocates of Episcopal Government, (238,) are established by one of the passages he has quoted from Jerome, (238 to 249) and the second, and only remaining one, by passages from him and others of higher authority, because living near a century and a half earlier, (252.)

254. The second quotation from Jerome, before alluded to, (218,) will now be briefly examined. In this passage the same argument is used to show that Presbyters and Bishops were in the commencement the same; the same declaration made, that one of the Presbyters was set over the rest to take charge of the Church; and the same reason given, *to prevent schism or division of the Church.*

255. Jerome goes on, in the sentence immediately following that in which this is stated, to say, "For at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist, to Heraclas and Dionysius, the Bishops thereof, the Presbyters always named one, chosen from among them, and placed in an higher degree, *Bishop*. As if an army should make an Emperor; or the Deacons should choose one of themselves, whom they know to be most diligent, and call him Arch-deacon." (Miller's Letters p. 185.)

256. On this Dr. Miller remarks, (p. 187,) "Jerome further informs us, that the first pre-eminence of Bishops was only such as the body of the Presbyters were able to confer. They were only standing presidents or moderators; and all the ordination they received on being thus chosen, was performed *by the Presbyters themselves.*" But the reader may observe, there is nothing in the passage from Jerome (255,) to support this round assertion of Dr. Miller's, but the declaration that the Presbyters *named one chosen among themselves, and placed in an higher degree, Bishop*, until the time of Heraclas and Dionysius. There is not one word said about ordaining, and, according to Dr. Bowden, what is said about it, is in the next sentence to that which closes Dr. Miller's quotation; and runs thus: "For what does a Bishop, which a Presbyter may not do, *excepting ordination.*" (Bowden 1, 20; see also Hooker 2, 261 for the same passage from Jerome.) It is manifest therefore that the Presbyters of the Church at Alexandria *named or elected the Bishop; but Bishops ordained him.*

257. That Jerome did not intend what Dr. Miller represents as his opinion, is evident, moreover, from the following sentence in the Epistle to Evagrius, and from its being mentioned by both Drs. Miller and Bowden in the singular number, it is to be presumed there is but one, and consequently the passage is a part of the same that Dr. Miller quotes. Jerome in this Epistle says, "That we may know that *the Apostolic traditions* were taken from the Old Testament, that which Aaron and his sons, and the Levites, were in the temple, let the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons claim to themselves in the Church." (Miller's Reply p. 179.)

In this passage it is most manifest that Jerome, as represented above (225, 243) makes the institution of Episcopacy rest upon the Apostles, and represents it as being derived from the Jewish Church, which surely was a Divine institution, and transferred to the Christian Church, in which the Bishop, it is said, claims in his Church the superior station of the High Priest among the Jews; the Presbyters, that of his Sons, and the Deacons, that of the Levites.

258. It has been shown that Jerome could not have meant what Dr. Miller attributes to him, because it is utterly inconsistent with passages in this very Epistle to Evagrius, (256, 257,) as well as with other passages from his works, (154, 250.) We shall find by attending to the practice of the other Churches in the time of Heraclas and Dionysius, that it is impossible that they could have been ordained by Presbyters. Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in the year 248, about the time that Cornelius succeeded to the Bishoprick of Rome, and Cyprian to that of Carthage. The two latter were ordained by Bishops, (252: see also 191, 194, 200, 203;) and it is certain from the letters of Cyprian and Cornelius, that it was the ancient established order of the Church, (153, 194.) It is impossible to reconcile the practice indicated in these statements with the belief that *Presbyters ordained the Bishop* after he was elected. The conduct of Novatus, a Presbyter of Rome, is equally irreconcilable with this doctrine. No man can soberly believe that he would have committed such an outrage as that related of him (252,) which eventually destroyed him, if he had not very well known that the imposition of the hands of Bishops was indispensable to his pretensions to the Bishoprick. Neither can it be believed, that the mode of ordination was different, in this particular, in the Church at Alexandria from that of other Churches; because

there was a constant intercourse kept up between the different Churches, and particularly between the Churches of Rome, Alexandria and Carthage. Such an essential difference could not possibly have passed unnoticed in the numerous Epistles of Cyprian and others; particularly when we consider what care was taken to preserve uniformity throughout the Church, how very important they justly considered uniformity of order, doctrine, and practice, (130, 185,) and what a stir was produced by a difference about the time of celebrating Easter. Finally Blondel admits that Episcopacy was established in Alexandria above a century before this, (162.)

259. It must not be passed unnoticed, that Dr. Miller endeavours to prove in his remarks on this passage, that Presbyters *ordained* the Bishop when he was elected; and in addition to what he states from Jerome, quotes Eutychius to prove it, in the following passage. “Besides, *Eutychius*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in his *Origines Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ*, published by the learned *Selden*, expressly declares, ‘that the twelve Presbyters constituted by *Mark*, upon the vacancy of the See, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him Patriarch.’— (Miller’s Letters p. 188, note.)

260. If Dr. Miller could succeed in this attempt, he would at least prove that a *second* ordination was necessary, to raise the elected Presbyter to this office; and this proves the superiority. A man is set apart by ordination to the office of a Presbyter; after a time a Presbyter is set apart by ordination to the office of Bishop. If the Presbyter, by virtue of that ordination, becomes one of an order distinct from the mass of the members of the Church, the Bishop becomes, by virtue of the *second* ordination, one of an order distinct from the mass of Presbyters.

261. What, moreover, is the testimony on which this is built?—Eutychius lived in the tenth century. The very production of such an evidence by one who sets out with protesting that he will not admit the testimony of any one, upon this subject, who lived after the second century, is proof strong enough that no better is to be had. And even those who lived in the second century, were to be allowed to testify respecting those things only, that might be supposed to have come within their own knowledge. But here is a man from the 10th century brought forward to testify of facts in the

first. On whose authority does he make these statements? We are left to suppose, from Dr. Miller's silence on the subject, that this *express declaration* of Eutychius is supported by no authority the production of which would avail the cause. It certainly is not from Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome—although the latter speaks particularly on the subject, (255, &c.)

262. It is evident, therefore, that Eutychius's testimony would be utterly insignificant, even though he were an approved writer. But this character cannot be claimed for him. Dr. Bowden shows by reference to Pearson's *Vind.* and to Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, that this author is very incorrect in many particulars, and inconsistent with himself. He is grossly incorrect with regard to his statements even respecting Origen, a Presbyter of Alexandria, one of the most remarkable men in the ancient Church. He calls him a Bishop, which he never was, and says he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Constantinople, to which city he was sent for by Justinian; when Origen did not live in the same century with Justinian, but at least 300 years before him; and was excommunicated by the Bishop of Alexandria. It is not however necessary to go beyond the extract itself, to show the looseness of this writer. The title *Patriarch* was not used in the Church till long after the time he speaks of.

It may again be remarked, also, that the word *Presbyter* is sometimes used in a general sense. A Bishop is a Presbyter, though every Presbyter is not a Bishop, (1-17;) as the High Priest among the Jews was often included in the expression, *the Priests and Levites*.

It may perhaps be worth mentioning that Simeon Metaphrastes, who lived in the same century with Eutychius, says, that St. Mark "ordained as his successor, *Anianus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and gave to other Churches, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons." (Bowden's Letters I, 22, who refers to Book ii, chap. 43.)

263. It must not be forgotten that Dr. Miller, in this attempt to prove that the second ordination was performed by Presbyters, has been driven to *admit a second ordination*; which alone is destructive of his whole doctrine. A second ordination to what? To a superior order necessarily. Certainly not to an inferior station—surely not to the same he then occupied—necessarily, therefore, to a superior.

264. Dr. Miller closes his observations on this subject in the following manner; "It is finally manifest, from these quotations

that while Jerome maintains the parity of all ministers of the Gospel in the primitive Church, he entirely excludes *Deacons* from being an order of *Clergy* at all—“Who can endure it, that a *minister of tables and of widows* should proudly exalt himself above those at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ is made?”

265. This is another singular specimen of testimony from Jerome. Giving way to an improper warmth against the folly of the person of whom he was writing, he opprobriously calls him *a minister of tables and of widows*. This is, however, very far from showing that even Jerome himself designed to convey the idea, that Deacons were not an order of ministers. It is not credible that he had such a thought, when he states the reverse in this very letter to Evagrius, (257,) and in the plainest manner declares, that from the commencement of the preaching of the Gospel, they and the Presbyters administered Baptism to the new converts, (247, to 250.) That Deacons did preach and baptize in the days of the Apostles, is as certain as that Paul did; (See Acts vi, 9, 10; viii, 5, 12, 35, 40.)

266. Jerome was apt to express himself warmly and on some occasions he spoke very freely of the Bishops, but yet in such terms as show their superiority as perfectly as if he had expressly stated it. Thus he says in one place of proud Bishops, “As if placed upon some lofty eminence, they scarce deign to see mortals and to speak to their fellow-servants.” Again, “The accusation of a Bishop is difficult. For if he shall have sinned, it is not believed; and if he shall have been convicted, he is not punished.” And again, “It is a very bad custom in some Churches, that the Presbyters are silent and do not speak while the Bishops are present, as if they were disliked or were not thought worthy to hear.”

Neither does he spare the Presbyters when they acted improperly, though he was himself one of this order. Speaking of Vigilantius, a Presbyter, who propagated false doctrines, he says, “I marvel that the holy Bishop, under whom Vigilantius is said to be a Presbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable vessel with his *Apostolic* and iron rod.” (Hooker 2, 262.)

267. There is one representation of Dr. Miller respecting the time of the institution of Episcopacy, which must not pass unnoticed. He says, “From the foregoing extracts (from Jerome) it is abundantly apparent,—that a *departure* from the *primitive model* of Church Government had taken place in *Jerome's* day;” &c.

(p. 186, 187; *Italics* as printed in the book.) Also, that "it is expressly asserted by *Jerome*, that this change in the constitution of the Christian ministry came in (*paulatim*) *by little and little.*"—"But whether half a century or two centuries elapsed before the whole world came to an agreement on this subject, he does not say." (Miller's Letters, p. 187.)

268. This surely is very little like what Jerome says. *His words are*, according to Dr. Miller p. 180, "Before there were by the devil's instinct, parties in religion, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common council of the Presbyters. But *afterwards*, when every one thought that those whom he baptized were rather his than Christ's, it was determined through the whole world, that one of the Presbyters should be set above the rest," &c.

The date of the circumstance here alluded to is known: it occurred at Corinth in the time of Paul. Before that time, Jerome says, the Church was governed by the common council of the Presbyters—consequently after that time it was not. By whom, then, was it governed after that time? By the Bishops; to whom, it was determined throughout the world, that the care of the Church should belong, to restrain the ambition of those Presbyters who might be desirous of drawing away disciples after them, (Acts xx, 30.)

269. Dr. Miller's *translation* is calculated to support the same idea, that a long time elapsed before Bishops were set over the Churches. He represents Jerome as saying, "But *afterwards*, when every one," &c. (268) with *afterwards* in *Italics* in his book. Jerome's words, according to Jeremy Taylor are, "Postquam unusquisque," &c. (Taylor's Works vol. vii, p. 91.) *Postquam* does not signify *afterwards when*. This passage from an ancient author, "*Postquam aspexi, illico cognovi,*" is given by Ainsworth as an illustration of the meaning of this word. Ainsworth's English to *postquam* in this sentence is, *after that*; and the passage in English stands thus, *After that I saw you, I immediately knew you.*—In this it is evident that the word, *illico, immediately*, shows that *postquam* does not necessarily signify *some time after*—but may mean the very moment after. Accordingly among us an expression corresponding with that given above would be, *the moment I saw you, I knew you.*

Ainsworth gives another illustration of the meaning of this word.

“*Postquam* natus sum, satur nunquam fui.” His English for *postquam* in this case, is *since*; and the passage translated stands thus, “*Since* I was born, I have never been full fed.” In this passage also, the word, *nunquam*, *never*, shows that *postquam*, *since*, is limited to the very instant after. The literal meaning of *postquam* conveys the same idea: it is compounded of *post* and *quam*, *after which*. *Postea* is the word Jerome would have used if he had meant what Dr. Miller attributes to him. *Postea* signifies *afterwards*, indefinitely: *Postquam*, *since*, *after that*, literally *after which*, referring you to the time when a thing was done, as in both the illustrations given above from Ainsworth; and as in this very case from Jerome. *Before* that time the common council of Presbyters, he says, governed the Church: *after* that, the Bishops. But according to Dr. Miller, Jerome does not say whether one or two centuries elapsed before the whole world came to an agreement on this subject. Jerome does not say any thing about an agreement—but, it was determined or *decreed*, *decretum est*, (221, 230.) He moreover does say that James, Mark, Timothy, and Titus, were made Bishops by the Apostles, (243) and shows that the Apostles themselves were Bishops, exercising powers which Presbyters and Deacons did not, (247.)

270. Dr. Miller is not more correct in stating Jerome’s views of the manner in which the ambition of ministers led to the change he speaks of. Dr. Miller says, “And finally, he (Jerome) asserts that this *departure* from the *primitive model*, owed its origin to the decay of religion, and especially to the ambition of ministers. It commenced ‘When every one began to think those whom he baptized were rather *his* than *Christ’s*.” (Miller’s Reply to Bowden p. 177.)

271. In this passage Episcopacy is represented as *the effect* of the ambition of ministers who began to think those whom they baptized were their own: “it owed its origin to the decay of religion and *especially* to the ambition of ministers:” whereas Jerome represents it as instituted, *because* they began to evince these ambitious views, *in order that* the seeds of schism or division might be taken away. (Miller’s Letters p. 181.) And this is perfectly consistent with common sense. These ambitious views must necessarily lead to divisions, by each attempting to draw away disciples after him, as Paul says Acts xx, 30; and the very intention of the Apostles in setting one above the rest, as their Overseer or Bishop, was to restrain this evil; as Paul, having in view this very

thing, (Acts xx, 30,) told Timothy, when setting him over the Presbyters of Ephesus, (I. Tim. i, 3.) It was ambition, then, which would have led the Presbyters, each to set up for himself and exercise separate authority over such portion of the flock as he could induce to become his partizans. It was to control this ambition, that the Apostles set one above the Presbyters. It was ambition which would have led to the establishment of a Church government of Presbyters. It was submission to the authority of the Apostles which led to the establishment of Episcopacy.

272. With regard to the opinion expressed in the closing sentence of Dr. Miller's extract from Jerome, (223,) it may be observed:

First, it is but an opinion; what the writer thought ought to be.

Secondly, It is the opinion of a man who wrote late in the fourth century, which Dr. Miller has on two accounts protested against receiving, (234 to 236.)

Thirdly, It ought not to be believed, without clear evidence, that Jerome intended to advise that the Church should be governed, as he says it was in the beginning, by a common council of Presbyters; when he declares that that mode of government was done away at the time of the disturbances in Corinth, (221, 222,) because it was found to lead to divisions, through the ambition of those who were making partizans for themselves instead of members of Christ. It ought not to be believed, without clear evidence, that he meant to advise that the Episcopal form of government, which he shows was established by the Apostles, (221, 222, 225 to 230, 243,) should be done away. But, so far from there being any evidence of such an opinion, the very words in which he expresses his sentiments on this subject, show that he had no such idea. For, he advises such a mode of government as Moses established, which would have been very little like the Presbyterian form of government. The form which Moses established is stated in full in Exodus xviii, 13 to 26. In the 25th and 26th verses it is said, "And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. And they judged the people at all seasons: *the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.*" Here Moses reserved a controlling power, the seventy exercised a subordinate rule; a form of government as little like the Presbyterian, and as much like the Episcopal, as one thing can be like another; to approach nearer the latter, it must be identified with it.

Fourthly, It must be remarked that this was not the plan God instituted for Moses. He set him over the people alone. But Moses' father-in-law, paying him a visit, and observing what labour he went through in the government of the people, advised him to this plan; (Exodus xviii, 13 &c.) and when Moses besought God to give him help to rule the people, God appointed the seventy whom Moses chose out of Israel, but showed marked displeasure at the request (Numbers xi, 10, &c.) and, as it were, to show Moses that his Grace would have sufficed to support him under any load that he might have put upon him, he told Moses that he would take of the Spirit that was in him and give it to them; (Numbers xi, 17;) plainly intimating that the Spirit which was in him was sufficient to have enabled him to perform the service required of him.

273. It is evident from the preceding examination of the passages from Jerome quoted by Dr. Miller, that he fully supports the doctrine that Episcopacy was established by the Apostles. It is however to be remarked that he is certainly wrong in saying, that, even before the divisions at Corinth, the Church was governed by a common council of Presbyters, except in subordination to the authority of the Apostles. This, it is to be remembered, is not a matter that could possibly have come under his own notice. He lived 300 years after the Apostolic age. His judgment must therefore, to be correct, be founded on testimony. What testimony is there that the Presbyters in common council governed the Church? None. But there is abundant evidence of the reverse. Paul had the care of all the Churches which he planted, as he himself not only says; (II. Corinth. xi, 28,) but as he evinces on many occasions by the authority he claimed and exercised over them.

274. To the Corinthians Paul wrote thus, "But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will; and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power." "What will ye? Shall I come unto you *with a rod*, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?" (I. Cor. iv, 19, 21.) In the eleventh chapter, after giving various directions, he says, "And the rest will I set in order when I come," (xi, 34.) "Now concerning the collection for the Saints, as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye." (xvi, 1.) "For I fear, lest, when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be found unto you such as ye would not." (II. Cor. xii, 20.) "I told you before, and foretel you, as if I were present the second time; and being absent, now I write to them which here-

tofore have sinned, and to all others, that, if I come again, I will not spare," (xiii, 2.) "Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present, I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me for the edification and not to destruction," (xiii, 10.) "For ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus," (I. Thessalon. iv, 2.) "Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient," &c. (Phil. 8.) On one occasion he uses this strong language, "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, *concerning* him that hath so done this deed; &c. to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus," (I. Cor. v. 3, 5.) In this passage the word *concerning* is supplied by the translator, and not to be found in the original, as is intimated by its being printed *in Italics*. By leaving it out, the meaning of the original is better expressed. "I have already judged, or condemned, or passed sentence upon, him that hath done this deed," &c. See also II. Thessalon. iii, 6 to 14; Acts xvi, 4; xv, 28-31.

275. These passages show most unequivocally that the Apostles exercised a positive control in the affairs of the Church; and although the Presbyters had a subordinate rule, particularly in the absence of the Apostles, it is manifest from the directions of Paul to Timothy and Titus, with respect to them, that he did not hesitate to exercise authority over them whenever he found it necessary. It is moreover evident from the directions given to Timothy and Titus, that the Presbyters and Deacons were entirely under their control. The Presbyters of Ephesus are indeed spoken of as ruling, (I. Tim. v. 17;) but that it was a subordinate authority flowing from Timothy and subject to his control, is evident from his having authority to rule them, restrain them, praise or censure them, as the case might require, and select others when he thought proper and ordain them to the same offices. (I. Tim. iii; v, 17, &c.)

From the passages just referred to in the Epistles to Timothy, as well as from the whole tenor of those Epistles, it is most undeniable that the government, the controlling authority, in the Church at Ephesus was not in a common council of Presbyters, but in Timothy.

276. From the identity of the purpose with which Titus and Timothy were sent to Crete and Ephesus, and the close resem-

blance between the directions given to the former and the latter, and from the general tenor of the Epistle to Titus, it is evident that the government of the Church in Crete was in him.

277. In short there can no instance be produced from the New Testament in which a common council of Presbyters governed the Church independently of the control of the Apostles, or of those whom they placed as their successors in authority; as Paul set Timothy over the Church at Ephesus.

278. It is evident from this investigation of the purport of these passages from Jerome, that he agrees with Dr. Miller in one particular only; viz. that the Church was governed by Presbyters in the commencement of the preaching of the Gospel, and in this one particular he is undoubtedly wrong, having no authority in the New Testament for it, and producing no testimony whatever to support it. In all other respects Jerome differs totally from Dr. Miller.

Jerome says that this form of government was abrogated, and Episcopacy established after an occurrence which happened in the time of the Apostles, and that they appointed James and Mark, and Timothy and Titus to be Bishops over different Churches, (222, 225, 226, 243, 267 to 269.)

Dr. Miller says "that clerical imparity had begun to appear in the *third*, and was established in the *fourth* century." [Miller's Reply p. 189.]

Dr. Miller says that Episcopacy owed its origin to the ambition of ministers, when every one began to think that those whom he baptized were rather his than Christ's, [270.]

Jerome represents Episcopacy as established by the Apostles, to put down these ambitious views of the Presbyters, [221, 226, 271.]

Dr. Miller says that "while Jerome maintains the *parity* of all ministers of the Gospel in the primitive Church, he entirely excludes Deacons from being an order of Clergy at all." [Miller's Letters p. 188.]

Jerome speaks often of Deacons as ministers, [Bowden vol. I, p. 7; also 247, 257] and asserts that *imparity* was established by the Apostles, and that a Bishop was set over the Presbyters to put an end to the divisions that were growing out of their ambition, [221, 243:] and while Jerome is urging the claims of the Presbyters, the utmost he proposes, is that they shall have such a share in the administra-

tion of the Church under the Bishops, as the seventy had under Moses, [223;] and even this he does not ask as a right, but says "that they ought to rule the Church in common, imitating *Moses*, who, when he might *alone* rule the people of Israel, chose *seventy* with whom he might judge the people." [Miller's Letters p. 183; *Italics* as in his book.]

279. Dr. Miller next quotes the following passage from Hilary, which is given entire. He says, "*Hilary*, who wrote about the year 376, in his commentary on *Ephesians* iv, 2, has the following passage, 'After that, Churches were planted in all places, and officers ordained, matters were settled *otherwise than they were in the beginning*. And hence it is, that the Apostle's writings *do not in all things agree to the present constitution of the Church*: because they were written under the first rise of the Church; for he calls *Timothy*, who was created a *Presbyter* by him, a *Bishop*, for *so at first the Presbyters were called*; among whom this was the course of governing the Churches, that as one withdrew another took his place; and in *Egypt*, even at this day, the Presbyters *ordain* in the Bishop's absence. But because the following Presbyters began to be found unworthy to hold the first place, the method *was changed*, the Council providing that not order, but merit should create a Bishop.'

280. "In this passage, we have not only an express declaration that the Christian Church, in the days of *Hilary*, had deviated from its primitive pattern; but also that this deviation had a particular respect to the name and office of *Bishop*, which, in the beginning, was the same with *Presbyter*. He also declares, that, notwithstanding this change, *Presbyters*, even then, sometimes ordained; and that the reason of their not continuing to exercise this power was, that many of them being unfit to be trusted with such a power, it was *taken out of their hands*, as a *prudential* measure, by the authority of the church." [Miller's Letters p. 190.]

281. The following is an exact translation of the whole passage, [being a comment on *Ephesians* iv, 11, 12,] in which Hilary or Ambrose, first explains the meaning of the words, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, &c. The few words in parenthesis are supplied. They are necessary to express the meaning of the Latin in English, which the reader will perceive. "And he gave some Apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

282. (a) "*Apostles* are Bishops. (b) *Prophets* are expounders of the Scriptures; although in the very beginning there were prophets, such as Agabus, and the four prophesying virgins, as is contained in the Acts of the Apostles, for the sake of recommending the beginning of the faith: but now expounders are called Prophets. (c) *Evangelists* are Deacons, as was Philip. Although they may not be Priests, nevertheless they can preach without the pulpit, as both Stephen and Philip are related (to have done.) (d) *Pastors* may be readers, who by reading feed the listening people, because not by bread alone liveth man, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God. (e) *Masters** are exorcists, because in the Church they restrain and check the restless; or those who used to imbue children with letters and reading, as is the custom of the Jews, whose tradition has been handed down to us, which by negligence has grown out of use.

(f) Among these, *after the Bishop*, he is understood to be superior, who is said to prophecy, on account of unlocking the hidden meaning of the Scriptures, particularly because he brings forth the words of the future hope, which order may now be of the presbytery. For in the Bishop are all the orders, because he is the first Priest, that is, he is the Chief of the Priests, (*princeps sacerdotum*) and Prophet, and Evangelist, and of the faithful to fulfil the other offices in the service of the Church. (g) Nevertheless after Churches were established every where, and the offices were regulated, matters were settled otherwise than in the beginning. (h) For, at first all taught, and all baptized, on whatsoever days or times there might have been occasion. (i) For neither did Philip seek a time or a day in which he might baptize the Eunuch, nor interpose a fast. Neither did Paul and Silas defer the time in which they baptized the jailor with all his. Neither had Peter a Deacon, nor did he seek a day, when he baptized Cornelius with all his house: nor (did he do it) himself, but he commanded the brethren who had gone with him from Joppa to baptize (them.) For as yet none but the seven Deacons had been ordained. (k) That therefore the people might increase and multiply, it was granted to all in the beginning to preach and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in the Church. (l) But when the Church embraced all places, places of assembling were appointed, and governors, and the rest of the offices in the Churches were ordained, that no one of the clergy who had not been ordained (to it,) might dare to pre-occupy an office which he might know was not entrusted or granted to him: and the Church began to be governed in another manner and with foresight; because if all might do the same thing, it would be irrational, and the thing would appear common and of very little value. (m) Hence therefore it is, that now neither Deacons preach among the people, nor do the clergy nor the laity baptize, nor are believers baptized on every day, unless sick. (n) Therefore the writings

* The word in the original is *didaskalos*, *præceptor* or *magister*, teacher or master; the latter is the word Hilary uses.

of the Apostle do not agree in every thing with the practice which is now in the Church, because they were written in the very beginning. (o) For he calls Timothy, created by him a Presbyter; Bishop; because at first Presbyters were called Bishops: that one ceasing, the following one might succeed him. Finally in Egypt Presbyters confirm, if the Bishop is not present. But because the following Presbyters began to be found unworthy to hold the first place, the mode was changed; the Council seeing, that not order, but merit should make a Bishop, appointed by the choice of many Priests, lest an unworthy person should rashly usurp (the office,) and be a stumbling-block to many." (There are a few lines more not relating to the controverted points, which will be given at the close of this essay, in the Latin.)

283. In this comment, Hilary commences with an explanation of the words, Apostles, Prophets, &c. (See sentences a to g.) Having done this, he says, after Churches were every where established, and the offices were regulated, things were settled otherwise than in the beginning (g); and he immediately proceeds to say in what respect. *For, at first*, all taught, all baptized, and baptism was performed at any time it might be desired (h). Here are three particulars which were settled otherwise when the Churches were regulated (g). But *now*, neither do Deacons preach among the people, nor do the clergy nor the laity baptize, nor are believers baptized on every day, unless sick (m). And *therefore*, he immediately adds (n), the writings of the Apostle do not agree in every thing with the practice which is now in the Church, because they were written in the very beginning. (See 180 to 183.)

284. This change was made, according to Hilary, *when the Church embraced all places, &c.* Then places of assembling were appointed, governors, and the rest of the offices in the Church were ordained, that no one of the clergy might dare to assume an office to which he had not been ordained, (282, 1.)

That these things were done by the Apostles has been already fully shown; and indeed is most manifest from the bare reading of Paul's Epistles. That places of assembling were appointed during the time of the Apostles, is shown by reference to the following places in a single Epistle, (I. Corinth. v, 4; xi, 17, 18, 20, 22, 33; xiv, 19, 23, 26, 28, 31, 35; xvi, 19.) For evidence that governors were by them appointed, and different officers in the Church ordained, of whom no one was to exceed the bounds of his proper office, see the following places in one Epistle: (I. Timothy i, 3, 18, 20; ii, 7, 11, 12; iii, 2 &c. 10 &c. 11, &c.; iv, 11, 12 &c.; v, 7

&c. 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22; vi, 3, 13.) See also Titus i, 5 &c. particularly 10, 11, 13; the whole second chapter, particularly the last verse; and the tenth verse of the third chapter.

285. It follows irresistibly from a comparison of these passages (283, 284) that what Dr. Miller calls a deviation from the primitive pattern, (280) was the regulation of the Church by the Apostles themselves. (228, 229, 230.) We know that they did settle things at different periods as necessity required: of which the determination of some important points at Jerusalem, when Paul and Barnabas, went there together, the second time, from Antioch, is an instance, (Acts xv.) That occurrence took place near twenty years after Paul had been preaching. The first journey to Jerusalem with Barnabas was seventeen years after he commenced preaching, (See p. 10, 11) and the second was a considerable time after that. (Acts xii, 25; xiii, xiv; xv.)

286. Dr. Miller asserts that we have Hilary's express declaration in the passage quoted, (279, 282) that the deviation from the primitive pattern had a particular respect to the name and office of *Bishop*, which in the beginning was the same with *Presbyter*. (280.)

287. Hilary refers to three things which were regulated when Churches were established every where, in neither of which is *Bishop* mentioned. (283.) Moreover Hilary does not say that the *Bishop* in the beginning was the same with the *Presbyter* in name and office. He says, *at first Presbyters were called Bishops*; but, so far from intending to say that the Episcopal office was exercised by these Presbyters, he says in the very first sentence of his comment, *Apostles are Bishops*, (282, a:) and in a subsequent sentence, he says, *After the Bishop are the Prophets*, who may now be of the order of *Presbyters*: and again, *In the Bishop are all the orders*, because he is the first Priest, that is, *the Chief of the Priests*.—(282, f.)

288. In the same passage Hilary says, Paul calls Timothy, created by him a *Presbyter, Bishop*, (282, o.) This passage shows what reliance is to be placed on these speculations which Dr. Miller first protests against in the most pointed terms, (234, 236) and then brings forward as testimony, sometimes declaring that they are decisive of the controversy, (218.) Paul calls Timothy neither *Presbyter* nor *Bishop* in any of his writings. Moreover Timothy was a *Presbyter* many years before his appointment to the *Bishop*

rick of Ephesus, and when he received that appointment, Hilary himself says Paul gave him the Apostolick rod.

289. That Timothy was a Presbyter many years before his appointment to be Bishop of the Church at Ephesus, is evident from some passages of Paul's Epistles.

Paul first met with Timothy when he was preaching at Derbe and Lystra. He was then a disciple, and being well recommended by the brethren, "Paul would have him to go forth with him," (Acts xvi, 1-3.) Immediately after this they were together at Philippi, Thessalonica, &c. both preaching the Gospel, as appears from the first Epistle to the Thessalonians. This Epistle was addressed to them by Paul, Silvanus and *Timothy*. They speak in the first and second chapters of "*our* Gospel" repeatedly. In the second chapter they say, "But even after that *we* had suffered before and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, *we* were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God with much contention. For *our* exhortation was not of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile: But as *we* were allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, even so *we* speak, not as pleasing men, but God, which trieth our hearts. For neither at any time used we flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness; God is witness: Nor of men sought *we* glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome as the Apostles of Christ." Throughout the chapter similar language is used, and in the 9th verse they say, "*we* preached unto you the Gospel of God."

The second Epistle to the Corinthians was written by Paul and Timothy; in which it is said, (verse 19) "For the son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, *even* by me and Silvanus and *Timotheus*, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea."

290. This Epistle to the Corinthians was written nearly a year after Paul left Ephesus, (82.) He and Timothy had continued for three years preceding that time in that city, (Acts xix, 22; xx, 1, 31; also section 5;) and had left Corinth some time before he went there, (Acts xviii, 18 to 23.) It was therefore at least four years before this epistle was written, that Timothy was preaching at Corinth: and as he was at Corinth about two years, (Acts xviii, 11, 18) and went there after preaching at Thessalonica, (Acts xvii, 14, 15; xviii, 1, 5,) he had been preaching certainly six years when the second Epistle to the Corinthians was written. It was after this a short time that Paul gave Timothy charge of the Church at

Ephesus, (82, 83, 21:) and it was while in that charge that Hilary says he received the Apostolick rod. The following is the passage.

291. "He (the Lord) nevertheless has those whom he sent Apostles with a rod, as Paul testifies, saying, What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness? This rod also the Apostle gave to Timothy, saying, Reprove, rebuke, exhort."*

292. Dr. Miller next represents Hilary as "declaring that notwithstanding this change, *Presbyters*, even then, sometimes ordained." (279, 280.)

Hilary's words are, "Finally in Egypt Presbyters confirm if the Bishop is not present." (282, o.)

293. Dr. Miller in his translation of this passage gives *ordain* as the English of *consignant*. Ainsworth renders it *scal, sign, mark, register, record, confirm, and ratify*. There is not one of these words that does not correspond with the real signification of *confirming* by the Bishop. The person who is confirmed ratifies or confirms by his own act the engagements made for him in baptism, and is sealed, signed, marked, registered, or recorded a member of Christ's Church. But there is not one of these words that has any reference to setting apart by ordination.

294. Dr. Miller represents Hilary as declaring that *Presbyters ordained*, using no words of limitation, (280.) Hilary's words limit the practice of Presbyters *confirming to Egypt*, (282, o.)

295. Hilary represents this practice as having obtained only when the Bishop was absent. Dr. Miller uses the word *sometimes*, which does not limit the practice to the particular case stated by Hilary, but leaves us to conclude it was done sometimes by Presbyters and sometimes by the Bishop, indifferently, (280.)

296. In the passage in Hilary, there are no such words as *even at this day*, which are found in Dr. Miller's translation, [279.]

297. Dr. Miller further says of Hilary, that "he also declares that the reason of their not continuing to exercise this power, [viz. of ordaining] was, that many of them being unfit to be trusted with such a power, it was *taken out of their hands*, as a *prudential measure*, by the authority of the Church," [280.]

* "Habet tamen quos et cum virga Apostolos miserit, sicut Paulus testificatur, dicens, Quid vultis? in virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate et spiritu mansuetudinis? Hanc virgam etiam et Timotheo dedit Apostolus, dicens, Argue, obsecra, increpa." S. Ambrose 3. 130. D.

In this passage are expressed the nature of the change, and the reasons for it: in neither does Dr. Miller's representation agree with Hilary's words.

298. Dr. Miller represents Hilary as saying, that the change consisted in the Presbyters being deprived of the power of ordaining, because many of them were unfit to be trusted with it.

Hilary says, in the beginning the Bishoprick was given to the Presbyters in order, [*one ceasing or departing, the following one succeeded him, 282, o;*] that the change consisted, in making *merit* and *not order*, the guide in choosing a Bishop; and that the reason of the change was, because the Presbyters who followed *in order* were sometimes found unworthy *to hold the first place; primatus*, the *primacy*, (282, o.)

299. In short, Dr. Miller represents Hilary as saying, that *the power of ordaining* was that which the Presbyters enjoyed, and were deprived, of because many of them were unworthy to be trusted with it. Hilary says, it was *the succession in regular order* that they were deprived of, because the Presbyter who followed in order was sometimes found unfit to occupy **THE FIRST PLACE**. There is not a word about ordination in the passage, (282, o.)

300. By this mode of managing the argument, Dr. Miller contrives to prove to his entire satisfaction, he tells us, that Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Cyprian, and many others, whose writings one would suppose could not be misunderstood, are "entirely in his favour." He goes on after Hilary, to quote Chrysostom, Theodoret, Primasius, and Sedulius, who wrote in the fifth century, much in the same manner with those heretofore noticed. The passages quoted are comments on the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, in which they show, what is obvious, that Presbyters were then called Bishops or Overseers, from their office of overseeing the flock. But that they had no idea that these persons possessed what since the days of the Apostles has been called the *Episcopal* power, and what was then called the *Apostolical*, (or what Dr. Miller's decisive witness, Jerome, calls the *Apostolical rod*, 266; see also 291,) is evident from the works of Bishop Taylor; who quotes two of these very persons, Chrysostom and Primasius, as concurring, with many others in the testimony, that Paul wrote the first Epistle to Timothy to instruct him in his Episcopal office, and, in him, all Bishops; and he refers to their comment on this very Epistle to Timothy, for the sentiments quoted. Theodoret, he quotes, as call-

ing Timothy "Bishop of the Asiatics." Chrysostom says, "Paul saith in his Epistle to Timothy, Fulfil thy ministry, being then a Bishop; for that he was a Bishop appears by Paul's writing thus unto him, *Lay hands suddenly on no man.* [Bowden 1, 39.) It is remarkable that these passages in Chrysostom's observations on the same Epistle should not have attracted Dr. Miller's attention.

The very quotation of Dr. Miller from Chrysostom, is entirely destructive of the Presbyterian doctrine. For, it shows the Bishop had the power of ordination, which makes him the source of all ministerial authority, as all antiquity says he was.

301. Dr. Miller makes a very strange declaration in a note on the last sentence of his quotation from Chrysostom. The quotation ends thus: "In *ordination alone* they have *gone beyond* the Presbyters." The note is in these words: "This perfectly agrees with the representation of *Jerome*, (with whom *Chrysostom* was nearly contemporary) who says, that the only right which Bishops had *gained* over Presbyters, *in his day*, was that of *ordination.*" [Miller's Letters p. 191, *Italics* as printed in his book.]

302. Dr. Miller does not refer to any passage in Jerome for this, and from the manner in which his quotations and translations are made, it cannot be admitted by any one as Jerome's declaration, without further authority. This is a matter on which Jerome is entirely qualified to testify; viz. the government of the Church *in his day*. But it is not credible that he has said "that the only right which Bishops had *gained* over Presbyters, *in his day*, was that of *ordination,*" when we recollect how he complains of the stateliness and pride of some Bishops, and sometimes wonders they do not break to pieces schismatic Presbyters with their *Apostolick* and iron *rod*, [256.] See also some other of his expressions in preceding sections, [154.] It is difficult to conceive, when we read such declarations, as this of Dr. Miller respecting Jerome and Chrysostom, that he could have looked into the Ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. These works all written about that time or a little before, are full of statements showing the difference of order of Presbyter and Bishop, the necessity of a second ordination on making a Bishop of a Presbyter or Deacon, and of the extraordinary authority of the Bishops. You do not indeed find these things asserted; because nobody thinks of frequently asserting a familiar truth, what every body knows. But the evidence is not the less strong for that. Thus, we read

that Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople being dead, John a Presbyter of Antioch, was chosen in his place, and Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, ordained him Bishop. It is stated that he was ordained Presbyter by Evagrius, [Socrat. Ecclesiast. Lib. vi, cap. ii, iii.] "Meletius being dead at Constantinople, *where he had gone to ordain Gregory Nazianzen,*" &c. [cap. iii.] "It happened at that time that the Bishop of Ephesus died, on which account a necessity was laid on John (who was Bishop of Constantinople, as above mentioned,) to go to Ephesus to constitute a Bishop." Arrived there, he found considerable contention for the office, and settled the matter by constituting his Deacon Heraclides, Bishop, when both parties laid aside their contention, [Ibid. Lib. vi, cap. xi.] Nothing but necessity would have induced these men, often old, to make a long journey to ordain a Bishop: they must go because the Presbyters could not ordain. There were sixty Presbyters in Constantinople, and yet Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, went there to ordain Gregory Nazianzen [as above stated;] and note, when this was done, the matter was recorded with care and particularity proportioned to its importance—[and messengers were sent to the churches even in distant countries to give the information.] Thus, "Theophilus ordains John. He being ordained to the office of Bishop, was placed in the seat on the 26th day of the month of February, in the consulate following that in which Honorius Emperor of Rome, and Eutyechianus at Constantinople, administered the republic." [Socrat. Ec. Lib. vi, cap. ii.]

303. Dr. Miller, in his remarks on Eusebius's History, makes some extraordinary declarations. He says, [p. 197.] "When *Eusebius* gives us formal catalogues of *Bishops* in succession, from the Apostles' time until his own, he himself warns us against laying too much stress on his information; frankly confessing, 'that he was obliged to rely much on *tradition*, and that he could trace no footsteps of other historians going before him only in a few narratives.'"

304. It is the more important to show that this statement is not at all what Eusebius says, because it strikes at the root of the Christian Religion. If the above declaration is true, 300 years after the death of our Saviour, there was nothing in the Christian system which we could depend upon. But it is not true. There were many men of distinguished learning who preceded Eusebius, whose works are yet extant; and many whose works are not, but were then in being, as we know from the quotations made from

them by Eusebius. There yet remain the Epistles of Clement, Hermas, Polycarp, Ignatius, Cyprian, the whole folio work of Irenæus on a great variety of subjects and doctrines, and likewise that of Tertullian, and of Origen, &c. &c. It is not true; and Eusebius has not said it.

305. Eusebius, after stating his purpose of writing a history of the Church, and professing his inability to do it justice, (*for it is beyond my strength, he says*;) proceeds in the fourth sentence of his work thus:

“For we now first attempting this subject, endeavour to enter upon it as upon a deserted and unused road; and although we pray God to be to us a leader in the way, and that the power of Christ may be present co-operating, nevertheless we can no where discover the bare footsteps of those who may have entered the same way before us, except only on some small occasions, in which some, writing of their own times, have left us some short narratives, like small lights, while they sent out their voices from afar, and calling from above, as from an eminence, they teach where to go, and how the course of the history may be directed without error and danger. Collecting, therefore, whatever we shall think will aid the proposed work, which is here and there related by them, and plucking as flowers from the meadows of reason, the suitable words of those who have formerly written, we shall attempt to reduce them into one body, in a historical narration, having this desire, that if we cannot all things, we may nevertheless particularly preserve from oblivion the successions of the most illustrious Apostles of our Saviour, in those Churches which are still famous and renowned.”

306. These remarks of Eusebius are a kind of preface to his whole work. He does not warn us against laying too much stress on his information. On the contrary, though he mentions that none had preceded him in writing a general history of the Church, and that he has no other aid than the narratives that different persons had left of the history of their own times, he represents these as lights in his path, and them as persons placed on an eminence, and showing where “the course of his history may be directed without error and danger.”

307. He does not “frankly confess that he was obliged to rely much on tradition.” He does not even mention tradition in the whole chapter, which is very remarkable; because the ancient writers frequently used the word, and meant by it, as the word literally signifies, *a handing down* by the Apostles—and Paul in one of his Epistles urges those to whom he is writing to pay attention to the *tradition*. Eusebius however says nothing about it.

308. Moreover he does not give us the warning, nor make the frank confession spoken of by Dr. Miller, (but not to be found in Eusebius;) "*when giving us formal catalogues of Bishops in Succession.*" On the contrary, this is precisely that point upon which he speaks with most confidence of succeeding, (305.)

309. After giving his own representation of Eusebius's account of these lists, Dr. Miller quotes what he calls "another confession" of Eusebius, "in the words of the great Milton." Dr. Miller frequently introduces decided partizans of the cause he is advocating, with the epithet of "the great" or "the learned," to give weight to what he advances, without any intimation of their true character. Milton was a great poet, but so violent a partizan among those who overturned the English government and the Episcopal Church in the 17th century, that Cromwell made him Latin secretary both to himself and the Parliament.

310. He says, "Eusebius the ancientest writer of Church History extant, confesses in the 4th chapter of his 3rd book, that it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles, more than from what a man might gather from the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles of St. Paul*, in which number he reckons *Timothy* for Bishop of *Ephesus*. So as may plainly appear, that this tradition of Bishopping *Timothy* over *Ephesus*, was but taken for granted out of that place in *St. Paul*, which was only an entreating him to tarry at *Ephesus*, to do something left him in charge," &c. (*Milton* against *Prelatical Episcopacy*, p. 3—quoted by Dr. Miller p. 198.)

311. In this chapter, which Milton quotes, Eusebius says:

"That Paul, preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundation of Churches from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, manifestly appears from his own words and from those which Luke has written in the *Acts*. In which provinces however, Peter preached Christ to those who were of the Circumcision, and delivered the doctrine of the New Testament; and this is rendered manifest by his words, and by the *Epistle*, which we have said is undoubtedly his, which he wrote to the Hebrews scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Asia. But how many and who of those, as sincere imitators, may have been esteemed to be able to feed the Churches founded by the Apostles, may not be easy to say, except so far as one may collect them from the words of Paul. For there were innumerable co-operators with him and, as he called them, fellow-soldiers, of whom many have obtained an indelible remembrance from him, because that he continually bore witness respecting them in his *Epistles*. Luke, likewise, in the *Acts* recounting the more

celebrated of them, mentions them by name. Timothy indeed is mentioned (or written down) as having first obtained the Bishoprick of the Ephesian parish; as likewise Titus of the Cretan Churches." Eusebius next proceeds to speak of Luke himself, and then says, "Of the rest of the followers of Paul, Crescens has the testimony of the Apostle himself that he was sent into Gaul. But Linus whom he relates in his second Epistle to Timothy to have been present with him at Rome, it has already been shown, obtained the Bishoprick of the Roman Church, the first after Peter. But Clements, who was appointed third Bishop of the Roman Church, is proved to have been a fellow-labourer and fellow-soldier of Paul by his testimony. In addition to these things, another Dionysius, (one) of the ancients, and pastor of the parish* of the Corinthians, writes that Dionysius the Areopagite, who, Luke writes in the Acts, first believed after the preaching of Paul in the Areopagus to the Athenians, was the first Bishop of the Church of the Athenians. But in the progress of the narration, we shall speak *in its own place* of the successors of the Apostles, in the time in which every one succeeded. At present we return to those things which follow in the history."

312. The question here is, Who are those intended by Eusebius in the passage quoted? viz. in the words, "But how many and who of those, as sincere imitators, may have been esteemed to be able to feed the Churches founded by the Apostles, may not be easy to say, except so far as one may collect from the words of Paul."

313. The answer may be seen in the next sentence: "For his co-operators were innumerable," &c.

314. By the word co-operators, in this passage, is necessarily meant, either the whole number of those who co-operated with Paul, or a select number from them, who were esteemed to be able to feed the Churches.

315. The whole of these men, however, were actually engaged in feeding the Churches; Presbyters as well as Apostles. (See this distinction between Apostles and Presbyters made by Luke and by the Apostles themselves, four times in one chapter, Acts

*Note; the word parish is not limited in Eusebius's history to signify, what is now commonly understood by the term, *the charge of a single Presbyter*. Eusebius uses the word in speaking of cities in which there were numbers of Presbyters. Thus, in book iii, chap. xi, he speaks of *the parish of Jerusalem*, where there were many thousands of Christians and many Presbyters even in the early days of the Gospel, [Acts xv, 6; xxi, 20:] in book iv, chap. xix, he speaks of *the parish of Alexandria*, which was also a very large Church at the time spoken of, in the latter part of the second century: and in book vii, chap. iii, he speaks of *the parish of Carthage* in connexion with Cyprian's name, when we know there were numerous Presbyters in it, from his Epistles. [See 191 to 195.]

xv, 4, 6, 22, and 23.) Paul when leaving the Presbyters of Ephesus, charged them to feed the flock, (Acts xx, 28 to 30) and refers to this duty of their's in his first Epistle to Timothy (v, 17) at the same time that that and the succeeding verses, as well as the whole tenor of the Epistle, show that they were subject to the authority of Timothy. Many passages might be pointed out, in which Presbyters and Deacons, both, preached the word, which is the obvious meaning of feeding the Churches. Compare Acts xx, 28 to 30 with I. Tim. i, 3 for the identity of these expressions; and for evidence that Deacons as well as Presbyters preached the word, see note to section 209 and section 265.

316. As therefore the whole number of Paul's co-operators were engaged in feeding the Churches, the idea that Eusebius was speaking of a select number falls to the ground; and he intended by the words in question, that it would not be an easy matter to say how many and who were Paul's co-operators, for they were innumerable. This too, is obviously a more natural construction of the sentence, than that it would not be an easy matter to say who were selected from the whole number of co-operators, because the latter were so numerous. There is no connexion between the number of one and that of the other.

317. That Eusebius did not intend what Milton says, viz. *that it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles*, is obvious, moreover, from two other considerations.

318. Eusebius uses the expression, "for his (Paul's) co-operators were innumerable," &c. Therefore his remarks respect Paul's co-operators, and all that follows shows it. Every person named is one of those connected with Paul; and after mentioning several of them, he says, "*Of the rest of the followers of Paul, Crescens has the testimony of the Apostle that he was sent to Gaul,*" &c.

319. Secondly, In proceeding to give an account of "some of the most celebrated" of the followers of Paul, he mentions among others Luke who never was appointed Bishop over any Church, that I have learnt: and likewise Crescens, of whom the same may be said.

Eusebius, therefore, certainly does not speak, in this passage, of those who were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles; because he speaks first, of *Paul's* followers particularly; and secondly, of them in general, some of whom were Bishops and some not.

320. Much less did Eusebius mean the successors of the Apostles: for, in the very sentence following the notice of the last of Paul's followers whom he mentions, he says, "But in the progress of the narration we shall speak, *in its own place*, (*suo loco*) of the successors of the Apostles," &c.

321. How, indeed, could Eusebius possibly have said "that he was obliged to rely much on tradition" (303) respecting the successors of the Apostles, when he had the entire list of Irenæus, contained in his works, (130) all of which he had an opportunity of reading in the original Greek, as well as the list of Tertullian, (212;) both of whom were born about the close of the life of St. John,* (107) and conversed with men who had conversed with the Apostles; both of whom were men of great learning, exalted character, great zeal for the purity of the Church, and highly esteemed writers against heresies;† both of whom had the best opportunities to inform themselves; and both speak in the most confident manner of the certainty of their information, challenging the heretical Churches to produce the series of their Bishops from the Apostles, as the Apostolical Churches were prepared to do, (130, 185.)

322. How irrational, indeed, is it to suppose that such men as Clement, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and many who preceded them, some of whom were men of high rank and fortune before their conversion, and all men of general information and extensive acquaintance with men and things—how absurd to suppose that they kept no account, no record of things so deeply interesting to them; for the sake of which they sacrificed immediately their fame, their standing, their connexions, their wealth, and eventually, almost without an exception, their lives.

323. But what says Eusebius on this subject? In the third chapter of his third book he writes thus:

"But the Epistle of Peter, the one which is called the former, has been received beyond controversy. This the ancient Presbyters formerly used in their writings without any hesitation.—

* Irenæus speaking of John's Revelation says, "Neither indeed was it seen a long time since, but almost in our day, about the end of the reign of Domitian." "Neque enim ante multum temporis visum est, sed pene sub nostro sæculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii." [Irenæus contra Hæreses Lib. v. cap. xxx.]

† Eusebius calls Irenæus "Præcipuus Irenæus," the excellent Irenæus, and quotes his works frequently. He speaks highly also of Tertullian and says he is a witness worthy of credit. [Ec. Hist. Book iv, chap. xxv; and Book v, chap. v.]

That however which is called the latter, we do not learn to be legitimate. And yet, because it appears to be good in many respects, it has been often used with the other Scriptures. But the Acts, which are attributed to him, and the Gospel which is said to be his, and the publication inscribed to him and called his Revelation, we know no where among the Catholic writings handed down (*tradita*) so far as that neither any commentator of the ancients, nor of our time, has used their testimony. But in the progress of the history, together with the annotation of the succession, I shall receive this reward of my labour, that I may signify who (were) ecclesiastical writers in their day, and what perverse Scriptures (or writings) they have used, and what Scriptures may be legitimate and acknowledged by every one, and what have not been esteemed among these by them."

324. On this passage one or two remarks must be made.

First, It is obvious from the whole tenor of it, that there were not a few ancient writings and ancient commentators: and this likewise appears from many passages of the history of Eusebius, in which he quotes works not now extant, unless buried in the ancient libraries in the Mahometan countries, once the chief seat of the Christian Religion.*

It may be also observed that the word tradition is not confined to the handing down by oral communication; for Eusebius speaks here of *scripta tradita*, writings handed down. The same is shown by what he says of Hegesippus. "Among these Hegesippus is known, many of whose sayings we have already used, that from his *tradition* (ex illius traditione) we might adduce some contemporary with the Apostles. He therefore having *written* in five commentaries the true *tradition* of the Apostolic doctrine in a very simple historical composition, signifies in what time it was made known, and writes in the following manner, of those feigned ones which in ancient (or primitive) times appeared." (Euseb. Ec. Hist. Lib. iv, cap. viii.)

325. Secondly, It may be remarked that Eusebius derives the evidence of the authenticity of the different books of the New Testament, and that of the Succession of the Bishops from the

* Eusebius mentions a number of writers in a single passage. "But in those times flourished in the Church, Hegesippus whom we have known from the ancients: and Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, and another, Pinytus by name, a Cretan Bishop, and Philip also, and Apolinarius, and Meliton, and Musanus, and Modestus, and the excellent Irenæus, whose right opinion of the Apostolical doctrine and the sound faith has come even unto us, in (their) writings." (Ec. Hist. Lib. iv, cap. xxi.) He had also the voluminous writings of the most learned Origen, and of very many others, whose names are continually recurring in his history.

same source, precisely: and better he could not have, in the nature of things. All who live after the time in which the Gospel was first published, must depend on the testimony of those who then lived and saw what passed or heard the testimony of those who did. This is what Eusebius rests the credit of the Scriptures upon, *the writings of the ancients, the commentators of ancient times*: note, that he himself was born about the year 264 and died in 338, only about 200 years after these whom he calls ancients.

326. Neither is it true that Eusebius merely gives us formal catalogues of Bishops from the Apostles down to his time. He mentions them, as he promised he would, each in the time in which he succeeded, (311.) The following is a specimen of his manner of speaking of the successors of the Apostles in the government of the different Churches. It is taken from the first chapter of his second book: "Of the distribution of the Apostles after the ascension of Christ;" the first book being occupied with transactions during his life. It is the very first case mentioned. The passage is as follows: "This James, whom the ancients, on account of the pre-eminence of his virtue, called by the surname Just, first obtained, *they write*, the Episcopal seat of the Church at Jerusalem. Clement asserts this in the sixth book of his Delineations (or Informations,) *writing thus*: For, Peter, he says, and James and John, after the ascension of the Saviour, although verily they were preferred before others by the Lord himself, nevertheless did not claim this glory for themselves, but appointed James the Just Bishop of the Jews."*

327. Moreover when, after mentioning one by one, the Bishops of several Churches, as of that of Rome, of Alexandria, &c. with the year in which they obtained the Episcopate, — when he gives a catalogue of the Roman Bishops, it is taken from "the excellent Irenæus," as he calls him, after noticing his succession to the Episcopate of Lyons, on the martyrdom of Pothinus. It is taken from the same chapter which has already been cited in speaking of Irenæus's testimony (130) and there is not one syllable of observation

* "Hunc Jacobum, quem et Justum cognomento veteres propter virtutis prærogativam vocarunt, primum episcopum Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ sedem sortitum esse scribunt. Clemens hoc in sexto Hypotyposicon libro sic scribens asserit: Petrus enim, inquit, et Jacobus et Joannes post assumptionem Servatoris, quamvis ab ipso quoque domino aliis essent prælati, gloriam tamen hanc sibi ipsis non vindicarunt, sed Jacobum Justum Hierosolymorum episcopum constituerunt." (Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. i.)

given with it calculated in the slightest degree to detract from its perfect credibility. (Ec. Hist. B. v. chap. vi.)

328. It may be remarked that there is, in the passage given above from Eusebius, (323) clear proof of the utter fallacy of that argument which is the main prop of the doctrine of the validity of ordination by Presbyters: viz. that every man who occasionally uses the word Presbyter, as a general term to include the Bishop as well as the ordinary Presbyters, evinces thereby his belief that there is no difference of order between them. Eusebius in this passage uses the word to signify the ancient Church writers and commentators without distinction: and yet in the 21st chapter of his 4th book he speaks of nine writers, two of whom he expressly calls Bishops, and a third, Irenæus we know was likewise a Bishop, (324.) Dr. Miller might, therefore, have brought forward Eusebius as favouring his doctrine with the same propriety that he has done so with many others. But although he has not, on this ground, claimed Eusebius as "also in his favour," he has said that "he has never met with a syllable in Eusebius" to "inform us what *kind of difference* there was between the *Bishops and Presbyters* of his day," or "that the former was a different *order* from the latter:" and he asserts that, "All that can be gathered from him is, that there were persons called *Bishops* in the days of the Apostles; that there had been a succession of *Bishops* in the Church from the Apostles to the fourth century, when he lived; and that in *his day*, there was a distinction between Bishops and other Presbyters.— (Miller's Letters p. 196, *Italics* as in his book.) How far Dr. Miller is authorized to say these things, the reader may judge from the following passages from Eusebius.

329. Having said a great deal about the inhuman persecution and unspeakable sufferings of the Christians of Lyons, &c., Eusebius says, "But the same martyrs likewise recommended Irenæus, then a *Presbyter of the Church of Lyons*, to the before mentioned Bishop of Rome, having given him strong commendation, as their words running in this manner, declare," &c. He is also called a Presbyter in the letter. [Ec. Hist. Book v. chap. iv.]

330. In the next chapter he says: "When Pothinus, then ninety years of age, was finished together with the rest of the martyrs of Gaul, *Irenæus succeeded in the Bishoprick* of the Parish of Lyons, which Pothinus had ruled." This was in the latter half of the 2nd century.

331. "But Serapion being dead, Asclepiades received the Bishoprick of the Church at Antioch, who had persevered in confessing (Christ) in a time of persecution. Alexander (who was Bishop of Jerusalem) writing to the people of Antioch, makes mention of his *ordination* after this manner," &c. "But these letters I send you, my masters and brethren, by the blessed Presbyter Clement," &c. (Ec. Hist. B. vi, chap. xi.)

332. "But that was the tenth year of the abovementioned reign, in which Origen going to Cæsarea, having left Alexandria, delivered the office of catechizing there to Heraclas. But a little afterwards indeed Demetrius Bishop of the Church of Alexandria dies, when he had continued forty three entire years in the office. But Heraclas succeeded him." (Ib. chap. xxvi.)

333. "In those times, the necessity of Ecclesiastical affairs requiring it, Origen being sent to Greece received in Cæsarea of Palestine the grade of Presbyter (*gradum Presbyterii*) from the Bishops of that place." (Ib. chap. xxiii.)

In another chapter the same thing is related more fully, and it is stated that this was done by the Bishop of Cæsarea and the Bishop of Jerusalem. Origen was at that time engaged in catechizing, in the Church of Alexandria, to which he belonged, an employment conferred on him by Demetrius his Bishop, who took great offence at those Bishops for having interfered with his Church and promoted one who was under his government, without his knowledge. (Same B. chap. viii.)

"And at Alexandria, when Heraclas took upon him the ecclesiastical office after Demetrius, Dionysius succeeded him in the school of instruction, (in catechizing, see above) who was himself one of the scholars (or disciples) of Origen." (Ib. chap. xxix.)

"But that was the third year of the reign of Philip, in which Dionysius succeeded Heraclas, (he) having executed the ecclesiastical office for sixteen years." (Ib. chap. xxxv.)

334. "His fourth epistle concerning baptism was written to Dionysius the Roman, then indeed bearing the office of Presbyter, but a little afterwards having likewise obtained the Episcopate," &c. (Ec. Hist. B. vii, chap. vii.)

This was written by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria. In his account of the treatment he and others met with during the persecution in his time, he says:

"I went to Æmilianus (the Præfect of Egypt) not alone; but *my Presbyter* Maximus, and the Deacons Faustus, Eusebius, and Chiron accompanied me; and likewise one of the Roman brethren who were then here (in Alexandria) went with us." And again, "But in the city (to which he was exiled, in Libya,) were concealed brethren privately visiting (us); of the Presbyters, Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius; (for they who may be consid-

ered more illustrious in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, wandered about in Egypt;) but of the Deacons, besides those who perished by disease, there were remaining Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon." "But it must be known that this Eusebius, whom he says was a Deacon, a little afterwards was appointed Bishop of Laodicea of Syria: but Maximus, who he says was a Presbyter, received the ministry of the Alexandrian Brethren after Dionysius himself, but Faustus, who then stood firm with him in confession, was preserved even until this persecution of our time, now an old man and full of days, was made an end of among us, in martyrdom by beheading." (Ec. Hist. B. vii, chap. xi.)

335. An accusation having been brought against Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem, although nobody in the Church believed it, he retired and spent many years in solitude. "After his departure, when it was entirely unknown where he lived, the Presidents of the neighbouring Churches ordained another Bishop." (Ec. Hist. B. vi, chap. x.)

336. "But Timæus presided over the Episcopate of Antioch after Domnus, whom Cyrillus succeeded in our time; under whom we knew Dorotheus then a Presbyter of the Church of Antioch, an accomplished man. (Ibid. B. vii, chap. xxxii.)

Speaking of Anatolius Bishop of Laodicea, Eusebius says:

"Theotecnus, Bishop of Cæsarea Palestine first laid hands on him for the Episcopate," &c. — "But Agapius succeeded Theotecnus after he had most carefully executed the office of Bishop of Cæsarea Palestine, whom *we know* likewise to have laboured much, and to have presided over the people with most sincere watchfulness, and to have taken care of all with a bountiful hand, especially of the poor. In his time *we knew* Pamphilus, a most learned man, and in his life a true Philosopher, who bore the office of Presbyter of that Church, who, if we were to say what he was and whence sprung, would require no small discourse." — "He was indeed at that time most famous. But of those whom we have known most excellent amongst us, among the *Alexandrine Presbyters* was Pierius, among the *Bishops* Meletius of Pontus." — "And at Alexandria Thomas succeeded Maximus, who was Bishop eighteen years after Dionysius, under whom at Alexandria, Achilles bore the office of Presbyter together with Pierius." (Ibid.)

337. One more very striking passage on several accounts follows; which is taken from the third book of Eusebius's life of the Emperor Constantine. To settle the dispute about the feast of Easter, which had divided the Church into two great parties for above a century, Constantine (that truly most excellent and admirable Emperor, as he is called by the Swiss Reformer Wolfgangus Musculus, who translated Eusebius's history into Latin) called the Nicene Council; in his account of which Eusebius writes in the following manner:

“Therefore as if about to lead the troop of God upon an expedition, he collected an Œcumenical Council, and called together the Bishops by honorary letters, that they might hasten together from all sides. This was not a simple and inefficacious edict, but the desire of the Emperor co-operated likewise with it in reality, who abundantly supplied to some the convenience of a public journey, to others the service of horses. A city was also appointed, convenient for a Synod, which, situated in Bithynia, is called by a name taken from the Nicæan victory. When, therefore, this edict had reached every one, in a little time all, as from some close prison, assembled with all eagerness of mind. For a certain hope of good, and the communication of peace and of the strange miracle; videlicet, the favourable regard of so great an Emperor, drew them. All, therefore, having assembled, now the work of God, which was done, was perceived. For, they who were very far distant from one another not only in mind, but in body, and country, and place, and nation, were collected together, and one city received all, like a crown of priests, made of pleasant flowers. The heads of all the Churches through all Europe, Libya, and Asia, and of the ministers of God (*ministorumque Dei capita*) were gathered into one. Then the house of oratory, as if divinely enlarged, received within it at once Syrians, Cilicians, Phœnicians, Arabs, Palestines, besides likewise Thebans, Libyans, and those who had come from Mesopotamia. There was present likewise in that Synod a Bishop from Persia, nor was Scythia wanting in this assembly. And Pontus and Galatia, and Pamphylia, and Cappadocia, and Asia, and Phrygia, sent what choice ones they had. But likewise Thracians, and Macedonians, and Achæans, and Epirots, and those who were even farther off than these, met together. And of the many sitting together, there was one greatly celebrated Bishop from Spain. *But the Bishop of the Roman city was absent, on account of old age, but his Presbyters being present supplied his place.* Such a crown the Emperor Constantine alone, from the year of peace, has bound together for Christ, and made a worthy (or suitable) return of thanks to his Saviour for victory over opponents and enemies, and appointed for us this image of the Apostolical Company. For the Scripture teaches that in their times pious men had assembled from every nation which is under heaven, among whom were Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians. But in this present assembly *there was a multitude of Bishops, exceeding the number 250; but the number of Presbyters and Deacons adhering to them* (or their adherents) and of acolyths and very many others, could not indeed be found out.”

338. A comparison of these passages with Dr. Miller's assertions renders it evident at once that the former are directly opposed to the latter.

339. In making the comparison, a clear idea of the question in debate should be kept in view.

The Presbyterian doctrine is, that there is but one order of ministers in the Church, and that Bishops and Presbyters are the same—and constitute that one order.

The Episcopalian doctrine is, that there are three orders of ministers, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; the Bishop having authority over the others, who receive their ministerial authority from him.

340. In the passages just recited from Eusebius, who is quoted by Dr. Miller as above mentioned, (303, 309 10, 328) the inferiority of the Presbyter is plainly shown.

341. There is but one Bishop in a Church. In the many hundred instances which Eusebius relates of Bishops being ordained to office, there is no case in which it is not obvious that he was the only Bishop in that Church, (330, 331, 332, 333 to 336;) except only in one, in which the Bishop being more than 150 years of age took to himself an adjunct to assist him. (Ec. Hist. B. vi, chap. x. xi.)

342. The Presbyters were numerous in proportion to the size of the Church: (329 compared with 151, 334, 336, 337.)

343. There was a plain and marked distinction between them continually made: (329 compared with 330, 331, 333, 334, 336, 337.)

344. The Bishops administered the government of the Church: (330, 332, 333, 336.)

345. The Bishops were superior to the Presbyters, (330, 331, 333, 334;) and had control over them, (333.) *The Bishops are called the heads of the ministers of God*, as well as of the Churches: (337.) The Presbyters and Deacons are called their adherents: (337.) The Presbyters had no seat in Councils as principals, but might sit as representatives of their Bishop: for, the Bishop of Rome, being unable through age to attend the Council of Nice, was represented by *his Presbyters*: (337.)

346. There was an ordination to the office of Presbyter, which indeed need not be proved: (333.)

347. There was an ordination to the office of Bishop: (331, 335, 336.)

348. Bishops ordained both Presbyters and Bishops: [333, 335, 336.]

349. There is not a syllable of ordination performed by Presbyters, in Eusebius nor in any other author consulted as far as I have been able to discover up to his time; and there is no case I believe,

even alleged by our opponents. See also on these several points, [311 to 349] the following sections, 130, 153, 154, 183, 185, 191 to 195, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 209, 241, 242, 247, &c., 252, 282, and all the passages *in Italics* in the Epistles of Ignatius.

350. Eusebius mentions the succession to the Episcopate, in the different Churches of Europe, Asia, and Africa, of a very great number of persons; together with an infinite variety of circumstances, transactions, controversies; and yet there is not a single expression at variance with what is stated above, [341 to 349] as far as I have seen; and I have looked through most of the books, by the index, in order to discover passages in which these subjects are mentioned.

351. Unquestionably, then, there is complete evidence that the government of the Church was Episcopal in the time of the Council of Nice, viz. in the year 325. And if we inquire when it was otherwise, the answer must be, never.

352. Was it otherwise in the time of Cyprian? No. For although he was in the habit of consulting his Presbyters on all important occasions, it was because he thought proper to do so.—“Statui apud me,” &c. according to Bishop Taylor, [vol. vii, p. 225.] “*I have resolved with myself*” to consult you, were his words. And notwithstanding this resolution, [which the very words show was a matter in which he might do as he pleased,] when, in his absence, his Presbyters received those who had lapsed in the persecution, on what he considered insufficient evidence of their repentance, and without consulting him, he reversed their decision, put out of the Church those whom the Presbyters had received, and told them when he should return that they should have a fair hearing before him. See sections 153, 188, 191 to 195, 200 to 203, 241, 242, 252, all of which relate to his time.

The government of the Church was, therefore, certainly Episcopal in the time of Cyprian, viz. about the year 250.

353. Was it otherwise in the time of Origen? This great and most learned man, whose lectures were attended even by the Heathen Philosophers, lived four years after Cyprian became Bishop of Carthage and Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria. That the government of the Church under Cyprian and Dionysius was Episcopal, we have already seen, [334, 352.] Dionysius succeeded Heraclas, first as Principal of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, and, at his death, as Bishop. Heraclas succeeded Demetrius in the

Bishoprick. Origen was under all three of these Bishops in succession. The first had appointed him, when he was very young, Principal of the Catechetical School. While absent on some occasion from Alexandria, two Bishops ordained him Presbyter, at which interference with those under his authority, Demetrius took great offence: [333.] These Bishops were so much pleased with Origen, that they caused him to preach and explain the Scriptures when they were present, choosing rather to hear him than to preach themselves. Hearing of this, Demetrius issued an order to him to return to Alexandria, and he obeyed. [Cave's Lives vol. 2. p. 396.] These things show that Demetrius exercised the same authority that Dionysius and Cyprian had done, [352;] and that the government of the Church was the same in the youth as in the old age of Origen. Demetrius was made Bishop of Alexandria in the 10th year of the Emperor Commodus; [Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. v. chap. xxii] viz. in the year 190, in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian.

354. But what do they say? Irenæus writes that the Roman Bishops succeeded one by one in the government, one Bishop only at a time being in the Church in this immense capital of the civilized world; that Paul and Peter themselves delivered the government of the Church to Linus the first of the series; and that this is given as an example of what took place *in every Church which was in all respects faithful*, the Apostles having appointed Bishops in all the Churches: [130.] Tertullian's testimony agrees entirely with this; [185] and the testimony of both is confirmed by Eusebius's very particular mention of the accession of the successive Bishops to the Episcopate, in a number of the principal Churches, as Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, with the time, and circumstances in very many instances; drawn from the records of the different Churches, consisting of controversial writings between Christians and Heretics, Christians and Heathens, and different parties of Christians; and of numberless Epistles of all the principal men in the Church in every part of Christendom, from the beginning; of all which Eusebius cites an immense number, and quotes books now lost.

355. Irenæus was born in 97, and Polycarp suffered martyrdom in 148; so that the former was full fifty years of age when the latter was put to death. Irenæus says that he had seen Polycarp, who was not only taught by the Apostles and conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was likewise appointed by the Apostles

Bishop in that Church which is at Smyrna in Asia, [130.] He mentions his most glorious martyrdom, and his "most excellent Epistle" to the Philippians, still extant, "from which," he says, "they who wish and have regard for their own salvation, can learn the character of his faith and the doctrine of the Truth," [130.] In this Epistle Polycarp speaks in the strongest terms of the Epistles of Ignatius, all of which it may be observed, are mentioned by Eusebius by name, except that to the Romans, and from that one he has a passage quoted; [Ec. Hist. B. iii. chap. xxxvi.] Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, mentioned by Irenæus, says of the Epistles of Ignatius, they "are subjoined to this Epistle, by which you may be greatly profited; for they treat of faith and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus." [126.] These strong expressions of high regard and esteem, bind these ancient servants of God so entirely together, that it is impossible to separate them and their testimony as to the matter of fact, the form of government of the Church in their day.

356. The public life of the three embrace the whole period from the time of Paul and Peter until the close of the second century. Polycarp and Ignatius, both acquainted with the Apostles,* [117, 125, 130] were contemporary from their day until the martyrdom of the latter in the very beginning of the second century, about a dozen years after the death of St. John. Polycarp and Irenæus were contemporary from that time until the martyrdom of the latter in 148; and Irenæus continued until the end of the second century, indeed until 202.

Irenæus speaking of Polycarp in the strongest terms of approbation, and specifying a particular Epistle of his, in which Ignatius's Epistles are as strongly commended, adds his testimony to that of Polycarp in favour of the Epistles of Ignatius. The latter, therefore, give us a just representation of the government of the Church throughout the whole period, from the days of the Apostles to the end of the second century.

357. What is the period fixed upon by those who assert that there

* Eusebius quotes a passage from Ignatius's Epistle to the Smyrneans in which he says he saw our Saviour: "Ego vero etiam post resurrectionem eum in carne cognovi," &c. [Ec. Hist. B. iii. chap. xxxvi.] "But I knew him in the flesh even after the resurrection," &c. See the passage in the appendix, 3rd section of the Epistle to the Smyrneans, which, after the word *flesh*, is exactly translated. It may be mentioned here, that Eusebius's quotation from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans and the translation in the appendix, section 5, agree entirely.

was a time in this century when the government was other than Episcopal? The most learned Presbyterian writers, Blondel, &c. and the Presbyterian Assembly in London in the 17th century, (who met to settle their Church in England,) [162] have fixed upon the year 140. If so, it must have been eight years before the martyrdom of Polycarp, who suffered in 148, some say later.

The attachment of Polycarp to the Church was gloriously evinced, as Irenæus says, by his death. His whole life showed it no less, and secured to him the unbounded regard of the whole Christian world, [130.] So fundamental a change as that from a Presbyterian to an Episcopal form of Government, originating, as is represented, in the pride and ambition of aspiring Priests, never could have been approved of by him; much less could he have been partaker of their ambitious views. His character forbids the thought, [130:] and yet his high approbation of the Epistles of Ignatius shows that he had no idea of any other than the Episcopal form of Government. It is, moreover to be remembered that this approbation was expressed at the time of Ignatius's death, after he had left Smyrna on his way to Rome and before Polycarp had yet heard the event. For in his Epistle to the Philippians, he desires them, if they have heard certainly of the event of Ignatius's journey, to inform him. This was in the year in which Sura and Senecius were a second time consuls according to the account of his martyrdom kept by his friends; [See the martyrdom in the appendix, section 13,] which was, according to the Roman Consular lists, in the year 107; or if we take into account their serving together a part of a year, in consequence of the death of the Emperor Nerva who was that year consul, the second time that Sura and Senecius were consuls together was in the year 102.—According to Tacitus, however, the martyrdom of Ignatius occurred in the year in which Trajan went to Antioch, viz. in the year 113. [Appendice Cronologica Trajano xci.] At the latest it was thirty five years before the martyrdom of Polycarp, and twenty seven years before the time fixed upon by the Presbyterian writers as the commencement of Episcopacy. The great regard expressed for Ignatius, [See martyrdom, and Polycarp's Epistle, 126] and the strong desire manifested by the Churches of Asia to procure his Epistles, [126] and the open and unreserved manner in which he writes and Polycarp approves, manifest in all of them the most perfect consciousness, that there was nothing in those Epistles con-

trary to the Doctrine and Practice of the Apostles, which was perfectly well known to the whole Church at that day; there being then, in every part of the world which the Apostles had visited, thousands still living who had heard them and knew their mode of regulating the Churches, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, whom they had actually ordained. Clement, whom Paul calls his fellow-labourer, *sunergos*, [Epistle to the Philip. iv, 3; see 209, note] was then Bishop of Rome. He died in the third year of the reign of Trajan; in the beginning of which St. John was still living, [Eu. Ec. Hist. B. iii, chap. xxi, xxii, first lines of xxiii, and xxxiv;] and in the 4th, or 9th, or by Tacitus's account in the 15th year of the same reign Ignatius was put to death, as above mentioned. Such men, so living and so dying, could not have assented to the total subversion of the Apostolic plan of governing the Church; nor could they have so completely effected it within so few years of the days of the Apostles, as to leave no trace of a revolution, nor any allusion to it in their Epistles. Nor could it have been in so short a time so universally received, that there is not a trace of a revolution in the voluminous writings of Irenæus, and Tertullian expressly devoted to contending against all changes of the Doctrine and Tradition of the Apostles, [186.] Such a change as this throughout the world could not possibly have been made without opposition from somebody. Some friend of the Apostolic institutions, the aggrieved Presbyters who had been appointed by them, or some intrepid spirit indignant at the ambition of the usurpers, would surely have spoken out. Or, if all these had been silent, the enemies of the Church, who ran into heretical notions from the very commencement, and departed or were driven from her bosom, would have reproached the Church with its departure from first principles, in order to countenance or excuse their own. But though challenged [185] they are silent, there being, as far as I know, nothing of the kind. There is no trace of such a change, and therefore it never occurred; and consequently the form of government was Episcopal from the beginning.

358. The Church in every part of the world continued in this state until the time of Calvin, a period of fifteen hundred years. In his day a new system was introduced into some parts of Europe, which excluded the Episcopal order, as well as that of the Deacons, and the whole authority, including the power of ordaining successors, was assumed by Presbyters.

359. What the ancient Church thought of ordination by Presbyters may be gathered from the following statements.

360. In the fourth century Colluthus a Presbyter ordained Ischiras to that office. Ischiras was reduced to lay communion by the Synod of Alexandria; and in the Synodical Epistle of the Bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis, and in the joint letter of the clergy of the province of Mareotis, both preserved in the works of Athanasius, it is declared that *the ordination was null, because it was performed by a Presbyter.*

361. Maximus, another Presbyter in the same century, ordained some persons to the same office, and all his ordinations were pronounced null and void by the Council of Constantinople. [For both these cases see Bowden i, 49, 51; and Taylor's Works vii, 132.]

362. In the same century Aerius maintained that Presbyters were equal to Bishops and had a right to ordain: for which and some other doctrines he was condemned as a heretic. [Epiphanius, Heresy 75; Taylor's Works vii, 127.]

363. In the fifth century, Musæus and Eutychianus ordained some Clerks, themselves not being Bishops. The Council of Sardis refused to consider them as clergymen, because they were not "ordained by them who were Bishops verily and indeed."

364. The following is a yet stronger case than the preceding.—The Bishop of Agabra being blind, his Presbyters read the words of ordination while he laid his hands upon the candidate. This ordination was pronounced invalid by the first Council of Sevil. "These cases are so known," says Bishop Taylor, "I need not insist on them." [See Taylor's Works vii, 132 for both these.]

365. Before the fourth century such a thing does not appear to have been thought of. For, Novatus, a Presbyter, having determined to form a separate Church, in order to obtain the power of ordaining, which was indispensable to his success, because without it he could have no successors, inveigled three Bishops from a distant part of the country into his house, and forced them to ordain him, [252.] If Presbyters really had the power of ordaining from the commencement, and had only been deprived of it for a short time, [for Novatus lived in the middle of the third century.] why did he not claim his ancient right, instead of resorting to fraud and violence to obtain one? Why not exercise the right already in him, seeing that he could not derive from an act of violence and fraud, a claim better in reality, or as likely to be assented to by those whom he hoped to influence?

366. The cases stated above show in the plainest manner the sense of the ancient Church upon the subject of ordination by Presbyters. What the views of the Church were in after ages, may be gathered from the following account. In the 17th century the Bohemian Church suffered so severe a persecution, that one Bishop only survived. Comenius, the only surviving Bishop, "that they might fully satisfy the scruples, as well of their own consciences, as of others," sent three Presbyters, one of whom had been ordained by the Bishop of Rome, to the Waldenses dwelling in Austria and Moravia, to receive Episcopal ordination; and they were ordained by the Bishops of the Waldenses. [Bowden ii, 79, iii, 332, 342; who quotes the book of Discipline of the Bohemian Church, &c.] In truth, as far as I have had it in my power to examine the books quoted in the preceding pages, I can find but one case (excepting those which are mentioned and which were immediately declared null and void,) in which a Presbyter laid on hands in ordination, and in that case two Bishops officiated. I therefore am driven to the conclusion, that Presbyters have no authority to ordain.

367. I am well aware that this opinion is offensive to those who have no other than Presbyterian ordination. But truth is what we ought all to seek; particularly in so essential a concern as that of the true ministry of the Church of Christ. There is no one thing more frequently urged on Christians, than the obligation to flee divisions, to speak the same things; and how is this to be done but by a fair and candid discussion of points on which we disagree?—No one then has a right to complain that his opinion is questioned. Every one who is of a right spirit would rejoice to have the truth clearly made out and embraced by all.

368. This question is the more important, because if the conclusion we have drawn be just, all other than Episcopal ordination is necessarily invalid. This declaration, although it follows as necessarily from the premises as the conclusion of any proposition ever stated, has been reprobated in the strongest terms, because it involves an exclusive claim to the ministry. It is however far from being the desire of those who believe that Episcopal ordination alone is valid, to prevent any qualified person from entering into the ministry. They only wish to convince those who believe themselves called to minister in holy things, and who are, from early prejudice, or misinformation, or not investigating the subject, content with authority derived from Presbyters, that this authority is

not valid, and to induce them to obtain that which is. The doctrine ought not to be rejected because it involves an exclusive claim: for, there must necessarily be a right in the truly authorized, to the exclusion of those who are not; and the question at issue ought to rest on its merits.

369. But how does this matter concern private Christians, if they are truly religious? and why should a man leave the Church to which he has been attached, when the ministers are good religious men? These singular questions have been frequently urged, with great earnestness, upon myself. But few words however are sufficient to show their absurdity. We are commanded to be baptized and to receive the sacrament in memory of our Lord. We cannot obey these injunctions in sincerity unless we are satisfied of the validity of the authority of the minister; and to receive these mysteries at the hands of those we are persuaded are not authorized, is a profanity *in us*; though it may not be *in them who minister, provided* they are conscientiously persuaded of their authority *after full investigation of the subject*. But this proviso includes a great deal more than may be supposed at first view. A man who makes up his mind from reading an ordination sermon, and does not even take the trouble to see that the quotations are correctly made, although he has spent years in learning the classical languages for the very purpose, avowedly, of fully informing himself on all doctrinal points, cannot pretend to have a clear conscience in this matter.—And if it be urged that the authors quoted are rare and not easily to be met with, it is answered; first, that a man's duty is to inform himself, and not to talk of the difficulty of doing it:—secondly, there are libraries in almost every part of the country where these books may be consulted, and a few day's ride is no object when we desire to ascertain our title to so important an office:—thirdly, those who have studied regularly for years in public institutions in which these books are to be found, and have not thoroughly examined them, are without even a colour of excuse.

370. But what necessity for leaving the Methodist Episcopal Church? Professing with all sincerity very high esteem and affectionate regard for a number of the ministers of that Society, I must nevertheless say, because their ordination is only Presbyterian.—Mr. Wesley was no more than a Presbyter, and therefore had no authority to ordain; much less to ordain a Bishop.

371. In this respect he and Calvin stand upon the same ground

precisely. It is certain that a man cannot have that which was never given to him, except it be something belonging to him by nature. To neither of the above was authority to ordain, ever given. The Bishops who ordained them, did not intend to confer such power. They did not at the time consider themselves as receiving such power; and if they had been questioned immediately afterwards they would not have pretended that it was conferred upon them. Most assuredly then, it was not given to them: therefore they had it not. To argue that they possessed the power of ordination because it originally belonged to Presbyters, is to argue that they *to whom it was not given* possessed the power, because it belonged *to them to whom it was given*. Even allowing that the ancient Presbyters had power given them to ordain others, it would only afford to modern Presbyters ground to complain that the authority they ought to have was withheld from them; but none to say that the power withheld, was given to them. To have a right to a power is not the same as possessing that power. It is plain that the consent of the grantor is necessary to a grant. A forced consent is bad enough as in the case of the Bishops who ordained Novatus, [252;] but where there is no consent and no intention to give on the one part, and on the other no expectation of receiving, and no belief at the time of having received, but the contrary, the very idea of a grant is absurd.

372. If it be alleged that they had the power because it is essential to the character of a Presbyter; it is replied, if it be essential, then were they not Presbyters. For what made them such? The ordination of the Bishop, whereby the authority of exercising the office and duties of a Presbyter was conveyed to them. And if an essential power was not conveyed, they were not made Presbyters. It was a capital defect.

373. To assume powers, at the time admitted not to be granted, and peremptorily denied by all but the person desirous of exercising them, by virtue of an argument founded upon a construction of some disputed passages of scripture, in opposition to the declared sense of the Church and to its admitted doctrine and practice for 1400 years before, is to open a wide door to innovation.

374. Suppose that a Ruling Elder in a Presbyterian Church should deny the existence of any Scriptural distinction between ruling and preaching Elders, as he very well might, and therefore that he had a right to preach, how would the Presbyterians an-

swer him? The only proper answer would be, We did not intend in making you a Ruling Elder to give you authority to preach; you knew when we appointed you that we did not; you did not at the time conceive that you were receiving such authority, but promised to act in subordination to the minister; you are now setting up a claim to authority, because you think it ought to have been conferred on you; and this opinion is founded on your construction of a passage of Scripture contrary to the practice of the Church you belong to. But this argument, the Ruling Elder might reply, operates as completely against your claim to ordination, as it does against mine to preaching. You also rest your claim on your own construction of a passage of Scripture. Therefore either give up your own, or admit mine.

375. Mr. Wesley therefore not having received power to ordain, his ordination of Dr. Coke was without effect. Moreover, as Mr. Wesley's claim to this power rests on the doctrine of the sameness of the Bishop and Presbyter, Dr. Coke being a Presbyter, was, if that doctrine be true, a Bishop without the ordination of Mr. Wesley. From this therefore Dr. Coke received nothing. Consequently he came to America a Presbyter, and Presbyterian ordination was all he had in his power to confer. Moreover, as all the authority he had arose out of his office of Presbyter, and as he had that independently of Mr. Wesley, it follows that he is the true source of the ordination of the Methodist ministers.

376. Mr. Wesley professes in his letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, &c. of 1784, to have founded his belief of the sameness of the office of Presbyter and Bishop on the argument of Lord King in his Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church.

377. It is not proposed to enter fully into an examination of this work, which fell into my hands after this essay was drawing to a close; but only to point out some fundamental errors into which the author fell in his investigation, which destroy entirely the whole system built upon them.

378. Lord King's plan is to show, 1. That there was but one Bishop to a Church, [pp. 11 to 14.]

2. That there was but one Church to a Bishop, [p. 15.]

3. That that Church was what we now call a parish, [p. 16;] from which he infers [p. 17] that "a Bishop having but one parish under his jurisdiction, could extend his government no farther than a single congregation; because a single congregation and a parish

were all one, of the same bulk and magnitude;" and this inference he endeavours to support at some length.

4. After concluding his argument on these points, he inquires into the nature of the office of a Presbyter, and endeavours to show that he is "A person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no place or parish, nor actually discharging it, without the permission and consent of the Bishop of a place or parish." [p. 53.]

379. To the first proposition no objection can be made. All antiquity is plain upon that point; and he considers it, for that reason, certain, notwithstanding that he had difficulties arising out of the application of the term Bishop to Presbyters in the Scripture; and notwithstanding "that Clemens Romanus (he says) mentions many in one Church." [p. 11.]

380. But with regard to the Scriptures, it is evident from what has been already shown that they had not in view the same persons that the Fathers had, [101.] The Scriptures mention many *Bishops* in a Church because they applied that term to the *Presbyters*, they being then the *overseers* of the flock in consequence of the itinerant life of the Apostles, who were the real governors of the Churches; [274] as Paul in Ephesus during his three years residence there, and Timothy after him for an unlimited period; and James the Just in Jerusalem, who, Jerome as well as Clement [326] asserts, was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles.*

381. Scripture therefore does not stand in the way of Lord King's conclusion, that there is but one Bishop in a city. The Presbyters were always subordinate to the Apostles even when itinerant and absent, [274] and to those whom they set over them; as Timothy and Titus, &c. one only being in a Church at a time: and the identity of the office and the power of the Apostle and the Bishop, are shown by Timothy's exercising every power over the Presbyters, after Paul's departure, that he had exercised over them; and by the application of the term Apostle to such as occupied Timothy's place by Paul himself, [45;] and by the application of the term Bishop to the same persons immediately after the death of

* The following is quoted from Jerome by Hooker ii, 242. "Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, post Passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus est." [Hierom. Scrip. Ec. Catal. ii.]—that is, "James, who is called the brother of the Lord, surnamed the Just, immediately after the Passion of the Lord was ordained Bishop of the Jews by the Apostles."

the Apostles by those who knew them; and by the use of both terms as synonymous, by some of the most devoted, and most exemplary men who ever ministered in holy things. Cyprian for instance, who was a man of learning, talents, eminence, and fortune, and sacrificed all, giving up his whole property to the Church, and finally his life in martyrdom, rather than deny his Saviour and return to the world which was ready to receive him and honour him—Cyprian says, “The Deacons ought to remember, that the Lord chose the Apostles, *that is, the Bishops and Governors.*”*

382. Neither is the passage Lord King has quoted from Clemens Romanus, an obstacle to his conclusion that there was but one Bishop to a Church; a conclusion to which he admits he was driven by the united voice of the early Fathers, [p. 11.] The words of Clemens quoted by him are, “*Upotassomenoi tois agoumenois umon,*” that is, *Being obedient to those having rule over you*, without specifying any particular person or office. Lord King’s idea is that the word *agoumenois, having rule over*, signifies *Bishops*, because Bishops were they who ruled the Churches. But although this is true; yet the Presbyters had a subordinate authority, and under the direction of the Bishop aided in ruling the Church, [183, 275.] The word, *agoumenois*, therefore includes the Presbyters as well as the Bishop, and the plural is used without implying that there was more than one Bishop in the Church. Clement therefore does not say any thing contrary to the rest of the Fathers; and Lord King’s conclusion, that there was but one Bishop in a Church stands without an objection.

383. The next step of this author is to show, that there was but one Church to a Bishop. He says that this word, Church, was “the common name whereby a Bishop’s Cure was denominated, the Bishop himself being usually called, The Bishop of this or that Church: as Tertullian saith, That Polycarp was ordained Bishop of the Church of Smyrna.” [p. 15.] To this there is no objection to be made. But the question arises, What is a Church?

384. In answer to this question Lord King endeavours to prove, that a “Bishop’s Diocess exceeded not the bounds of a modern parish, and was the same, as in name, so also in thing.” [p. 17.] And first as to the name.

* “Meminisse Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est, Episcopos et Presbiteros, Dominus elegit.” [Cyprian l. iii. ep. 9 [al. ep. 3. c. 2.] quoted by Hooker vol. ii. p. 241, note.]

385. He says, "As for the word *Diocese* by which the Bishop's flock is now usually expressed, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this sense by any of the ancients." (p. 15.) Socrates, however, who lived in the fourth century, in his account of the Council of Constantinople, says they decreed, That the Bishop of a *Diocess*, *Diocesis*, should not pass (be translated) to another Church. (Soc. Ec. Hist. B. v, ch. viii.) The word occurs twice more within the compass of a page. It is evident from its being used in the wording of a law or canon, that it was common and well understood. The extent of a *Diocess* will appear presently.

386. Lord King goes on immediately after the words quoted above, (385) to say,

"But there is another word still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the Bishop's Cure, and that is *Parish*: So in the Synodical Epistle of Irenæus to Pope Victor, the Bishopricks of Asia are twice called *Parishes*. And in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History the word is so applied in several hundred places. It is usual there to read of the Bishops of the Parish of *Alexandria*, of the Parish of Ephesus, of the Parish of Corinth, of the Parish of Athens, of the Parish of Carthage; and so of the Bishops of the Parishes of several other Churches; *by that term denoting the very same that we now call a Parish*, viz. a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one Bishop, Pastor, or minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God." (p. 15.)

387. It is admitted that the word *Paracia* was used by Eusebius to signify the Cure of a Bishop. But that "that term denotes the very same that we now call a Parish," &c. is utterly impossible.

388. The word *Paracia*, translated Parish, is used by Eusebius as synonymous with *Ecclesia*, translated Church; as will appear from a comparison of the following passages.

389. Let the reader look back to the passage respecting James's receiving the Bishoprick of Jerusalem from the Apostles (section 326,) and compare it with the following from the same author.

After the martyrdom of James, a council was held to consider who should succeed him, "and they all, with one and the same opinion, judged Simeon the son of Cleopas, whom the Gospel Scripture also mentions, worthy of the seat of *the Parish of Jerusalem*." (Ec. Hist. B. iii, ch. xi.)

James first obtained, they write, the Episcopal seat of the Church at Jerusalem, and Simeon succeeded him in the seat of the Parish of Jerusalem.

390. "But when Nero had now reigned eight years, Anianus,

a pious man and in every respect celebrated, first after Mark, the Apostle and Evangelist, undertook the Administration of the Alexandrine Parish." (Ec. Hist. B. ii, ch. xxiv.)

391. "But after Nerva had reigned a little above a year, Trajan succeeded him; in the first year of whose reign, Cerdo succeeded Abilius, who presided over the Alexandrine *Parish* thirteen years. He is the third of those who after Anianus presided over the *Church*." (Ec. Hist. B. iii, ch. xxi.) Here the two words are used precisely in the same sense.

It is worth observing, as we proceed, that St. John lived until the commencement of the reign of Trajan: that is until Cerdo the fourth Bishop after Mark, succeeded to the Bishoprick of Alexandria. (Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. iii, ch. xxi, xxiii.)

392. "The twelfth year of the reign of Trajan was passed, when he being dead, whom a little before we signified to have been Bishop of *the Alexandrine Parish*, Primas obtained the ministry of the *same Church* in the fourth place after the Apostles." (Ec. Hist. B. iv, ch. i.)

Here again these words are used as synonymous.

393. 'These quotations might easily be multiplied. They plainly show that *Parœcia* was another word for *Ecclesia*, Church; and consequently there is no kind of propriety in saying that the term *Parœcia* denotes the very same that we now call a Parish. On the contrary, it denotes the very same that the ancient Christians then called a Church.

394. What they meant by a Church may easily be gathered from what they say of the Church of Rome, of Alexandria, of Carthage, of Jerusalem, &c.

395. In Jerusalem there were three thousand persons added to the Church on the first day the Gospel was publicly preached after the ascent of our Lord: (Acts ii, 41; see also ii, 47; iv, 4; v, 14; vi, 1, 7;) and when Paul went there from Ephesus there was an innumerable company of Christians. When he went, on his arrival, *to see James, all the Presbyters being present, they said unto him, Thou seest how many TENS OF THOUSANDS of the Jews there are which believe,* (Acts xxi, 18, 20.) The words in our translation are, *thou seest how many THOUSANDS;* but in the original it is *muriades, myriads, tens of thousands:* in the fourth chapter above quoted, the word is *chiliades*, which signifies *thousands*. It is stated that a great company of the Priests also were obedient to the faith at an early period. (Acts vi, 7.)

396. Who, therefore, can believe the representation of Lord King.

that the Parish of Jerusalem *denotes the very same thing that we now call a Parish*, viz. “a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, having one Bishop, Pastor, or minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God?” (Lord King p. 16: see 386.) Or, that the Bishop of the Parish of Jerusalem, with its *many myriads of Christians*, had under his government no more than “a single congregation?” (Lord King p. 17; see 378.) It is very obvious that so many *tens of thousands* of Christians could not be attended to by the Bishop alone, but that he required a number of Presbyters to aid him; and it is very certain that he had them, as is mentioned above; when Paul went to see him, *all the Elders or Presbyters were present*. (Acts xxi, 18.)

397. As to Alexandria, we may judge of the extent of that Parish by a decree of the Council of Nice in the year 325. The three preceding decrees relate to Bishops, and this, the sixth, is in these words: “And that at Alexandria, and in the city of Rome, *the ancient custom* should be observed, that the one should have the charge of the Churches of Egypt, and the other of those around the city.”* This in the year 325 is called *the ancient custom*. See some notice of a number of Presbyters in the Church of Alexandria under Diouysius in section 334.

398. Carthage in the second century contained a great number of Christians. Tertullian, a native of that city, and a Presbyter of the Church, in his address to Scapula tells him, that it was a proof of the extraordinary patience of the Christians that they conducted themselves with modesty, and quietly, seeing that they were at that time so “great a multitude of men, almost the major part of every city.” (Tertul. ad Scap. cap. ii.) We have already seen what a number of Churches there were in that city and how many Presbyters, (195.) For what earthly use were those buildings erected, and to what end were those Presbyters ordained, if there was but a single congregation in the Parish of Carthage, as Lord King asserts? Or, who can believe that by the term *Parish*, applied to this great city and multitude of Christians, with numerous buildings for public worship, and a corresponding ample supply of Presbyters, is denoted “the very same thing that we now call a Parish?”

399. Or who can believe that the *Parish* of Rome denotes “the

*“VI. Et ut apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat.”—(Ruf. Hist. Ec. B. i. ch. vi.)

very same that we now call a Parish," when reminded that Rome contained millions of people, was of vast extent, and had, at a very early period, forty-six Presbyters and seven Deacons under the control of the Bishop for the service of the Church, which was so large that it contained 1500 widows and afflicted persons to be supported by the charity of the affluent? (Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. vi, ch. xliii; See 242.)

400. Let us for one moment consider what would be the size of a building that would contain the people of such a Parish as Jerusalem or Rome. *How many* tens of thousands of believers there were in Jerusalem when Paul went there, we cannot exactly say. But it is indisputable that there were *many*. Let us suppose *four* only. Each person occupies about five square feet: forty thousand persons therefore would require two hundred thousand square feet, or a building five hundred feet in length and four hundred in breadth: and this without taking into consideration the crowds of unbelievers who continually attended the preaching of the Gospel, and of whom great numbers were daily added to the Church.

401. Notwithstanding the manifest absurdity of this doctrine, Lord King labours to prove that these ancient Parishes, of Jerusalem, Rome, &c. "exceeded not the bounds of a modern Parish," from several considerations.

402. First, he says, "All the people of a Diocese did every Sunday meet all together in one place to celebrate Divine service." (p. 17.) This has been shown to be impossible, and the idea is founded on misapprehension of the meaning of some passages.

403. The first passage he quotes in support of this opinion is from Justin Martyr's Apology addressed to the Emperor. "On sunday all assemble together in one place, where the Bishop preaches and prays." (p. 17.) The words of the original, which he also quotes, are *panton epi to auto sunclousis ginetai*: that is literally, there is an assembly (*sunclousis*, conventus, concursus, a convention, concourse, or meeting) of all together. The words *epi to auto* signify *together*; and may, therefore, and do generally imply the additional words *in one place* used in the translation of Lord King; but there is no express word for *in one place* in the passage. But when the circumstances of the case render it evident that this concourse or meeting could not have been in one place, from the multitude, (400) and the added words are not even necessary to a reasonable construction of the sentence, it is evident that the argument

is not to be relied on. Tertullian, in his *Apology for the persecuted Christians against the Nations*, uses similar language of the whole body of Christians upon the earth. He says, "Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precationibus, ambiamus orantes." (Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix.) That is, "We come together into an assembly or congregation, that we may plead praying to God, as if constraining him by prayers." These two Fathers were both writing *Apologies for the Church at large*, both are describing their customs, both are speaking of their meetings, and both use words of precisely similar import. *Sunerchomai*, in the quotation from Justin, from which *suneleusis* is derived, (or of which it is the noun) signifies precisely the same as *Coimus* in the quotation from Tertullian.

404. Moreover Lord King has quoted in another place (p. 42) a passage from Justin which shows plainly the incorrectness of translating *epi to auto* in this passage, by the words *together in one place*; as well as the impossibility of the persons spoken of, all meeting in one place.

405. The original is as follows. "Te tou eliou legomene emera panton kata poleis e agrous menonton epi to auto suneleusis ginetai." That is, "On sunday there is a meeting together of all residing *in cities and countries*." It is evident from this use of the plural words *cities and countries*, that Justin in this *Apology for the Christians*, speaks, as Tertullian also does, of the whole body of Christians. But notwithstanding this, Lord King translates these words, *poleis* and *agrows*, manifestly plural, by the words, *city and country*, in the singular; as follows: "On sunday all the inhabitants both of City and Country met together."

406. It is remarkable in this last sentence that the words *in one place* are omitted; although the original words are the very same with those which in the first passage are translated *together in one place*, (403) showing manifestly the justice of the above argument against the use of those words *here*. (403 to 405.)

407. Indeed this passage appears to be quoted in three different places.

1. It is quoted, "Panton epi to auto suneleusis ginetai:" with a reference to Apol. 1. p. 98: and is translated, *On sunday all assemble together in one place*. (p. 17.)

2. It is quoted, "Te tou eliou legomenq emera panton epi to auto suneleusis ginetai:" with a reference to Apol. 2. p. 98, which is

translated, *The Bishop's whole Diocess met together on Sunday*, (p. 19.)

The only difference between these two sentences is that of the addition of the five words which precede *panton* in the second.—These five words signify *on Sunday*; (literally on the day called the Sun's;) and this very addition is found in Lord King's translation of the first. These passages therefore appear to be the same.

3. This passage is quoted again in p. 42. “*Te tou cliou legomenē emera panton (kata poleis e agrous menonton) epi to auto suneleusis ginetai:*” with a reference to Apol. 2. p. 98.

Here the only difference consists in the additional words inclosed in a parenthesis in the middle of the passage; which signify, *residing in cities and countries*; and which show beyond controversy that “the people of a Bishop's Diocess” are not intended, as Lord King supposes. (See 407, 2.)

It is to be noted that the words of the first quotation of this section in the original, are all that Lord King has quoted in that place, p. 17. In the second and third quotations (p. 19 and 42) there are other words following *the word ginetai*. But it is evident from a dash between *ginetai* and the following word in p. 42, that there is an interval between them, and that they do not stand in immediate connexion. For the purpose of comparison, therefore, *ginetai* is the proper word to close the quotation, and the more particularly as it is the word with which Lord King himself has closed the first quotation.

408. It is very obvious that these arguments founded on expressions of a general nature, when the subject agitated was not at all in view, are a poor reliance in opposition to the strong facts of the case, which no man can call in question. (See 195; 209, note; 242.)

409. Lord King proceeds thus, (p. 17:) “Ignatius writes, ‘Where the Bishop is, there the people must be.’ (Epistle to the Smyrneans.)” By turning to that Epistle in the appendix, it will be found that Ignatius is, in section 7, urging the Smyrneans to avoid those who would mislead them, and closes it with the words, *But flee all divisions, as the beginning of evils. See* (he continues in section 8,) *that ye all follow your Bishop, &c. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear there let the people also be.* This is obviously a general charge to adhere to him, leaving all others. If it were to be taken literally, when Cyprian withdrew from Carthage, the people ought

to have followed him, and it will not do to say, that he having withdrawn, they were released from obligation to him; for, he in his retirement governed them. (191, 201, 202.)

410. Again he quotes from Ignatius, "It is unlawful to do any thing without him." (p. 17.) This passage in the original (as quoted by Lord King, same page,) is as follows: "*Ouk exou estin choris tou episkopou, oute baptizein, oute agape poicin;*" that is, "*It is not lawful without the Bishop, neither to baptize, nor to celebrate the holy communion.*" The whole passage stands in the appendix, in the 8th section of the Epistle to the Smyrneans; and it will there be seen that, although *it was not lawful to do either without the Bishop*, it does not mean that he was to do every thing. For he says, Let that Eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the Bishop or *by him to whom the Bishop has given his consent.*

411. Moreover the utter impossibility of all meeting in one place is shown by the fact that the villages about Alexandria, which whole region was in that Parish or Diocess, were attended to by Presbyters. (Athanasius's second Apology quoted by Bowden ii, 188 from Bingham, Antiq. vol. i. p. 173, oct. Edit.)

412. Also by the fact "that St. Austin's Diocess of Hippo was above forty miles long: for he himself tells us, that Fessala, a place in his Diocess, was forty miles distant from Hippo. We also know that in Tripolis, one of the six provinces of the Roman Africa, there were but five Bishops." (Bowden i, 84 from Maurice and Bingham, who quote the ancient Notitia of that Church, made about fifty years after the death of Austin.)

413. It is entirely unnecessary to say more to show the utter absurdity of the conclusion of Lord King, that "the Bishop's Church was no bigger than our parishes." (p. 18.)

414. He next attempts to show that "the Bishop had but one altar or communion table in his whole Diocess, at which his whole flock received the Sacrament from him." (p. 18.) In support of this he quotes these words, *There is but one Altar as there is but one Bishop.* (Epist. of Ignat. to the Philadelphians.) If the reader will turn to that Epistle, he will find in sections 2, 3, and 4 (in the last of which occur the words quoted) that Ignatius is speaking of Divisions, and warning them to avoid them and cleave to the Church; and is not alluding to one particular altar. (Ignatius has a number of passages of similar import: see appendix.)

415. He quotes likewise from Justin Martyr the following words: "The Bishop's whole Diocess met together on sunday, when the Bishop gave them the Eucharist; and if any were absent, he sent it to them by the Deacons." (p. 19.) This is a strange translation. I should make it thus: "On sunday there is a meeting together of all; there was a distribution and a partaking by those administering the sacrament to each; and to those not present it is sent by the Deacons."* There is not a word like Bishop in the passage.

416. The next quotation is from Tertullian as follows: "*The Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop alone.*" This translation is also incorrect. It should run thus: "Neither do we take (the sacrament) from the hand of any others than of those presiding." "Nec de aliorum manu quam presidentium sumimus," (De corona Militis, cap. 3.) It will be observed that the word *presidentium*, those presiding, is plural. But there is but one Bishop in a Church by Lord King's own showing. (See more on this point in sections 181, 182.)

417. Lord King next attempts to show, that "the other sacrament of Baptism was generally administered by the Bishops alone within their respective Diocesses. So saith Tertullian, '*Before the Bishop we renounce the Devil and the world.*'" (p. 21.)

418. This is a part of the same passage quoted last, (416.) It is given in full in section 180; and it is shown in 181, 182, 183, that the Presbyters and Deacons also baptized. (See likewise sections 247 to 249; &c. and many of the passages *in Italics* in the appendix.) Lord King, it may be observed, translates both the singular and the plural word, both *antistes*, (See 177) and *presidentium* by the singular word, *Bishop*; though he shows that there is but one Bishop in a Church, and therefore the plural word *presidentium* cannot properly be thus translated.

410. Lord King also urges that "The Church's charity was deposited with the Bishop, who, as Justin Martyr reports, was the common curator and overseer of all the orphans, widows," &c. (p. 22.) True. But could he not employ agents? Did Cornelius look after every one of his 1500 persons of this description? Eustatius and Aerius were schoolmates. When the former became Bishop, he made the latter a Presbyter, and set him over his hos-

* "Τὸ ἐν τῷ ἐπισημομένῳ ἐπιτοῦ αὐτοῦ συνελθῆναι τῶν ἐπιτοῦ, διαδοχῆς καὶ ἐπιτοῦ ἐκαστοῦ ἐπιτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τοῦ Διακόνου παραστῆναι. Apolog 2, p. 98."

In these passages the Italic *e* is used for *beta*, and the Italic *o* for *omega*.

pital and place for entertaining the poor.* (Epiphanius. kata Aeriou

420. "No offenders, he says, were restored again to the Church's peace without the knowledge and consent of the whole Diocess." In proof of this he quotes the 10th Epistle of Cyprian, in which it is said "they were to plead their cause before all the people," (p. 23.) This case however proves directly the reverse. The Church, in Cyprian's absence, had received some offenders without his approbation, and he thought, on too easy terms. He therefore turned them out again, to wait until he could give them a hearing, which he told them *they should have before all the people*, on his return, (see 201, 202.)

421. He endeavours to show that the Diocess of Smyrna must have been very small. Granting it were so, it would amount to no more than, what no one disputes, that some Diocesses were small; but this does not affect the question. But what are the proofs even of this?

422. "Ignatius, he says, advises Polycarp the Bishop of this Church, *To convene his Diocess to choose a faithful honest man to send a messenger into Syria*," (p. 27.) The word translated *Diocess* in this quotation is, *sumboulion, council*. In the appendix, section 7 of the Epistle to Polycarp, it is translated a select council.

423. He proceeds, "So that the Bishop of this Church could know his whole flock personally by their names:" For which he quotes, *Ex onomatosis pantas zetei*. *Zetei* does not signify *know* but *inquire*; and there is no word for *personally* in the passage. (See the Epistle to Polycarp section 4; and also pages 25 and 26.)

424. Lord King goes on to mention other circumstances which he represents in a light altogether incredible. Thus, he says, speaking of Rome, "In this Diocess there was but one Church or meeting place; for when Bishop Anterus died, all the Brethren met

* Note: The Reader is requested to consider the following lines as a continuation of section 416; viz.

Lord King quotes this passage again, [p. 111, pt. 2] together with a quotation from Justin Martyr which shows very clearly that the Deacons also distributed the bread and wine; as well as with one from Cyprian, which shows the same thing: on which he makes this remark, So that herein there was a diversity of customs. This however could not have been the case, particularly as Tertullian and Cyprian belonged to the same Church; the former in the end of the second century, the latter in the middle of the third. It is therefore evident that he has misapprehended the meaning of the word *presidentium*, and that this term includes all who preside over the people, the Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons; all of whom were set over the people, and from all of whom they received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. [See appendix, *Italic lines*.]

together in the Church to choose a successor," [p. 32.] This was in the year in which the Roman Emperor Gordianus entered upon his reign; viz. 239, [Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. vi, ch. xxviii,] eleven years before Cornelius obtained the Bishoprick; who gave the account stated in 242, that there were in the Church of Rome 1500 widows and afflicted persons; and forty-seven Presbyters and seven Deacons; besides a number of inferior officers for the service of the Church, among which are enumerated door keepers, of whom there were no less than fifty-two. Observe the proportion of the number of door keepers to that of those who officiated as ministers. One Bishop, forty-six Presbyters, seven Deacons; in all fifty-four; and fifty two door keepers. Could all these have been for one congregation?

425. Speaking of Alexandria, Lord King says, "that in the middle of the fourth century, they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one place." [p. 38.] Yet he admits that "in the third century they had divided themselves into several distinct and separate congregations, which were all subject to one Bishop:" [p. 38.] which admission destroys all he had been building up. For his argument is, that there being but one Bishop in a Church and nothing being lawful but what he did; there being but one altar, and he alone administering the sacrament, [p. 19] he alone baptizing, [p. 21] there could be but one congregation in a Church: but here is evidence produced by himself, that there were several congregations under one Bishop, in the Church of Alexandria, even when all might, he says, have met in one house.—How could he then doubt that the same branching out had taken place in Rome with a Church in which there were even 1500 paupers? or in Jerusalem, with its many times ten thousand believers in the days of Paul? The truth is however, that this Church of Alexandria had not so few members as Lord King represents.—That Church was renowned for the number of its learned men from an early age, [See 332, 333, 336.] It supplied other Churches with Presbyters and with Bishops: their numbers and influence were so great that this Church ranked next to Rome, until Constantinople was built; an instance of which is seen in one of the decrees of the Council of Nice, which also shows the absurdity of the idea of the Bishop of Alexandria being the Pastor of a single congregation. The *ancient* custom was to be observed, that he should have charge of the Churches of Egypt, (397.)

426. Let us now examine into the manner in which this author endeavours to establish what is laid down respecting the Presbyters in a former section; [378, 4] for the confirmation of which, these two things, he says, are to be proved.

1. That the Presbyters were the Bishop's Curates and assistants, and so inferior to them in the actual exercise of their ecclesiastical commission.

2. That yet, notwithstanding, they had the same inherent right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick order from them.

427. As to the first, Lord King succeeds very well in proving that Presbyters could do nothing but by authority received from the Bishop. The evidence abounds and he produces a sufficiency.

428. With regard to the second; that the Presbyters, notwithstanding this palpable dependance, and incapacity to do a single thing without authority from the Bishop, "were of the very same specifick order with him, having the same inherent right to perform those ecclesiastical offices which the Bishop did;" the evidence falls far short of proof.

429. To establish this he endeavours to show, "that by the Bishop's permission they discharged all those offices which a Bishop did." By the Bishop's permission they preached, they baptized, they administered the sacrament, they ruled in connexion with him, they restored returning penitents: all true, *by the permission of the Bishop* as Lord King himself proves.

430. But as to confirmation and ordination, particularly the latter, what is the evidence that Presbyters were ever permitted to exercise these powers? As to their illegal acts, as in the cases before stated, [360 to 364] they are out of the question. The instances were rare; the act was condemned at once; and no man, that we know of, undertook to contend for *the inherent right* until Acrius did, and he was pronounced a heretic.

431. With regard to the former power, Lord King says, "Presbyters confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove, when we come to treat of confirmation." [p. 60.] I cannot however find in that essay any thing upon the subject; but in the second part, afterwards published and bound together with the first, he attempts to fulfil his promise.

432. His first argument is, "that confirmation was an immediate consequent of Baptism;" and "we may reasonably suppose

that in a Church there were some fit to be baptized at least once a year; and sometimes it might happen that either the See was vacant, or the Bishop through persecution might be absent from his flock so long a time, as Cyprian was double the space; and if so, must no persons have been baptized within that time by reason of the Bishop's unavoidable absence? That seems a little hard, since, as was said before, they esteemed Baptism and Confirmation necessary to Salvation, and to deprive those souls of Salvation that died within that time, because they had not been confirmed by the Bishop, which was impossible, would be too severe and uncharitable." [p. 91, 92.]

433. The reply to this argument is, 1, That Confirmation did not always immediately follow Baptism: 2, That Confirmation was not deemed absolutely essential to Salvation: 3, That whatever risk there was in delaying until a thing could be done properly, was incurred in this very absence of Cyprian, in a matter which according to Lord King, was precisely the same, viz. in the case of those who after lapsing in time of persecution wished to be received again.

434. First, Confirmation did not always follow Baptism. It is remarkable that Lord King himself states a case which proves this, in another place, [p. 88.] "Cornelius objected against Novatian that he could scarcely acknowledge him a complete Christian, because being baptized in his bed, he had not received Confirmation, or the additional rituals to Baptism, *nor did he ever after receive them.*"

435. Secondly, Confirmation was not deemed absolutely essential to Salvation. The objection to Novatian, stated above, [434] was made after he had contested Cornelius's election to the Bishoprick of the Church of Rome, and after Novatian's Schism from that Church. [Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. vi. ch. xliiii.] In the mean time, between this baptism and the contested election, he had been a Presbyter of that Church and must have filled other inferior offices. Cornelius, even when writing a letter placing his bad conduct in a very strong light, only says, "he could *scarcely* acknowledge him to be a complete Christian;" [434] and it is not to be believed that he could have exercised the office of Presbyter in the Church when deficient in a ceremony deemed essential to Salvation.

436. Thirdly, As to the risk that might be incurred by waiting the Bishop's return, it was actually incurred during the very pe-

mod to which Lord King refers, viz. Cyprian's two years absence from Carthage. It was during this time that he made the decision mentioned before; [201] that those who had lapsed in time of persecution, should not be received until he should have it in his power to return and determine the matter. A delay of this kind occurred in Rome also after the death of Fabian. [See 241.] A similar risk was encountered by all who waited, as usual, until the regular time for Baptism and Confirmation, [181] sometimes for almost a year.

437. The whole foundation of this argument, therefore, is unsound, and the conclusion falls.

438. The second argument of Lord King is: "That Presbyters did baptize, we have proved already; and since Confirmation was done at the same time with Baptism, *it is very reasonable to conclude*, that he that did the one, performed the other also." [p. 92, 2nd pt.]

439. There is nothing in this argument to *convince* a man, when we remember that it was customary to baptize the new converts at a certain period, from Easter to the day of Pentecost, [181;] and that on that solemn and great occasion the Bishop and Presbyters, as well as Deacons, were all present; that the convert confessed his sins under the hand of the Bishop in the Church and was then baptized, [180.] See section 247, &c.

440. The third and last argument is as follows: "That Presbyters did confirm, will appear most evidently from this very consideration, viz. That the imposition of hands on persons just after Baptism, which we call Confirmation, and the imposition of hands at the restitution of offenders, which we call Absolution, was one and the self same thing." (p. 92, 2nd part.)

441. In support of this he quotes several passages, the purport of which is as follows: Cyprian says in his letters, that when a person from any heresy, desired to enter into the Church, he ought to be baptized, after which he should be confirmed; that is, hands should be laid on him that he may receive the Holy Spirit, [p. 94; manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, 247, &c.] but if he had been baptized in the Church and had left it, "on his return he is to be received by the imposition of hands alone, after penance, into the flock from whence he has strayed." [p. 99.]

442. From these passages he argues, that the ceremony of imposition of hands in these two cases was the same, [p. 99.] He then endeavours to show that Presbyters, sometimes with, and sometimes without the Bishop, imposed hands in the last case;

[p. 99,] and concludes, "if Presbyters had power and authority to perform the latter, I see no reason why we should abridge them of the former." [p. 101.]

443. To which it is replied: First, that the conclusion that these two ceremonies, (the first of which Lord King calls Confirmation, and properly, 247, &c. and the second Absolution,) are the same, is not strictly correct. There was imposition of hands in both cases; but so was there in many other, as ordination; and therefore this did not constitute them the same. There was moreover this material difference. If the person had been baptized among heretics and had never been in the Church, he was, on being converted, baptized, and then hands were imposed on him that he might receive the Holy Ghost, [247, &c.] But if the heretic had been in the Church, had been baptized in it, had left it, and wished to return, he was not baptized; nor were hands imposed on him until *after penance*; (per manus impositionem solam recipi *acta penitentia*, penance being finished; p. 99;) and this occupied from two to above ten years, according to circumstances, says Lord King; [p. 129, part 1] and by the determination of the Council of Nice even those who renounced the faith to save their lives, were compelled to do penance (*gerere pœnitentiam*) from three to thirteen years. [Ruffin. Ec. Hist. B. i, ch. vi.]

444. Secondly, Lord King endeavours to show that Presbyters sometimes with the Bishop and sometimes without, imposed hands on those who had left the Church and returned.

445. To prove that Presbyters did sometimes, without the presence of the Bishop, by his permission, impose hands on the penitent, Lord King quotes three passages.

446. The first is the case of Serapion in Egypt, which he quotes from Eusebius, "Serapion being out of the Church's peace and approaching the hour of dissolution, sent for one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyter did according to the order of the Bishop, who had before given his permission unto the Presbyters to absolve those who were in danger of death." [p. 100]. Here we are left to infer that the Presbyter imposed hands, which however was not done.

447. Eusebius states this matter thus; the account being given in a letter from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria to Fabius Bishop of Antioch. Serapion was a harmless but weak old man, who in time of persecution had, to save his life, sacrificed. He had fre-

quently entreated to be received again, but was not admitted. Being about to die, having revived after lying three days speechless, he sent his little grandson to beg one of the Presbyters to visit him immediately. It was night and the Presbyter was sick. "But, says the Bishop, seeing that I had ordered that those about to die, if they asked it, and particularly if they had likewise formerly sought it with humility, ought to be received, that they might depart resting on a good hope, he gave the boy a little of the Eucharist, and commanded that he should pour it into the mouth of the old man drop by drop." This was done and Serapion died in peace. [Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. vi, ch. xlv.] In this case the Presbyter did not even see the person, and therefore did not impose his hands on him: nor is there a word said in the whole chapter about imposition of hands.

448. The other two passages are from Cyprian "who, when he was in exile, ordered his clergy to confess and absolve by imposition of hands, those who were in danger of death." [p. 100.] In the other quotation Cyprian directs if any were in danger, that they should not wait for him, but "that they might make confession of their sin to any Presbyter near them; that his hand being laid on them in penitence, they might go to God in peace." [p. 101, the Latin.]

449. Presbyters were, however, permitted by Cyprian to do this only in this single case of the last extremity. For, during Cyprian's exile, when the Presbyters undertook to receive a number of lapsed persons who wished to return to the Church, he blamed them very much, and annulled the act, directing them to wait until he could return and determine the matter. [201, 202; see also 241.]

450. These cases, therefore, prove indeed that Cyprian permitted Presbyters to impose hands in one specified extreme case.—But, first, the restriction *to* these cases proves the restriction *from* all others: and secondly, they were not cases of confirmation.

451. First, The restriction of the Presbyters, by Cyprian, *to* the single specified case of immediately approaching death, because the Bishop could not be had in time, proves beyond doubt that they were restricted *from* the performance of this ceremony in every case in which the person could safely wait the usual time.

452. Secondly, These were not cases of confirmation. By confirmation the person confirmed was made a member of the Church; and his influence, good or bad, affected the Church as long as he

lived. By imposition of hands upon a dying penitent, the object was not to receive him into the Church, but merely to enable one who had been in the Church, (and therefore had been confirmed,) and had left it through fear of torment or death, "*to die in peace.*" [448.] The cases stated and those referred to during Cyprian's exile were all of this kind, [447, 448.] And in conformity with this representation, if the sick man recovered, he was not allowed the privileges of a member of the Church, but continued in the same state in which he was before the ceremony performed when he was believed to be at the point of death. Thus, the XIV regulation of the Council of Nice ran thus: "But of those penitents who depart this life, they decree, that no one ought to be dismissed without the communion. If any one, indeed, having received the communion should survive, that he ought to fulfil the stated time (of penitence,) [443] or at least according as the Bishop might be willing to moderate it." *

Add to this, that there is no evidence produced that imposition of hands was practised in these cases of extremity, except what is quoted above from Cyprian. It was not practised in the case in Alexandria [447.] It is not mentioned in the decree of the Council of Nice; but it is barely said that the penitent, who had been denied the privilege of the communion during his state of penitence, [447] should not be dismissed without the benefit of it. Cyprian therefore is the only one, as far as we know, who directed this; and "Cyprian, says Bishop Taylor, vii, 137, was a man so complying with the subjects of his diocess, that, if any man, he was like to furnish us with an antinomy."

453. To prove that Presbyters imposed hands together with the Bishop in the reception of offenders, Lord King quotes two passages from Cyprian. "Offenders, saith he, receive the light (right) of communion by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop and of his clergy." [p. 100.] This translation does not appear to me to be correct. It should, I think, stand thus: "They receive the right of communion by the imposition of the hand of the Bishop and clergyman."† In this passage, which is a literal translation of

* "De his vero qui vita excedunt pœnitentibus, decernunt, vacuum nullum debere dimitti. Si quis sane accepta communione, supervixerit, debere eum tempora statuta complere, vel certe prout moderari Episcopus voluerit." [Ruf. Ec. Hist. Lib. i, cap. vi.]

† "Per impositionem manus Episcopi et Cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. Ep. 10. §2. p. 29."

the Latin quotation of Lord King in the same page, the word *hand* is singular; whereas if he had had in view a number of persons present and officiating, he would have used the plural. Moreover, Cyprian does not use the word *Clerus* for Presbyter in any of the passages quoted from him; but the word *Presbyterum*. It is also to be considered that this is not a case of confirmation as has been fully proved: and when speaking of confirmation he evidently excludes Presbyters. He says, "Which is done likewise now among us, that they who are baptized in the Church, be offered to the Bishops, and by *our* prayer and imposition of (our) hand receive the Holy Spirit, and be consummated with the Lord's seal."* (247, &c.) Again, if Presbyters joined in the imposition of hands in ordinary cases, even of receiving offenders, where was the need of a special permission in extreme cases? (448) and why an exclusion in those which were not? (449.)

454. It is therefore evident; 1, That Presbyters were not permitted to lay on hands except in cases of the last extremity: 2, That this liberty was allowed by Cyprian only, as far as we can judge from the evidence; and he was in the habit of allowing unusual latitude to his Presbyters, (452) and felt the consequences very apt to follow laxity of rule, and complained heavily of their conduct: (153, 201, 202:) 3, That not one of the cases produced is a case of confirmation; either actually, or by Lord King's construction.—Not actually; because no one was a case of a heretic coming into the Church, in whose case the imposition of hands would have been Confirmation. Nor by Lord King's construction; because no one was a case of a heretic who had been in the Church and wished to return to it; in which case the imposition of hands was called, according to Lord King, Absolution, and which he argues is the same as Confirmation; but which is not, (452.) Every case cited is a case of a simple offender who had not departed from the Church; but had lost his standing through weakness of resolution in time of persecution, who had begged to be readmitted and was in the preparatory state of *penitence*; and when dying was allowed the privilege of *communion*, without even the imposition of hands, except when permitted or directed by Cyprian, in order that he might de-

* "Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, Præpositis Ecclesie offerantur; et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consumentur. Epist. 73. 68. p. 220." (Lord King's Enquiry, &c. 2nd part, p. 29.)

part in peace; and not, that he might thereby be received into the Church, (452.)

455. Lastly; Lord King says, "If Presbyters had power and authority to perform the latter, I see no reason why we should abridge them of the former." (440.) This is not the kind of proof Lord King promised, (431.) It is of very little importance for us to say we cannot see why a thing was done in one case and not in another. If the imposition of hands in the case stated by Lord King were the same, as he supposes, with confirmation, why could he not produce something to show imposition of hands by Presbyters in cases decidedly of the latter? That he could not do so, is because they are different cases, and Presbyters did not impose hands in Confirmation.

456. Lord King next proceeds to the subject of ordination, in his attempt to show "that Presbyters, by the Bishop's permission, discharged all those offices that a Bishop did." (p. 58, pt. 1.) "As for ordination, he says, I find but little said of this in antiquity; yet as little as there is, there are clearer proofs of the Presbyters ordaining, than there are of their administering the Lord's Supper." (p. 61, pt. 1.)

457. After this round assertion he produces but one passage in support of it besides that of Timothy; and that one not correctly represented, as will be shown: whereas, there is an abundance of evidence that Presbyters administered the Sacrament. Without searching for any other evidence than has been incidentally mentioned in these pages, the reader is referred to the following sections: 181, 182, 183 compared, 201, 235, 416, note to 419, 447: see also section 2 of Ignatius's Epistle to the Trallians, and section 8 of that to the Smyrneans.

458. The single quotation Lord King produces in support of the opinion that Presbyters ordained, is as follows: "All power and grace, saith Firmilian is constituted in the Church, where Seniors preside, who have the power of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining." (p. 61.) The words translated here *Seniors*, are *majores natu*; which signify *old men*, (see *natu* in Ainsworth's Dictionary, quarto) and are not the technical term for *Elders*. Lord King, aware that this argument wants support, seeks it by quoting a passage from Tertullian which he says has been considered as a parallel passage. The passage runs thus: *Probatu seniores president*. "Now, says Lord King, by these approved Elders, Bishops and Presbyters must

necessarily be understood; because *Tertullian speaks here of the discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish*, in which there was but one Bishop; and if he only had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the plural number; but there being many Elders, to make out their number we must add Presbyters to the Bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully show in another place." (p. 61.)

459. This argument rests upon the assertion that Tertullian in the above quotation, *Probatu president Seniores*, was speaking of the discipline exerted in one particular Church. That this was not the fact it needs only to read the passage, at once to perceive. It occurs in Tertullian's Apology against the Nations. He had, in the preceding chapters, been engaged in refuting the charges commonly brought against the Christians by the Heathen Nations, and in retorting upon them, with a great deal of force, by quoting the known instances of depraved conduct in their most celebrated philosophers. The chapter in which the passage in question occurs, commences thus:

"I will now give an account of the affairs of the Christian sect, (or company, factionis Christianæ) that I who have refuted the evil, may point out the good things.

"We are a body (or one body) respecting the knowledge of religion, the unity of discipline, and the covenant of hope. We come together, &c. We pray, &c. We are collected, &c. Truly we feed our faith with holy words, we elevate our hope, &c. These are the commencing words of the different sentences which precede the quotation, in question. Then follow the words of the quotation: "Certain approved old men preside," &c. "President probati quique seniores," &c. (Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix.) It appears to me that no man can hesitate to say that this language is used of the whole body. The first words in which he expresses his intention; as well as the first words he uses in attempting to accomplish his purpose, point it out. I will give an account of the Christian sect, &c.—We are a body, &c. The argument, therefore, resting on this construction falls to the ground.

460. The word *Preside* is general and may be spoken of Bishops alone, or Bishops and Presbyters according to circumstances. In this case Tertullian was speaking of the Church Universal, and therefore he might use the term in speaking of the Bishops alone, who more especially presided; and by those whom he was address-

ing, they were so particularly looked upon as the presiding persons, that they were always first and chiefly aimed at in persecutions, of which abundant evidence could easily be produced. An instance may be seen in section 198; Cyprian the Bishop was compelled to fly, but the Presbyters could remain safely when a persecution was but threatened. This word, *preside* not only *may*, but *must* mean Bishops in this passage, if it be a parallel passage with that from Firmilian: for, it is certain from his own declaration that the latter was speaking of Bishops.

It is remarkable that in another place, where Tertullian was certainly speaking of the ceremonies as practised in an individual Church, and unquestionably included the Presbyters in the term *presiding persons*, Lord King translates the word *presidentium* by the word *Bishop*. (See 416 in connexion with 179 to 183.)

461. But why seek an explanation of the meaning of a passage from comparing it with language that others have used, when the writer explains his own meaning in the very epistle from which it is taken. Firmilian in this same epistle uses these words: "How is this that when we see Paul baptized his disciples again after John's baptism, we should make any doubt of baptizing them who return from heresy to the Church, after that unlawful and profane baptism of theirs, unless Paul was less than *these Bishops of whom we are speaking now*, that these indeed might give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands alone, but Paul was insufficient for it."—(Bowden 1, 138: see another passage equally decisive from the same Epistle in section 206.)

462. Firmilian was arguing the question, which at that time was much agitated, whether those who came to the Church from the heretics ought to be baptized before they were confirmed. He agreed with Cyprian, to whom this Epistle was addressed, that they ought to be baptized. He argues in the passage quoted by Lord King that "All power and grace is settled in the Church, *where the majores natu* preside, who possess the power of baptizing, of imposing hands (confirming, 247, &c.) and of ordaining."

463. Firmilian being a Bishop, intimate with Cyprian, agreeing with him in doctrine, it would not be reasonable to conclude from this passage alone, that *majores natu* signify Presbyters; because it is declared *in it*, that these *majores natu* possess the *power* of baptizing, confirming, and ordaining: a doctrine totally opposed to every thing on record if spoken of Presbyters, (see 153, 191,

201, 202) and *unsupported by a single fact*, Lord King not having been able to bring forward *one*; but resting the whole argument for Presbyters' ordaining on this single quotation from Firmilian.

464. If in this single passage, the word instead of being *majores natu*, literally *old men*, had even been *Presbyteri*, there would be good reason to believe it interpolated; because it would be so totally opposed to all the ancient writings of the Church, that there cannot be produced *one quotation* in which these powers are attributed to the Presbyters; but, on the contrary, whenever the question arises, by the forwardness of some of that order, it is instantly decided that they have no such right.

465. But when, in addition to these considerations, we have Firmilian's own declaration that in this Epistle he is speaking of Bishops (461) contest is at an end.

466. It is furthermore to be observed that all Lord King urges on this passage is, that *majores natu* included both the Bishop and his Presbyters, and that "*both they and the Bishop* ordained together, both laying on their hands in ordination, as Timothy was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; that is, by the hands of the Bishop and Presbyters of that Parish where he was ordained, as is the constant signification of the word *Presbytery*, in all the writings of the ancients." (p. 62, part 1.)

467. By his own account therefore, a Bishop was present at the ordination of Timothy spoken of in Paul's first Epistle to him, and Paul must have been that Bishop, (see pp. 14, 15.) It has already been shown that this ordination was to the office of Presbyter, (93.) There is therefore nothing in this case but what is at this day practised in the Episcopal Church in the ordination of Presbyters.—The imposition of their hands is however unnecessary. Without it the ordination is valid, (Acts xiv, 23; sections 191, 333;) while the imposition of their hands without that of a Bishop has, in all ages, been declared invalid, (359 to 366.) Indeed this practice of the Presbyters laying on of hands in the ordination of even a Presbyter, is an innovation upon the most ancient practice. There cannot, I think, be produced a solitary case in which Presbyters imposed hands with a Bishop, in the ordination of a Presbyter, from any of the Fathers of the first four centuries; for, although I have not read them thoroughly, or all of them, yet if such a case exist, it would have been produced. As to the scriptures, in not one case of ordination mentioned in the New Testament is there a word said

about Presbyters or Elders imposing hands, unless it be in the case of Timothy's ordination to the office of Presbyter. The ordination of the seven Deacons was by the Apostles, (Acts vi, 6.) The Apostles Barnabas and Paul ordained Elders in all the Churches of Asia which they planted in their tour together, (Acts xiv, 23.) In Paul's directions to Timothy and Titus not a word is said about the aid of Elders in the ordinations they were directed to perform. Nothing like the aid of a Presbyter occurs in a single passage on the subject, except it be intended in the solitary passage respecting Timothy's ordination to the office of Presbyter. The translation, in the passage relating to this ordination, of the word *Presbuterion* by the words *the office of Presbyter*, instead of *the Presbytery*, is not therefore so absurd as Dr. Miller represents it. The passage so translated runs thus: "Neglect not the gift of the office of Presbyter, which is in thee with the laying on of hands." This translation requires not the change of a single word, or even letter. The word *Presbyterium* is used by Eusebius in many instances for *the office of Presbyter*.* This reading corresponds with Paul's declaration, that it was by the imposition of his hands that Timothy received the gift, (II. Tim. i, 6;) as also with all the other cases in the New Testament in which the Apostles alone laid on hands or ordained. In all the cases of ordination, viz. in the passages, Acts vi, 6; xiv, 23; I. Tim. iv, 14; II. Tim. i, 6; the words used in the original signify the laying on of hands. This reading corresponds also with Paul's directions to Timothy with regard to ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, in which there is no mention of any Presbyter to assist him: neither is there in the directions to Titus. It corresponds with the practice of the Church for centuries after the days of the Apostles, there being no mention, as far as I have been able to discover, of any imposition of hands by Presbyters in the ordination of Presbyters in any of the writers examined, and not a

*The following expressions from Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History are specimens of this, "Manus illi ad *Presbyterium* imposuerant." (Lib. vi. c. viii.)—They had ordained him to the *office of Presbyter*. *Presbyterium* cannot here signify any thing else. So, "*Presbyterii* gradum in Cæs. Pal. ab ejus loci Episcopis accipit." (Lib. vi. c. xxiii.) "He received the grade of *the office of Presbyter* in Cæs. Pal. from the Bishops of that place." This might properly enough be translated the grade of Presbyter; but though meaning the same thing here, it is not a literal translation; and it would not answer to translate *Presbyterium* by the word *Presbyter* in the first example given. These passages both relate to Origen. (See 333.) Another instance: "Quarta illius epistola de baptis-mate ad Dionysium Romanum tunc quidem *Presbyterium* sortitum, paulo autem post etiam Episcopatum adeptum, scripta est," &c. the translation of which is given in the first lines of section 334.

case produced by any advocate of that doctrine. "Presbyters, in the primitive Church, did never join with Bishops in collating holy orders of Presbyter and Deacon, till the fourth council of Carthage; much less do it alone, rightly, and with effect." (Taylor's Works vii, 139.) This was in the year 657. (Ibid. 137.)

468. The word *Presbuterion*, moreover, was understood to signify the office by the Latin Fathers; while the Greek Fathers consider it as signifying a collective body; not however of Presbyters, but of Bishops.* With the Latin Fathers agreed Erasmus, one of the most learned men of the 16th century, (Taylor's Works vii, 119;) and Calvin. The latter uses the following language: "But Paul speaks of himself as having laid hands upon Timothy, without any mention of many others having united with him, 'I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.' His expression in the other Epistle, 'of the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery,' I apprehend not to signify a company of Elders, but to denote the ordination itself; as if he had said, Take care that the grace which thou receivedst by the laying on of hands, when I ordained thee a Presbyter, be not in vain." (See Calvin's Institutes, Book iv, ch. iii, § xvi.)

469. Dr. Miller represents this opinion of Calvin as the result of an immature judgment. "But Calvin, he says in his Letters p. 58, soon afterwards, when he came to write his Commentary, and when his judgment was more mature, gave a very different opinion."

470. The facts are these. Calvin was born in 1509. The dedication of his work to the King of France is dated 1536. He was therefore 27 years of age when he wrote the work. It passed through many editions in his life time, "and every time was further improved and enlarged by him, till in the year 1559, twenty-three years after the first impression, he put the finishing hand to his work, and published it in Latin and French, with his last corrections and additions." (Translator's preface p. ix.) He died in 1564. This finishing hand was therefore put to the work five years before he died, and when he did not expect to live one, (Author's preface p. 2.) The work after this last revision passed through five or six editions, (Translator's preface p. ix;) and the passage above quoted still stands in the place above referred to.

* "Ou peri Presbuteron pbesin entautha, alla peri episkopon." (St. Chrysostom.) "He speaks not of Presbyters here, but of Bishops. So Theophylact, So Theodoret; and Oecumenius." (Taylor's Works vii, 119.)

471. After his poor array of testimony to support the claims of Presbyters, Lord King proceeds thus: "Though as to every particular act of the Bishop's office, it could not be proved particularly that a Presbyter did discharge them; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove that in the general a Presbyter could and did perform them all." He then quotes the following from Cyprian in exile to his Presbyters, as evidence that they could do so: "He exhorts and begs them to discharge their own and his office too, that so nothing might be wanting either to discipline or diligence."—(p. 62.) Cyprian's words are, "Do both your *part* there and mine, that nothing may be wanting either to *discipline and diligence*."* That Cyprian did not intend they should execute every part of *his office* cannot be doubted, from several passages already quoted which the reader is requested to turn to. (See sections 191, 201.) Lord King quotes another passage from Cyprian of similar import, which has been already stated and answered, (See 196 to 200.)

472. He quotes, lastly, a passage from a letter from the Presbyters of Rome, "written on the same occasion," (by which I understand the exile or death of their Bishop) in which they say, "And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were Bishops, to *keep the flock* in the room of the pastor;" &c. This is very far short of performing all the offices of a Bishop. That the Roman Presbyters had no idea that they could do so is evident from their letter already quoted, (See 241.)

473. Lord King has entirely passed over the objection to his doctrine arising out of the ordination of Bishops. Ordination to an office conveys the idea of introduction into one which the person previously did not hold. If Presbyter and Bishop was the same office, grade, or order, Why were Presbyters ordained when they were appointed to a Bishoprick? What was the second ordination for? (See 263.)

He allows that "the more Bishops there were present at an instalment, the more did its validity and unexceptionableness appear. Whence Cyprian argues the undeniable legality of Cornelius's promotion to the See of Rome because he had *sixteen Bishops* present at his ordination." (p. 59.) Cornelius himself, however, stated

* "Fungamini illic et vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit." [Enquiry p. 62.]

Note: in some of the references to King's Enquiry *the part* has not been mentioned. But where it is not mentioned, the reader will find the passage quoted, at the marked place in one or other of the two parts.

that there were in Rome forty-six Presbyters, (242.) If the Presbyters were of the same order, and had an inherent right to ordain, why was not the boast made that there were sixty-two present?

474. Truly it must be admitted that Lord King has produced a small amount of testimony to support the claim he is advocating.—Not a single case quoted of Presbyters' confirming; but in place thereof, a laboured attempt to prove that the absolution of a penitent offender, readmitted *to the communion*, is the same as confirmation; in order that the laying on of hands directed by Cyprian in the former case, and certainly not always practised, if ever necessary, (447) may be represented as a case of confirmation: which, connected with the fact that a case of the latter is not produced, is equivalent to an acknowledgment that it cannot be done. Not a solitary case quoted to prove Presbyters ordained; but instead thereof, a solitary quotation, which says nothing in favour of the doctrine of itself; but must be bolstered up with another, the bearing of which is manifestly misapprehended and misrepresented, and consequently affords it no assistance; while the main proposition is itself shown, by the very letter in which it occurs, to relate, not to Presbyters, as Lord King represents, but to Bishops, (461.)

475. Let the reader now pause for a moment and consider on the one hand, the small amount of testimony offered by this writer, and the emptiness, the perfect weakness of that which is offered; as well as the entire absence of facts to show the exercise by Presbyters of the powers of confirming and ordaining; together with the learning and abilities of Lord King, which are a pledge that all was done that could be, for the cause: and on the other, the abounding facts, the express declarations, to show that these offices were performed by Bishops from the commencement. Let him consider what an infinite variety of expressions, directly on the subject, and incidentally mentioning things relating to it, or alluding to it, have been quoted in these pages; and not one inconsistent with the Episcopal doctrine—not one countenancing the Presbyterian. Let him reflect for a moment upon the exalted character of Ignatius, testified by the expressions of high approbation of Polycarp, and the great desire of the Churches of Asia to have his last Epistles; upon his long services, his great devotion to the cause, his willing martyrdom, his triumphant death; upon the clearness with which he in very many instances speaks of the three orders of ministers in the Church, the superiority of the Bishops, and the subordination of

the Presbyters; upon the total absence of any doubtful expressions respecting this point; upon the certainty that Ignatius died but a few years after John; and therefore that his Episcopate was during the life time of that Apostle, and doubt if he can that the order of the Church was Episcopal during the days of the Apostles.

476. Before bringing this essay to a close it is proposed to notice briefly some minor objections, cavils, &c. which have been made against the doctrine herein advocated.

477. It has been alleged that many Episcopalians, during the progress of the Reformation and since, have admitted the validity of the ministry of the Reformed Churches which have not Episcopal ordination.

478. To this it is replied that this is, at most, but the opinion of these Episcopalians, formed upon various considerations; in some, from affectionate regard for individual Reformers of the Churches not Episcopal; in others, perhaps in all of the early English Reformers, from fear of the consequences of breaking with those Churches, &c. But our judgment is not to be made up from what they thought. Dr. Miller protests against the introduction of the opinions of even the early Fathers, the devoted martyrs. How much less ought we to be influenced by that of these men, who were operated upon by the most powerful motives, such as are eminently calculated to disturb the judgment.

479. Some of those who, in the progress of the Reformation and since, were in the English Church, were not Episcopalians in principle, but were secretly plotting to subvert the order of the Church; of which there is ample evidence in Fuller's History. Even some Bishops were suspected of being opposed to it, after their return from the Continent where they were driven by the accession of Mary to the Crown of England.

480. All were more or less influenced by the fear of breaking with the Continental Reformers, whose friendship they deemed essential to their safety. The contest between the Protestant and Catholic parties was excessively violent. Many persons were burnt in England, many in Spain. In France 30,000 were murdered on St. Bartholomew's day. Political motives were connected with these excesses. The great men of different countries headed the parties, and used their efforts for their own advancement. Elizabeth of England in the commencement of her reign, was so cautious that for many weeks the mass was celebrated in her own Chapel

with great pomp. She was jealous of the claim of the Catholic Queen, Mary of Scotland, to the dominion of the whole Island; and Don John of Austria had formed the scheme of marrying Mary, and laying claim to the Crown of England. He was then Governor of Holland under Philip II, King of Spain, the husband of the late Queen Mary, Elizabeth's sister. Elizabeth was aware of these schemes, and of the enmity of the Popish Princes towards her. Common enemies made her and the Hollanders, friends from interest. They being hard pressed, offered her the sovereignty of the country, which she wisely refused; but nevertheless aided them with money and afterwards with troops. These political as well as, what have been mis-called, religious considerations, led to the equipment of the Spanish Armada for the invasion of England. It was long in agitation; vessels were collecting in the ports of the continent to transport troops; the most formidable fleet that had ever put to sea, was long in preparation; all England was in a similar state of alarm to that we have witnessed when she was threatened in like manner, of late years, by Napoleon; but much greater, because of the greater violence and ferocity of the former age, the English being threatened with fire and faggot, torture and chains. The friendship of the Continental Reformers was so necessary that Elizabeth refused to take some measures, proposed by her council, which were calculated to inflame a difference between the Pope and the Spanish King, through fear of exciting suspicions as to her motives in the breasts of the Protestant Princes of Europe. Add to this that the leaders of the Reformation were men of first rate talents, and learning; that their influence in political affairs was great; that their abilities were in constant exercise against the Popish claims: so that in every point of view it was of the utmost importance to secure their good will. Moreover when, upon Mary's accession to the Crown of England, the English Reformers fled to the Continent, they were received with the utmost cordiality, and treated with the greatest friendship and hospitality, as long as they were under the necessity of continuing in exile. The powerful influence of Calvin led some to adopt his theological opinions entirely, while others were more or less influenced; of which as well as other things here stated, there is abundant evidence in Fuller; who gives an account of the differences which thus grew up among the English exiles at Frankford, Zurich, and Geneva.

481. Fear of deadly enemies, partiality to friends, and gratitude

for essential services, agreement in almost all other essential points, and community of danger, led to an union against the common enemy, and to a willingness, on the part of the Episcopalians, to hear every thing that could be said in favour of the Church Government of the Calvinistic Churches, and to believe that their ministry was valid.

482. Most of these Episcopal writers founded their opinions on the community of name of *Presbyter* and *Bishop* in the New Testament, and on the declaration of Jerome that at first the Church was governed by a common council of *Presbyters*, but afterwards by a *Bishop* set over them. This they took for granted was by the successors of the Apostles; and therefore was not absolutely binding on us, inasmuch as whatever the Apostles left as the order of the Church, is valid. They did not however advert to the fact that Jerome has given no evidence of this; that, even admitting it were true, he himself says it was done in consequence of the divisions at Corinth, in the time of the Apostles, and consequently was done by them; and that he even expressly states that the Apostles appointed Timothy, Titus, James, and Mark, Bishops. On this subject the reader is referred to the following sections: 218 to 232, 243, 244, 250, 380 and note.

483. Some of them rest their opinion on the statement that in Alexandria *Presbyters* ordained the *Bishops* until the time of Dionysius and Heraclas. Archbishop Usher is said to have stated this to Charles I. on the Isle of Wight. There is however no author produced in support of this. Jerome is said to have stated it; but he did not. And if he had, as he wrote above an hundred years after Dionysius was ordained, his assertion could be no *testimony*, because it did not come within his own knowledge; and he cannot and does not quote any body who did know. It is sufficient however that he did not say it. Archbishop Usher's opinion or concession therefore stands on ground that will not support it. On this subject see sections 255 to 263.

484. When Bishops were to be ordained for the Church of Scotland in 1610, Archbishop Bancroft ordained three, who on their return to that country ordained others. "As they had been *Presbyters* before this time, says Dr. Miller, Archbishop Bancroft proceeded to their consecration as *Bishops*, without requiring them to be previously re-ordained as *Priests*, expressly delivering it as his opinion, that their former *Presbyterian* ordination was valid."—

(Letters, p. 229.) It would indeed be very remarkable if this concession was made by Archbishop Bancroft whom Dr. Miller in that very page represents as the first man in England who preached "the Divine right of Episcopacy." Dr. Bowden speaking of this transaction, says "He (the Archbishop) said that there was no necessity for the Scotch Bishops passing through the intermediate orders of Deacon and Priest; for that the *Episcopal character might be fully conveyed at a single consecration;*" (Collier's Ec. Hist. ii. 702) and for this he cited two precedents in the ancient Church. The examples were Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople." (Bowden's Letters ii, 62.)

485. Stillingfleet's concessions also are often quoted, without the least notice or intimation of the fact, that he in the most public manner, afterwards, not only in sermons delivered on the most public occasions, but in a printed work, retracted that opinion and wrote against it. To his *argument* we have nothing now to say.—Whatever he did or could bring forward has been done by others, and for an answer the reader is referred to the preceding pages. All we have to do with here is the opinion he gave in favour of the validity of Presbyterian ordination; and to that we oppose his better judgment at a more advanced age, after long and deep examination of the subject. He published his first work at 24 years of age; his last at 45. In the last, addressing those whom he had thereby offended, he says, "Will you not allow one single person who happened to write about these matters when he was very young, in twenty years time of the most busy and thoughtful part of his life, to see reason to alter his judgment?" In the same he says, "The case of Timothy is an uncontrollable instance of Diocesan Episcopacy." In a sermon he says, "I cannot find any argument of force in the New Testament to prove that ever the Christian Churches were under the sole government of Presbyters." Again, "This succession was not in mere presidency of order; but the Bishops succeeded the Apostles in the government over those Churches." Furthermore, "There is as great reason to believe the Apostolical succession to be of Divine institution, as the canon of Scripture, or the observation of the Lord's day." (Bowden's Letters 2, 115.)

486. This last sentence is particularly striking, and unquestionably true. There was a great number of writers in the very first century. The Churches had many epistles and gospels in their possession. It became a question, after some years, what

were and what were not, the writings of the Apostles. Eusebius tells us that certain Epistles and Gospels were universally received. All the Churches had them, they being handed down to them from the Apostles. Others were not; and were excluded, (323.) This decision we confide in. We receive the New Testament from the Fathers and have no better testimony, and want no better, than their declaration, which they maintained unto death and sealed with their blood, that it was written by the Apostles. With their testimony on this subject, we have their equally positive declaration that the Apostles who wrote this book, appointed the Bishops their successors to govern the Church. (See 125, 130, 185, 194, 206, 243, 257, 282, 326, 380 note, 381.)

487. The same kind of evidence is relied on upon every point of Christian Doctrine, Baptism, (106, 107, 231,) the Lord's Supper, and even the Divinity of the Saviour. On the last subject it is well known what plausible arguments are built by infidels upon the doubtful phrases of Scripture, and upon the occasional alterations they take the liberty of making with texts that cannot otherwise be perverted. When this fundamental doctrine was attacked in ancient days, what was the mode of repelling the assault? The language is; "For all our ancestors (predecessors, *majores*,) say that the Apostles themselves likewise believed and taught what they themselves now say." (Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. v, ch. xxviii.)

488. The very same evidence precisely have we for the Episcopal order of the Church. *The Fathers say that the Apostles appointed the Bishops their successors in the government of the Church in their place.* (See 130, 185, 194, 206, 243, 326, 380 note, 381.)

489. To revert for a moment to Stillingfleet's opinion, Dr. Miller objects warmly to the plea of immaturity of judgment, although he was but 21 years of age when the work was published, although the subject was very important and extensive, and although he put in the plea himself after deep and attentive consideration for above twenty years additional: while he puts in the same plea for Calvin at the age of 27, about the meaning of a single word, although this author, after repeated revisions and corrections of the work for 23 years more, allowed that signification to stand as quoted. (See 468 to 470.)

490. What moreover does such concession amount to? The very raising the question, with the concession and the pleading of the concession, presupposes a doubt arising out of the innovation upon

the established order of the Church; and the parties concerned in the innovation needlessly risk the consequences of separation and schism, upon a point at best questionable, and satisfy themselves with the opinion of some of those who continue steadfast, who, variously influenced, have been led to suppose them excusable.

491. Some argue that the success which has attended the ministry of the Churches not Episcopal shows that the blessing of God is with them, and therefore that he approves of what they have done.

492. This is a popular argument and a most singular one. It represents the Divine being as having established a Church, and, when some 1500 years afterwards a party has broken through the established order and devised a plan of their own, as pardoning the irregularity because it turned out well. It would indeed be very strange if the truths of the Gospel should lose their effect when declared by men not ordained. There are recorded instances of worthless men and women having by a strong expression made such an impression on the person addressed, as effectually to awaken him to a sense of the need of conversion. Mimics have even done these things. How much more, men coming in the name of God and believing themselves duly authorized to minister in holy things, upon persons sincerely receiving them as such? We are told to be ready to give a reason for the hope that is in us. If in so doing we should be enabled to speak with such effect, although in private conversation, as to convince the querist, should we therefore conceive this success as a proof that we are justifiable in ministering in holy things? By no means. Many instances can be produced of both men and women having thus been the means of converting friends. But what was the ancient practice in such cases?

493. Frumentius was taken prisoner by some inhabitants of India when very young. He obtained by degrees great favour with them, and high office. He then sought among the Roman traders for some Christians, and having found some, met with them to pray. Some of the inhabitants of the country joined them. When the number of Christians had considerably increased and they had built a house for prayer, Frumentius determined to return to his own country; but on arriving in a Christian country he made it his first business to see a Bishop and beg him to send some one to take charge of the rising Church in India. This was the Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, Athanasius; who thinking no one more suitable for

the office than Frumentius himself, insisted that he should take the charge and ordained him Bishop; and he returned to India. (Ec. Hist. Socrat. B. i, ch. xix; Ruffin. B. i, ch. ix; Theod. B. i, ch. xxii; Sozomen. B. ii, ch. xxiv.)

If this man had acted upon the principle above mentioned, he would have proceeded to officiate, and to ordain ministers as they might be wanted. And he would have had the same right; for all men stand upon the same footing with regard to doing that which they are not authorized to do.

494. This passage, in Socrates, confirms the view given above (453) of the meaning of the expression, *Episcopi et Cleri*. Frumentius begged Athanasius to send *Episcopum et Clerum*, a Bishop, to India. Athanasius conferred the Episcopate on him, says the author, and he returned to India. This was likewise another instance of a layman being made a Bishop at one step. (See 484.)

Moreover Sozomen and Ruffin in stating the application of Frumentius, use the word *Episcopum* alone, and Theodoret uses language equivalent to it. They all say Frumentius was ordained Bishop, and returned to India, and neither of them mentions any person accompanying him.

495. Let these suffice for a specimen of the concessions of Episcopalians, some of which have been misrepresented, some partially stated, some founded on misapprehended statements and opinions of Jerome, and some influenced by fear or affection, and which, after all, are mere opinions.

The influence of these political and religious considerations is strongly expressed by Bishop Taylor, a man of very great reputation. The following extract is from his works vol. vii, p. 138. "But then are all ordinations invalid which are done by mere Presbyters, without a Bishop? What think we of the Reformed Churches?"

"For my part I know not what to think. The question hath been so often asked, with so much violence and prejudice, and we are so bound, *by public interest*, to approve all that they do, that we have disabled ourselves to justify our own. For we were glad, at first, of abettors against the errors of the Roman Church; we found these men zealous in it; we thanked God for it, as we had cause; and we were willing to make them recompense, by endeavouring to justify their ordinations; not thinking what would follow upon ourselves. But now it is come to that issue, that our own

Episcopacy is thought not necessary, because we did not condemn the ordination of their Presbytery.

“Why is not the question rather, what we think of the Primitive Church, than what we think of the Reformed Churches? Did the Primitive Councils and Fathers do well in condemning the ordinations made by mere Presbyters? If they did well, what was a virtue in them, is no sin in us.”

496. Let us now turn our attention, for a moment to the concessions of Presbyterian writers, which, instead of being mere opinions, upon a question, at best doubtful, how far a departure from the established order of the Church may be deemed excusable; consist of admissions of the fact that Episcopacy was established by the Apostles. Some of those now to be mentioned admit this fully and explicitly; others make admissions equivalent to it.

497. Blondel's concession has been already mentioned, (162:) viz. that the Church was Episcopal in Alexandria, Rome, and Jerusalem in the year 140, eight years before the death of Polycarp, who was appointed by John, Bishop of Smyrna; and consequently must have been so in the days of the Apostles, (357.)

498. “Peter Moulin, an eminent French theologian, in a book purposely written in defence of the Presbyterian government, expressly says, ‘Truly this (the Episcopal) form of government, all Churches every where received; i. e. presently after the Apostles’ times, or even in their time, as Ecclesiastical History witnesseth; and the very learned and pious Bausobre, another French Protestant divine, admits that forty years after the Apostolick era, the government by Bishops prevailed in the Church.’” (Episc. Magazine for 1821, Philad. p. 12.)

499. The same writer also quotes the concession of Mosheim, who was opposed to Episcopacy, in the original: the translation is given literally, in section 113, from the same passage in another book. (Ibid. p. 13.)

500. “Baxter, as quoted by Bishop Hoadley, acknowledges that there were fixed Bishops in the time of St. John. Doddridge, as quoted by Chandler, (Appeal p. 29; Lectures p. 498,) admits that the distinction between Bishop and Presbyter has been as ancient as the time of St. Ignatius;” (who was contemporary with the Apostle John, 356) “and Le Clerc, a divine of the Church of Holland, (as quoted by the Bishop of Lincoln) says, ‘I have always professed to believe that Episcopacy is of Apostolical institution, and consequently very good; and that man had no manner of right to change it in any place, unless it was impossible otherwise to reform the abuses that crept into Christianity.’” Grotius also was of the same opinion with Le Clerc, as appears from his Annotations on the *Consultations of Cassander*; Acts xiv; and from testimonies.

concerning him annexed to his book *De veritate, &c.*" (Bowden's *Let. I, 159, 160.*)

501. Grotius, in his note on Acts xxi, 18, (*And the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and all the Elders were present.*) makes the following observation: "He of the Apostles who was at Jerusalem, performed the office which afterwards the Bishops did, and therefore called together the Presbyters: unless perhaps this James was the brother of the Lord, not the Apostle, but the Bishop."*

Here is a complete admission that the Bishops were over the Presbyters, that the Apostles performed the Episcopal office; and that James the brother of our Lord, who was not one of the twelve, was Bishop of Jerusalem; agreeing with the declarations of the ancients that the Apostles ordained *this James* Bishop of Jerusalem. (See 243, 326, 380.)

502. This celebrated man was an active member of the Church of Holland, was publicly employed by it in promoting the Reformation in that country, and wrote largely on Religion. Although a Presbyterian, his work on Church Government (entitled *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra Commentarius Posthumus.*) has many passages in which are plainly conceded the substance of the argument; or rather the argument itself. The following extracts are translated from that work.

503. Speaking of choosing those who should attend Councils, he says the Brethren at Antioch sent certain of their number with Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, and in turn the Presbyters and Church of Jerusalem together with the Apostles sent persons chosen out of their company to Antioch. "But in every following age I find no example of an election made by the Church. For all the Presbyters came together at the Diocesan Councils, all the Bishops at the Metropolitan, except those whom pressing necessity detained. Therefore there was here no election, except that the Bishops seem to have taken, at their own pleasure, Presbyters and Deacons to the Metropolitan." (Chap. vii, sect. ix, x.)

504. "But ordination was never performed except by Pastors, and indeed anciently by the Bishops alone. Hence Paul, writing to the first Bishop of the Ephesians, admonishes him, (1. Tim. v, 22,) *Lay hands suddenly on no man.* And the most ancient Canons, which are called Apostolical, command *that a Presbyter be ordained by a Bishop, but that a Bishop be not (ordained,) except by two or three Bishops.*" (Ch. x, sect. ii.)

504. "But let us likewise see about the election of Bishops, which is of so much greater importance, as greater care of the Church was conceded to Bishops than to mere Presbyters." (Ib. sect. xi.)

506. "And the ancient Church thought otherwise, which permitted the election of Presbyters to the Bishop, but that of the Bishop to the other Bishops of the province." (Ib. sect. xiii.)

* "Qui Apostolorum Hierosolymis erat, is munere fungebatur quo postea Episcopi, ideoque Presbyteros convocabat: nisi forte Jacobus hic fuit frater Domini, non Apostolus, sed Episcopus.

507. The second section of the eleventh chapter, is headed thus: "The word *Bishop* is explained, and is shown in this question to signify a Pastor, who presides over Pastors by a certain perpetual right."

508. He then proceeds thus: "We treat in the first place of Bishops, which word it is lawful for us to use in that signification, in which the general and local Councils, and all the Fathers are found perpetually using it." After showing that the word was used by several nations as the title of an office superintending various concerns, he adds: "Nor could it be applied with a less proper and peculiar right, to those who with the rest of the whole flock, were appointed *overseers* likewise over the rest of the Pastors themselves. Wherefore they waste their own and other people's time, who, when they undertake to treat this question, laboriously prove that the name of Bishop was common to all Pastors, when the meaning of that word is very plain. Neither do they beat the air less, who make a great effort to prove that certain things are altogether common to all Presbyters, viz. the right of preaching, of administering the sacrament, and if any thing belongs to these. For superiority is not sought for in those things in which they agree, but in that which distinguishes them. But that is even a little more absurd, that some, in order to prove that Bishops were not different from mere Presbyters, adduce the Fathers saying, *All Bishops are of equal merit*: as if you should say, *All the Roman Senators were equal to the Consuls*, because the dignity of both Consuls was the same; but he will make himself or his reader angry, who refutes such things." (Ch. xi, sect. 11.)

509. "Of the Episcopate, therefore, that is, the superiority of one Pastor above the rest, we first determine that it is repugnant to no Divine law. If any one think otherwise, that is, if any one condemn the whole ancient Church of folly or even of impiety, the burden of proof beyond doubt lies upon him;" &c. "The very ministry instituted by the Apostles sufficiently proves that equality of the Ecclesiastical offices was not commanded by Christ. We therefore first lay down this, which is undoubtedly true, that it" (viz. the Episcopate or superiority of one Pastor above the rest) "neither can nor ought to be found fault with; in which we have agreeing with us, Zanchius, Chemnitius, Hemmingius, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, nay even Beza, as thus far he says, *that one certain person chosen by the judgment of the rest of his co-presbyters was chief (proestos, prapositus) over the Presbytery and was permanently so.*" (Ib. sect. iii.)

510. "Another is, that that Episcopate, which we treat of, was received by the Universal Church. This appears from all the Councils; whose authority now likewise is very great among the pious. It appears also from an examination of the Councils either National or Provincial, of which there is almost none which does not show manifest signs of Episcopal superiority. All the Fathers, without exception, testify the same, of whom he who shows least deference to the Episcopate, is Jerome, himself not a Bishop but

a Presbyter. Therefore the testimony of him alone is sufficient: *It was decreed through the whole world, that one chosen from the Presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong.* "Indeed this error of Aerius was condemned by the whole Church, that he said that a Presbyter ought to be distinguished from a Bishop by no difference. Jerome himself in reply to him, who had written that there is no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, answered, *this is unskillfully enough, to make shipwreck in port, as it is said.* Even Zanchius acknowledges the agreement of the whole Church in this matter." (lb. sect. iv.)

511. "The third thing is this, that the Episcopate had its commencement in the time of the Apostles. The catalogues of the Bishops in Irenæus, Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoretus, and others, all of which begin in the Apostolick age, testify this. But to refuse credit in a historical matter to so great authors, and so unanimous among themselves, is not the part of any but an irreverent and stubborn disposition. For that is just as if you should deny that it was true, what all the histories of the Romans declare, that the Consulate began from the expelled Tarquins. But let us hear Jerome again: *At Alexandria, he says, from Mark the Evangelist the Presbyters always named one chosen from themselves, placed in a higher degree, Bishop.* Mark died in the eighth year of Nero: to whom, succeeded Anianus, to Anianus Abilius, to Abilius Cerdos, the Apostle John being yet alive. After the death of James Simeon had the Episcopate of Jerusalem; after the death of Peter and Paul, Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens had the Roman; and Euodius and Ignatius that of Antioch, the same Apostle still living. This ancient history is surely not to be despised, to which Ignatius himself, the contemporary of the Apostles, and Justin Martyr and Irenæus, who followed him next, afford the most open testimony, which there is no need to transcribe. *Now indeed, says Cyprian, Bishops are appointed in all the Provinces and in every City.*"—(lb. sect. v.)

512. "Let the fourth be, that this Bishop was approved of by the Divine law, or (as Bucer says) it seemed good to the Holy Spirit that one among the Presbyters should have special charge. The Divine Revelation affords to this assertion an argument not to be withstood: for Christ himself commands it to be written *to the seven Angels of the Asiatic Churches.* Those who understand the Churches themselves by *the Angels*, manifestly contradict the Sacred Writings. For *the Candlesticks are the Churches, says Christ, but the stars are the Angels of the seven Churches.* It is wonderful, whither the humour of contradicting may not carry men, when they dare to confound those things which the Holy Spirit so evidently distinguishes. We do not deny that the name of Angel may be suited to every Pastor in a certain general signification: but here it is manifestly written to one in every Church. Was there therefore only one Pastor in every city? No indeed. For even in Paul's time many Presbyters were appointed at Ephesus to feed the Church of God. (Acts xx, 17, 18.) Why, therefore, are letters

sent to one person in every Church, if no one had a certain peculiar and eminent function?" After showing that some of the ancient Fathers, and among the Reformers, Bullinger, Marloratum, Beza, Rainoldus, agree with him in this representation, he says: "Christ, therefore, writing to those Bishops, thus eminent among the clergy, undoubtedly approved of this Episcopal superiority."

Grotius then quotes a number of the ancient Fathers, most of those quoted in section 56 with several others, to show that Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus and Titus Bishop of Crete; and proceeds thus: "Neither indeed does antiquity declare that to be true, which some now boldly affirm, that they who were Evangelists could not be Bishops. For as long as they traversed provinces, they performed the office of Evangelists; but when beholding a plentiful harvest in one place, they believed it should be cherished by their continued presence, without doubt presiding in the Presbytery, they fulfilled all the duties of Bishops. On which account antiquity declares that Apostles likewise were truly Bishops of certain cities: to wit, in those places, where they remained longer than common, or, that I may speak more properly, where *they sat*. By which word Luke very emphatically expresses the continuance of Paul with the Corinthians.* (Acts xviii, 11.) But we read that besides Timothy and Titus, others likewise were advanced by the Apostles to the Episcopal dignity. Ignatius writes thus to the Church of Antioch about Euodius: *who was first ordained by the Apostles your Bishop.*" "This is that Ignatius *who saw Christ in the flesh, lived with the Apostles*, and obtained the Episcopate in the Church of Antioch after Euodius." (Ib. sect. vi.) See 356, note.

513. "It may be asked, seeing that the office of those who presided over the Presbyters by a certain perpetual dignity, was so ancient and likewise approved of by Christ himself, by what name was that honour called before that common name of Bishops began to be applied peculiarly to this presidency? which Jerome thinks happened about the eighth year of Nero.† The ancient Fathers think that these Chiefs of the Presbyters (hos Presbyterorum Principes) were called *Apostles*." "The Revelation shows that the name of *Angel* was anciently given to him, who afterwards began to be called *Bishop*." "By this name Justin Martyr calls the *Bishop* in his second Apology." (Ib. sect. vii.)

514. The ninth section of this chapter (xi) of Grotius is headed thus: *Great advantages redounded to the Church from the Episcopate.*

* Note; The word spoken of above, is *ekathise, he sat*, (from *kathizo*,) translated in our Testament by the word *continued*.

† Nero began to reign in the year 54 and died in the year 68. His eighth year therefore was in the year 62. At this time Mark was succeeded by Anianus in the Bishoprick of Alexandria; (390;) John the Apostle lived forty years after this until the accession of the fourth Bishop of Alexandria after Mark, (391;) and Paul and Peter several years after. (See Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. ii, ch. xxiv, xxv.) Observe the agreement between this and the argument maintained in sections 222, 225, 226, 243, 267 to 269. Grotius's work I had no knowledge of, perhaps never heard of, and was led to consult him by Bowden's reference to him mentioned in section 501.

He then proceeds to say, "But moreover we may lay down this, that great advantages redounded to the Church from the Episcopate: The history of all ages proclaims this: but I will again use that witness, who of all antiquity least favoured Bishops, that is Jerome: He says, (Titus. chap. i.) *It was decreed through the whole world, that one chosen from the Presbyters should be set over the rest to take away schisms and dissensions.* The same elsewhere (against Lucif.) says: *The safety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the Chief Priest, that is of the Bishop, to whom if a certain independent power be not given and by all, there will be made as many schisms in the Church as Priests.** Neither is that different which Cyprian so many times inculcates: *Whence have schisms and heresies arisen, and whence do they arise still, unless when the Bishop, who is one and presides over the Church, is despised by the proud presumption of some?* And elsewhere: *neither indeed have heresies arisen, or schisms sprung from any other quarter than this, that obedience is not paid to the Priest of God, neither is there chosen one Priest and a Judge in the place of Christ, at a time in the Church.* Neither indeed are single Churches only fortified against schisms by the presidency of one, but, as the same Cyprian says, *The whole Church is connected together by the chain of Priests adhering to one another.* For the concord of the whole world was kept up by the correspondence of the (Churches) built up, through the Bishops: and so much for Episcopal eminence."

515. The reader who will compare these extracts with the grounds taken by Dr. Miller and Lord King in their argument for the validity of Presbyterian ordination, will discover that they are completely demolished by Grotius, indeed that he treats them with contempt. (Compare sections 508 to 513 with pp. 6, 9, &c. and sections 161, &c. &c. and 428, &c.)

He may, however, after reading these concessions, be disposed, if not to doubt whether Grotius was in reality a Presbyterian, at least to ask on what grounds he rested his belief in that doctrine. Let him speak for himself.

516. The tenth section of the chapter from which several preceding quotations are taken, is headed thus: *The Episcopal superiority is not of Divine command:* which he proceeds to establish in the following manner:

"On the other hand, for the equality of Pastors we allege these things, not at all repugnant to the former. First, the Episcopal superiority was not of Divine command. This is sufficiently proved, because the contrary is not proved: for Christ is no where read to have commanded this; he approved of it indeed in the Revelation,

* See the truth of this declaration of Jerome, or the fulfilment of this prophecy if you please, strikingly illustrated in Dr. Chapman's Sermons.

but that which is approved of, is not immediately commanded. (1) The Episcopate is of Apostolick institution, because it appears that Bishops were ordained or approved of in some Churches by the Apostles, but the Apostles no where commanded that such Bishops should be in every Church. (2.) By which distinction we separate the case of Jerome from that of Aerius. Jerome says, *The Bishops became greater than the Presbyters, more by custom than by the truth of the Divine ordering*; as likewise Augustin (Epist. xix,) *the Episcopate is greater than the Presbyterate in the names of honour, which the practice of the Church hath retained*. When the Fathers speak of custom, they do not exclude the Apostolick institution; say as Augustine says, *What the whole Church maintains, and was not instituted by Councils, but was always held, is not with very good reason believed to be handed down by any but Apostolical authority*. But, as we have elsewhere said, whatever was instituted by the Apostles is not necessarily of Divine command: for many things are instituted, the liberty of changing being retained: we see that the decree in the Apostolick Church, that the people should respond *Amen* with a distinct voice; that he who teaches should have his head uncovered, is not observed at the present time in many places. (3) Add also that the Apostles so instituted Bishops, that they left certain Churches without Bishops: Epiphanius acknowledges this: *There was need of Presbyters and Deacons, for by these two the Ecclesiastical offices could be fulfilled; but where there was not found any one worthy of the Episcopate, the place remained without a Bishop, but where there was need, and there were persons worthy of the Episcopate, Bishops were appointed*. Those Churches therefore, as Jerome says, *were governed by the common council of Presbyters*." (4.) (Ib. sect. x.)

57. In the following section after showing that in some particu-

(1) He however did appoint the Apostles with power to regulate the Church, saying as my Father sent me so send I you. [John xx, 21.] They thus therefore were expressly invested with his authority to regulate the Church, and were promised that he would be with them always. They, in execution of the trust reposed in them, appointed Presbyters and conferred upon them a subordinate authority, [274,] and he approved of what they had done. He did therefore appoint the superior, and did not the inferior officer; but only approved of their appointment. Whatever force therefore there is in Grotius's argument, that what is approved is not therefore commanded, goes to show that the office of Presbyter is not of Divine command; but that of the Apostle or Bishop from whom they immediately derive their appointment, is.

(2.) It appears however from the latter part of the section, that wherever a person was found worthy he was ordained Bishop; and therefore that the intention of the Apostles was to appoint Bishops wherever they could find suitable persons, and consequently every where as soon as they could.

(3.) As to the liberty of changing, whatever was the practice of the Apostles is obligatory on us, unless expressly abrogated. They were inspired men, taught of God and sent to teach us. What they taught, we are bound to believe; what they did, we are bound to practice.

(4.) They did not however command that the Church should be governed by the common council of Presbyters; neither did they show any intention that it should be so, but the reverse—inasmuch as they appointed a Bishop over them wherever a suitable person could be had.

lar cases there were two Bishops in a city, (5) and that sometimes the Episcopal Chair (Cathedra Episcopalis) was vacant for months and even for years, during which the Church was necessarily governed by the Presbyters, as an instance of which he quotes the case of the Roman Church in the time of Cyprian, (which by the by, proves decidedly the inferiority of the Presbyters, see 241,) Grotius proceeds in the following manner. "And then all the ancients confess that there was no act so peculiarly the Bishop's, that it might not also be exercised by the Presbyter, except the right of ordaining." And after quoting Chrysostom and Jerome to show this, he adds: "But although the right of ordaining is taken away from Presbyters according to the opinion of these Fathers, which constitution (or law) may be seen in many Councils Universal and local, what nevertheless hinders that at least we may interpret it so that Presbyters could ordain no one without the Bishop's consent? (contempto Episcopo.) The fourth Council of Carthage seems to teach that Presbyters in some way or other concurred with the Bishop in ordaining: it says, *when a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing him and laying his hand upon his head, all the Presbyters likewise, who are present, may lay their hands upon his head, near the hand of the Bishop.* I do not dare to bring in confirmation of this, that expression of Paul's of the *imposition of the hands of the Presbytery*, because I see that Jerome, Ambrose, and other ancients, and Calvin, certainly the Chief of all the moderns, interpret *Presbyterium* in that place not *an assembly*, but the *office* to which Timothy was promoted: and indeed he who is conversant with the Councils and the writings of the Fathers, cannot be ignorant that *Presbyterium*, as *Episcopatus* and *Dioconatus* are the names of offices. Add that it appears that Paul laid hands on Timothy. Neither does it seem necessary, nor sufficiently lecorous that the assistance of others should be added to the act of an Apostle and the conferring of admirable gifts. (6) Yet I do not

(5.) There are a few instances of this mentioned, as when the Jews were numerous in a city, their great prejudice against the Gentiles induced the Apostles to appoint a Bishop for them apart from the latter, [117.] This however continued but a short time. An instance is also mentioned of the Bishop of Antioch at a very advanced age, considerably above an hundred years, taking to himself a coadjutor. (Euseb. Ec. Hist. B. vi, ch. x.)

(6.) Grotius here intimates, but does not pretend to say that the Presbyters were perhaps permitted with the Bishop's consent to ordain. The utter groundlessness of the claim of Presbyters cannot be more strongly evinced than by this very conjecture. If such a man, in an attempt to establish the parity of Presbyters and Bishops, and to show that the former could do whatever the latter did, at least with their consent, is compelled to rest their claim on conjecture—if he cannot bring forward any case from the history of the Primitive Church to show that they had any thing to do with ordaining—if he is compelled to be silent respecting the decisions in the fourth century pronouncing such an act null and void. (See 359 to 365.) If he brings forward not a single expression favourable to this claim before the permission of the fourth Council of Carthage which sat in 657, and that only permitting Presbyters to lay on hands near the hands of the Bishop when he ordains a Presbyter, and confining the permission to the ordination of a Presbyter—if he does not dare to quote in confirmation of that which he wishes to establish, *the sole sentence* in the New

see how that can be refuted, where there are not Bishops, that ordination might be rightly performed even by a Presbyter, when Antisiodorensis among the Scholastics long ago conceded this. (7) Truly those things which are said for the sake of right order, have their exceptions. As in the ancient council of Carthage in case of necessity it is conceded to Presbyters to reconcile (or absolve) penitents: and elsewhere, to lay hands upon Baptized persons. (8) Then, as we have said above, it is doubtful whether Presbyters, who neither have Presbyters under them, nor a Bishop over them, belong to (the order of) Bishops or to (that of) mere Presbyters.—For Ambrose thus argues of Timothy, *he who had no other before him, was a Bishop*. (9) Indeed (that we may take an example from the Republic) many things are lawful to a Senate not having a King, which are not lawful to a Senate constituted under a King.

Testament which gives any countenance to this claim, it must be admitted by all who are governed by facts that it is a groundless claim.

(7.) In reply to this Grotius's own argument may be used. That they had no authority is sufficiently proved because the contrary is not proved, (516;) also if any one thinks differently, viz. that they had authority, undoubtedly the burden of proof lies on him, (509.) The Scholastics arose in the 12th century.

(8.) Hereby Grotius admits the rule that they could not ordain, and only pleads that there might have been exceptions as in two other cases he mentions. To which it is replied, that the very nature of an exception to a law requires that it be very clearly and positively laid down; because it is the only plea that can be made for that which without it would be a violation of acknowledged law, while the fact of the exception makes the law the more binding in all cases not excepted: And if the Presbyters were so restricted in these minor matters, how plain is it that a law, respecting a more important matter, without a single exception, is absolute, and binding in all cases—particularly when in every instance in which it has been departed from, the act has been declared null and void absolutely, without conditions or exceptions. (See 360 to 364.)

With regard to laying hands on baptized persons, or confirming, it is not pretended to have been practised any where but in Egypt; and for that nothing can be produced, I think, but the passage from Hilary or Ambrose in section 232 (o.) *Finally in Egypt Presbyters confirm, if the Bishop is not present*; and this passage is so unconnected with what precedes and follows it, that the moment I read it the suspicion arose that Hilary did not write it. The whole passage is connected without it; with it, the sense is interrupted. This taken together with the fact that no writer has been able to produce a solitary case of confirmation, or a declaration that Presbyters confirmed, [See 445, &c.] shows that they had not the power. Even admitting that Hilary wrote the sentence above mentioned, the very expression shows that the practice was an exception to the general law, which had by some means obtained in Alexandria: and therefore shows beyond question that the law of the Church was that Presbyters should not confirm. By the by, these attempts of Presbyterian writers to show that Presbyters anciently had the right to confirm, prove beyond controversy that it was the practice of the Apostles, (247, &c.)

(9.) There were Bishopricks so small as not to require above one or two Presbyters, and in some instances the Bishop had none. (Taylor's Works, vii, 228, &c.) These Bishops were not however Presbyters because they had none under them. They differed in having had ordination to the Episcopate, a circumstance totally overlooked by Grotius in this section, if not altogether. Presbyters were however sometimes located in villages where there was no Bishop, but they were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of a neighbouring city. (397.) What moreover was to hinder the candidates for ordination from going to the Bishop when he did not reside in the same city. (See 302 and other sections.)

Because a Senate without a King is as it were a King." (Ib. section xi.)

518. The following concession is perhaps as remarkable as any that have been mentioned. It is the section immediately following that mentioned above (517.)

"We may assert this third thing, that the causes why in the present age in some places the Episcopate was omitted certainly for some time, were not light. For Beza himself seems to acknowledge that the causes were temporary, when he says that he was not the person who thought that the old order was not to be restored, *if the ruins of the Church could be restored.*"

Grotius then proceeds to mention these causes, which he says were not light ones. The first is the want of suitable persons to fill so important an office as the Episcopate. The second was the long and inveterate corruption of the Episcopal office; and of this he admits, "that good things ought not indeed to be condemned because there are persons who abuse them; but it is not unfrequent that things should be intermitted, when the abuse is turned against the institution." "A third cause may be added, that in very troublesome times, the teachers of the truth, odious by that name," (*Bishop*) "ought not only to remove the sin of ambition, but even all suspicion, because, when the Episcopal dignity being done away, they were very cautious, they did not even, as it was, escape calumny. What would they not have heard, if the change of doctrine had been joined with the acquisition of the higher degree? I will add one cause more, why in the beginning of the Reformation the Episcopate was not for some time necessary. God had raised up excellent men, of the greatest genius, of the greatest erudition, and of no less authority with their neighbours than with their own people, few indeed in number, but who were equal to bearing very many things. The great reputation of these among all men easily supplied what was wanting from the Episcopate. And (if with Zanchius I will acknowledge the truth) in reality no men were Bishops more than those very men whose authority availed to oppose even the Episcopate. Nor is that to be omitted here, which we have several times said, that the Ecclesiastical regimen for the most part takes something from the civil form (of government).—In the Roman Empire, Bishops answered to Commanders, Metropolitans to Presidents, Patriarchs or Primates to Lieutenants.—Why therefore is it wonderful if the people, more accustomed to the government of Noblemen than of one (a King) commit the affairs of the Church to Clergymen more willingly than to a Bishop? And indeed on account of these causes the Churches which have no Bishops, seem to me to be excusable, provided, however, that they abstain from disapproving of a most sacred institution, and at the same time, retain that which Beza, in these words, (*On the Degrees of the Evangelical Ministry, Chap. xxiii.*) thinks is by no means to be omitted: *It was essential, that by the perpetual ordination of God, it was, it is, and it will be necessary, that some one in the Presbytery, Chief both in place and dignity, should pre-*

*side to govern the proceedings, with that right which is given to him by God.** (Ib. section xii.)

519. The reader will remark in these extracts that it is expressly admitted that the Episcopate, or office of Bishop, had its commencement in the time of the Apostles, and was received by the Universal Church; (498, 500, 501, 504, 509, 510, 511, 512 latter paragraph;) that the institution was approved of by the Divine law, that it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and that our Lord Jesus Christ "writing to those Bishops, thus eminent among the Clergy, undoubtedly approved of this Episcopal superiority," (512 first paragraph;) that all antiquity proclaimed the advantages derived from it, (514;) and that those of the Reformers who had formed a Church without Bishops, had done so because of the prejudice that had arisen from the abuse of the institution; because they feared the charge of ambition if they had retained the order of Bishops; and, having all the power and influence of the office, whereby they regulated the affairs of the Church so as to keep it in a prosperous state, and not having, in the beginning a sufficient number of suitable men to fill as many Bishopricks as there ought to have been, they determined to discontinue the office for a time; declaring it ought to be restored as soon as it could be, (518, &c.) These were not the sentiments of Grotius only, but he quotes the most celebrated Reformers as agreeing with him and closes with a passage from one of the most vehement opposers of Episcopacy as it then existed in the Church of Rome, which fully admits the necessity of one ruler in every Church presiding by Divine right and the perpetual ordination of God. (518.)

520. This is not a bare admission. It is a strong argument by one of the most celebrated writers of Europe, by which he is led to conclusions totally opposed to the doctrines of the Presbyterian Churches of the present day. Those able and learned men who feared to encounter the charge of ambition in supporting what they acknowledged to be the ancient Apostolical order of the Church, and thought to discontinue for a time an office, the institution of which seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and which was expressly approved of by our Lord himself, certainly acted upon the principle, though none of them might have been aware of it, that evil may be done that good may come of it. They did not sufficiently

* I shall endeavour to give some of these passages in the original at the close.

consider the excessive difficulty of doing away errors in which people have been born and bred.

521. The reader is requested to note also the exceeding slenderness of the argument for the parity of Presbyters and Bishops.—*The Episcopate was not of Divine command*, though it is admitted to have been instituted by men Divinely inspired and directed, and to have been expressly approved of by our Lord Jesus Christ.—How can any man say that they had not a Divine command for it? Did this institution, so admirable as to seem good to the Holy Spirit and to be approved of expressly by our Saviour himself, not occur to them, and yet to men?

522. *The Episcopate was instituted by the Apostles, but they did not command that Bishops should be every where appointed; and they left some Churches without them, that is they left them under Presbyters and therefore those Churches were governed by Presbyters.* But they did appoint Bishops wherever they could find a suitable person, and consequently they intended to appoint them *every where* as soon as suitable persons could be found.

523. As to the powers of Presbyters, Grotius grants that according to the Fathers they could not ordain; but conjectures that they might nevertheless do so with the Bishop's consent. In support of which all he advances is, that in the year 657 they were permitted to lay on hands, *in the ordination of a Presbyter*, near the hands of the Bishop. He says nothing about the decisions in the 4th century declaring null and void not only ordinations by Presbyters, but even one in which a Presbyter read the words of ordination for a blind Bishop while he laid his hands on the head of the candidate. And lastly he formally gives up the only case in which it is pretended that Presbyters laid on hands in ordination before the year 657; excepting those which were declared illegal in the 4th century, (360–365,) and another in the 6th. He says he does not dare to quote the ordination of Timothy as a case in which Presbyters officiated—admitting with Calvin, &c. &c. that the word translated Presbytery signifies the office conferred on Timothy.

524. In short, the sum of his argument for the parity of Presbyters and Bishops is, that although the Apostles, who were inspired men commissioned to regulate the Church, instituted the Episcopate or office of Bishop, and what they did seemed good to the Holy Spirit and was expressly approved by our Lord Jesus Christ, yet the institution is not a Divine command: that although the

Apostles appointed Bishops wherever they could find suitable men, yet they did not command them to be appointed in every Church, and left some Churches to be Governed by Presbyters: and that, although there is express authority for the declaration that Presbyters did not ordain, *perhaps* they might have sometimes done so, by permission of the Bishop; as in the year 657 they were permitted to lay their hands near the hands of the Bishop while he was blessing (ordaining) the candidate.

Such an argument from such a man is equivalent to a total surrender of the question.

525. It may be remarked here also that Grotius admits the truth of several interesting facts mentioned in the preceding pages: viz. that James the Brother of our Lord was Bishop of Jerusalem, (501, 511;) Timothy, of Ephesus, (504;) and Titus of Crete, and Ignatius, of Antioch, (512;) also that the Angels of the seven Churches were the Bishops of those Churches, (512;) that the Bishops were Pastors who presided over the other Pastors by a perpetual right, (507;) and says that they waste their time, who try to "prove that the name of Bishop was common to all Pastors;" (508;) and that this Chief (Princeps) of the Presbyters was first called *Apostle* and *Angel*, and finally the title of *Bishop* was given to him, *Jerome* thought about the eighth year of Nero; (See 267, 225, 226;) that is, before the death of Peter and Paul, and about forty years before that of John, (513.)

526. Grotius also mentions the names of a number of the principal Reformers as agreeing with him. The following extracts are from the writings of two of these.

Melancthon says, "I would to God it lay in me to restore the government of Bishops. For I see what manner of Church we shall have, the Ecclesiastical polity being dissolved. I do see that hereafter there will grow up a greater tyranny in the Church than there ever was before. Apol. Aug. Con. p. 305." (Bowd. Let. iii, 367.)

527. We shall close with an extract from Calvin. Grotius mentions his name among those who agreed with him, that the Episcopate, or superiority of one Pastor above the rest, neither could nor ought to be found fault with, [509.]

528. Calvin in his Institutes speaks thus on this subject: "They named all those on whom was enjoined the office of teaching, Presbyters. These chose one of their number in every city, to whom

in particular they gave the title of Bishop; lest from equality, as usually happens, dissensions should arise. Yet the Bishop was not so superior in honour and dignity, that he had dominion over his colleagues: but those duties which a Consul performs in the Senate, that he may report concerning matters, collect their opinions, go before others in consulting, admonishing, exhorting, regulate the whole proceedings by his own authority, and execute what may have been determined in common council; that office the Bishop sustained in the assembly of Presbyters. And the ancients themselves confess that it was introduced by human agreement through the necessity of the times. Thus Jerome, on the Epistle to Titus, says: *A Presbyter is the same as a Bishop. And before that by the instigation of the Devil dissensions were made in religion, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by the common council of Presbyters. Afterwards that the seeds of dissensions might be taken away, the whole charge was committed to one. As therefore the Presbyters know that they are subject, by the custom of the Church, to him who is over them: so the Bishops may have known that they are superior to the Presbyters, more by custom than by the Lord's appointment, and ought to govern the Church in common.** He elsewhere however teaches how ancient the institution was. For he says, at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters always placed one chosen from themselves in a higher degree, whom they called Bishop."—"To every city was allotted a certain region, which received its Presbyters from thence, and was added to the body of that Church. Every college (as I have said) was subject to one Bishop, for the sake of government only and preserving peace: who so exceeded others in dignity that he was subject to the assembly of the Brethren. But if the tract of country which was in his Bishoprick was so large that he could not fulfil all the duties of a Bishop, Presbyters were appointed in certain places through that country, who should discharge his duty in minor matters." [Calvin's Institutes Book iv, ch. iv, 2.]

529. In this passage Calvin fully admits the main facts contended for by Episcopalians.

He admits that there were Bishops. He indeed asserts that the Bishop only executed the duties of a Consul in a Senate, and

* With regard to the assertion that *A Presbyter is the same as a Bishop*, Jerome, according to Dr. Miller, does not make it. The words of Jerome according to Dr. Miller, are not an assertion, but an inference from some preceding observations on the Epistle to Titus: *A Presbyter therefore is the same as a Bishop*. [Miller's Let. p. 180.] This could not have been an assertion respecting the order of the Church in Jerome's day, because it was notoriously otherwise. [153, 154, 247, 266.] If it had been an assertion respecting the order of the Church in former times, it must rest on the testimony of some who then lived. But Jerome produces none, and could not have produced any if he had desired it. He only inferred it, and he himself calls it an opinion. (237.) He did not then confess it as Calvin says.

was the executive officer of the Church, and foremost in every thing. But this limitation is asserted without any kind of testimony offered to support it. This is not the kind of authority that Paul had in view when he said, *These things command and teach. Let no man despise thy youth. Them (presbyters) that sin rebuke before all, that the rest also may fear. Lay hands suddenly on no man.* Nor such as is represented in the Epistles of Ignatius, [See *Italic lines* in appendix,] nor in any of the Fathers; not even in Jerome. [See the third and the following quotations from Jerome in section 154; also 247 &c. and 266.]

530. Calvin also admits that it was found necessary to set a Bishop over the Presbyters to put an end to dissensions; and although he asserts (without even Jerome's authority) that this was by human agreement, he allows that it was done from the time of Mark, who died before Peter and Paul, and forty years before John, [note to 513;] consequently it was by the authority of the Apostles that the Bishops were set over the Churches: And Jerome, his sole authority, admits that they appointed James, Mark, Titus, and Timothy Bishops; [243, 380, note;] and James was appointed not long after the commencement of the public preaching of the Gospel;* and Timothy before Paul went to Rome at all, [14-21.] It was therefore not by mere human authority; but being done by the authorized agents of God, under the influence too of his Holy Spirit, and afterwards expressly approved of by our Lord Jesus Christ, [512] Episcopacy was Divinely instituted. If this be not the act of God, then no act done by an authorized Agent and afterwards ratified, can be considered the act of the Principal.

531. He admits moreover in the same passage, [528] that the Bishop had under him a certain region around the city, and that Presbyters were designated to minister to the people of that region, who discharged his duty in minor matters.

532. He admits also in section 15 of the same chapter, that Bishops were ordained by Bishops; and that every Bishop ordained his own Presbyters, with the college of Presbyters.† With regard

* See the manner in which James is mentioned in Acts xii, 17; xv, 13; xxi, 18; Galat. i, 19: always present, always presiding, first mentioned on every remarkable occasion, certainly James had something more to do with the Church of Jerusalem than any other person, though he was not one of the twelve.—James who was one of the twelve was killed by Herod; Acts xii, 2.

† Sed suos Presbyteros quisque Episcopus cum Presbyterorum collegio ordinabat. [Lib. iv, c. iv, 15.]

to the assertion that the Bishop, with the college of Presbyters, ordained his Presbyters, he offers no testimony, and no more need be said to show that he could bring none before the year 657, than to remark that Grotius could refer to no such case, [517;] nor could Lord King, [456, &c.] nor can any man; and therefore this assertion of Calvin is unfounded.

533. Calvin therefore admits that Bishops in the days of the Apostles were set over the Presbyters and the Church; that each city and the neighbouring country, with the Presbyters who ministered to the inhabitants, were under one Bishop; and that the Bishop was ordained by other Bishops, but that he ordained his own Presbyters, aided Calvin says by the other Presbyters, without foundation however before the year 657. [See 517 note 6.] In this he admits, moreover, a second ordination which involves a superior order, necessarily. [See 263.]

534. The circumstances which Calvin has added, in order to make this system agree with that in which the ministers are all equal, he asserts entirely without authority or testimony. He does not pretend to produce any to support the assertion that the Bishop was no more than the President of the council of Presbyters. The only passage quoted is brought forward to show the origin of this arrangement, viz. that it "was introduced by human agreement;" and the only one referred to, destroys even this, by showing that Bishops were in being in the time of the Apostles; and consequently are of Divine institution, [530.] The passage quoted from Jerome, so far from supporting Calvin's assertion *that the Bishop was nothing more than the President of the common council of Presbyters*, proves the very reverse. *Before* the dissensions spoken of, the Churches were governed by a *common council* of Presbyters; *afterwards* the whole charge was committed to *one*, says Jerome. Consequently *when* the charge was committed to *one*, the *common council* was done away. The common council, if it ever existed, *must* have had a President in order to do business, and when it was done away, and *the Presbyters made subject to the Bishop*, as Jerome in the same quotation says, [528,] the President of the council went with it. Jerome's words, so far therefore from representing the Bishop as the President of the common council of Presbyters, show that the President ceased to be President, and with the rest of the Presbyters became subject to the Bishop, when he was appointed by the Apostles. With what powers the Bishop was

clothed, according to Jerome, may be seen in sections 154, 247, 256, 257, 266.

535. It is evident from these extracts that the Continental Reformers admitted that the Primitive Church was Episcopal, (519) that they considered the intermission of the Episcopal office as temporary, (518) that one of them wished it restored, (526) another said that a substitute for the Episcopal office was essential, (end of 518,) and that he was not the man who thought the old order ought not to be restored if it could be. (518.)

536. As to the English Reformers, they retained the Episcopate; and although great dissensions arose among them which terminated in the separation of many from the Church under the name of Puritans, since called Dissenters, their differences commenced while they were in exile on the Continent; and the separation was produced by the refusal of the latter to wear the habits and use the ceremonies of the Church, and not on account of the office of Bishop.

537. Neal in his history of the Puritans states, that the English exiles were most numerous at Frankfort; that on application to the Magistrates they were allowed to use the French Church, on condition that *they should subscribe the French confession of faith and not quarrel about ceremonies*; that after consultation they agreed *not to answer aloud after the minister, nor to use the litany and surplice*; that they used the order of service as set forth by King Edward, excepting the omission of the litany and responses; that John Knox was at this time their minister; that in this state of things Dr. Cox, a Clergyman, who had been tutor to King Edward, went to Frankfort and during the service on Sunday responded aloud, and on the following Sunday one of his friends took possession of the pulpit and read the whole litany; and that in consequence of this great contentions arose, which terminated in the departure of John Knox from Frankfort. (Neal's Hist. pp. 150 to 153.) This Neal calls "the first breach or schism between the English exiles on account of the service book of King Edward; which made way for the distinction, by which the two parties were afterwards known, of PURITANS and CONFORMISTS." (i, 155.)

538. He says when the exiles returned, on the accession of Elizabeth, that "their learned friends and patrons beyond sea, advised them to go through with the Reformation, and clear the Church of all the relics of Popery and superstition at once;" that letters

of this character were written "by Gualter, one of the chief divines of Zurich," "by the learned Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of Bedford, who had been some time at Zurich, and to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest of the late exiles, pressing them vehemently to act with zeal and courage, and to take care in the first beginnings to have *all things* settled upon sure and sound foundations. The exiles in their answers seem resolved to follow their advice, and make a bold stand for a *thorough Reformation*; and if they had done so they might have obtained it. Jewel, in his letter of May 22, 1559, thanks Bullinger for quickening their zeal and courage; and adds, 'They were doing what they could; and that all things were coming into a better state.' In another of April 10, 'He laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation; and that things were managed in so slow and cautious a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received on his own authority.' In another of November 16, 'He complains of the Queen's keeping a crucifix in her Chapel, with lighted candles; that there was worldly policy in this, which he did not like: That all things were so loose and uncertain with them, that he did not know whether he should not be obliged to return back to Zurich. He complains of the Popish vestments, which he calls the relics of the Amorites, and wishes they were extirpated to the deepest roots.' The like complaints were made by Cox, Grindal, Horn, Pilkington, and others; but they had not the resolution to persevere: had they united counsels, and stood by one another, they might at this juncture have obtained the removal of *those grievances which afterwards occasioned the separation.*" (i, 164, 165.)

539. Neal has more to the same purpose. Respecting the act of Elizabeth, entitled *An act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments*, he speaks as follows.

"Upon this fatal rock of uniformity in things merely indifferent (in the opinion of the imposers) was the peace of the Church of England split. The pretence was decency and order; but it seems a little odd that uniformity should be necessary to the decent worship of God, when in most other things there is a greater beauty in variety. It is not necessary to a decent dress that men's clothes should be always of the same colour and fashion; nor would there be any indecorum or disorder, if in one congregation the Sacrament should be administered kneeling, in another sitting, and in a third standing; or if in one and the same congregation the minister were at liberty to read prayers either in a black gown or a surplice, supposing the garments to be indifferent, which the makers of this law admitted, though the Puritans denied. The rigorous pressing of this act was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befel the Church for above 80 years." (i, 178, 179.)

540. The reader will observe that there is not a word here against the Episcopal order of the Church. On the contrary, he says:

“Several of the reformed exiles were offered Bishopricks, but refused them, *on account of the habits and ceremonies, &c.* as Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Bernard Gilpin, old Father Miles Coverdale, Mr. Knox, Mr. Thomas Sampson, and others. Many who accepted did it with trembling; from the necessity of the times, and in hopes by their interest with the Queen to obtain an amendment in the constitution of the Church; among these were Grinda†, Parkhurst, Sandys, Pilkington, and others.” (i, 180.)

To those of the Reformers mentioned by Neal as having accepted a Bishoprick, may be added *Jewel* whom he has quoted so fully in a preceding extract. (538.)

541. From these observations and quotations of Neal, who was himself a Dissenter, it is evident that the difference that took place was grounded upon the habits and ceremonies of the Church, some refusing to accept Bishopricks on account of these things and others accepting them notwithstanding, in hopes of being able to change them to their minds afterwards.

542. It also appears that what the Puritans contended for was liberty *to stand or sit instead of kneeling at the sacrament, and to read prayers in a black gown instead of a surplice.* (539.)

543. While the dispute was going on at Frankfort, some of the parties wrote to Calvin for his opinion on the subject. The following is an extract from his answer.

“Truly as in indifferent things, as external rites are, I am easy and flexible, so I do not think it is always expedient to humour the foolish moroseness of those who yield nothing of their custom. In the English Liturgy, such as you describe, I see there were many *tolerabiles ineptiæ*. By these two words I mean, that there was not that purity which was to be desired. Nevertheless what faults could not be corrected immediately, when no manifest impiety is joined with them, were to be borne for a time.”

In this letter and the following, which are to be found among his letters in the same volume with his *Institutes*, p. 98, he endeavours to reconcile the parties, representing the matter about which they disputed as not of sufficient importance to cause them to separate; and although he finds fault with parts of that liturgy he was far from objecting to the use of a form of prayer in public service, as his letter to the Duke of Somerset proves.

544. In this he says: “As to a form of Prayer and of Ecclesiastical rites, I highly approve that it should be fixed, from which it may not be lawful for Pastors to depart in their exercises; as well that provision may be made for the simplicity and unskillfulness of some, as that the agreement of all the Churches among themselves may thus more certainly appear. Finally also that the desultory

levity of some who affect certain novelties, may be opposed; as I have before shown that the catechism itself tends to the same.” (Calvin’s Epist.)

545. It is even asserted on the authority of a letter of Calvin to Edward VI, King of England, that he offered to adopt the Episcopal form of Government in the Church of Geneva, as appears from the following extract from Bowden’s Letters, ii, 65.

“He and Bullinger and other learned men beyond sea, wrote in 1549 to Edward VI, offering to make him their defender, and to have Bishops in their Churches for better unity and concord amongst them, as appears from Strype’s memorial of Archbishop Cranmer, as likewise from a writing of Archbishop Abbot, found among the manuscripts of Archbishop Usher.” (*Chandler’s Appeal defended*, p. 238.) Unfortunately the letter fell into the hands of the Popish Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, who in the names of the Reformers returned a surly answer to it. ‘From that time,’ says Strype, ‘John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in several points, which otherwise, through God’s mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen’s majesty during John Calvin’s life.’”

Neal in his history of the Puritans says of Strype, that he had “searched into the records of the English Reformation more than any man of the age.” (Preface to the History.)

546. The English Reformers having divided into two parties, those who thought it best to conform to the habits and ceremonies, and accepted Bishopricks, were involved by degrees in the disagreeable business of insisting that the others should conform. The latter, although it is admitted that if some had not complied for the time, in hopes of the removal of the grievances, the Church would have fallen back into Popery, (Neal i, 194) were determined in their opposition. Violent language was used on both sides: the one insisting that such trifles ought to be yielded to the Queen’s command rather than endanger the Church, and treating the opposition as mere obstinacy; and the other urging that it was against their conscience to submit to the use of the ceremonies and habits. The contest became tyrannical on one side and intemperate on the other;* and at length the non-conformists began openly to contest the superiority of the Episcopal office. “The breach,” says Neal, “might easily have been made up at first, but it widened by degrees;

* A non-conformist minister preaching before the Queen said that she, while under persecution, was *tanquam ovis, as it were a sheep*; but now it might be, *tanquam indomita juvenca, as it were an untamed heifer*. (Neal’s Hist. i, p. 357.)

the passions of the contending parties increased, till the fire, which for some years was burning under ground, broke out into a civil war, and with unspeakable fury destroyed the constitution both of Church and State." (i, 253.)

547. We have thus seen that the Church was Episcopal in the days of the Apostles, and continued so, without question, until the 16th century; that the Reformers on the continent of Europe who laid aside the Episcopal office admitted the main features of Episcopacy in the Primitive Church, and that the Episcopate or a substitute for it was necessary in the Church, and that that office ought to be restored as soon as it could be; that the Reformers in England retained Episcopacy, but differed respecting habits and ceremonies so much as eventually to divide into two parties, the *Conformists* and the *Non-Conformists*, or as they are now called Churchmen and Dissenters; the former retaining the Episcopate, the latter rejecting it. (497 to 533: note 518.)

548. It is to be remembered, moreover, that every Church upon Earth, except those which rejected Episcopal ordination in the 16th century and those which have since sprung up as offsets from that stock, is Episcopal. The Churches of all the rest of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa are under that form of government to the present day. In the interior of Asia Dr. Buchanan discovered a few years ago a Church which traced its origin to the earliest ages of the Christian Religion, without communication with Europeans, until the Portuguese, on doubling the Cape of Good Hope and arriving on the coast of Malabar in 1503, found to their astonishment a Christian Church where they had expected to find Heathens. This Church also was Episcopal, having Bishops, Priests or Presbyters, and Deacons.

549. There are two things on which it will not be improper to make a few observations before closing this Essay. The one is the preservation of the regular succession of Bishops from the commencement down to the present time. Let us consider how many things stand in the way of a failure in the succession of Bishops. First: If the Episcopate is a Divine institution, God is pledged to continue it, not only by the propriety of it, the necessity of it, but by his promise to those whom he first commissioned, *Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world:* and therefore it has not failed. Secondly: If it was instituted by men for the sake of distinction, as the right to the distinction and advantages attached

to it, rested upon the validity of the title to the office, the Bishops chosen would be very particular in having every thing relating to their election and ordination perfectly regular. And we find that it was the common practice, when a Bishop was ordained, for him to send Presbyters to the other Churches, even from Italy to Carthage, to Alexandria, to Antioch, &c. to show the validity of his claim to the office, how he was chosen, and by whom ordained; so that if another claimed the office, the Bishops might be able to decide for themselves who was truly and regularly chosen and ordained. Inasmuch therefore as religious motives as well as interest would lead the Bishops to be very particular in receiving full authority, and in being regularly introduced into the office, we have every reason to believe that every man took good care for himself in that respect. We have moreover certain evidence that this matter had attracted the attention of the Church at a very early day; for the Council of Nice, in 326, made the regulation that three Bishops must officiate in the ordination of a Bishop; and other councils decided questions on this subject in the 4th century. Under these circumstances, what Church would allow the ceremony of ordination of a newly chosen Bishop to be omitted? What Bishop would fail to secure to himself, by a regular and perfect ordination, advantages and distinction which were too eagerly sought after? Who can point to the man who, on entering the ministry, failed to seek ordination at the hands of those whom he thought qualified to ordain? What Presbyterian, entering the ministry in that church, would receive ordination at the hands of their ruling elders or of their deacons? What Bishop in the Episcopal Church would receive ordination to the Episcopate from a company of Presbyters? The very idea is absurd. The only possibility of a breach in the Episcopal succession could arise from the Bishops at some period of the Church laying aside the ceremony of ordination, or allowing other than Bishops to ordain Bishops. The first idea is an absurdity too great to be advocated by any man in his senses: and as to the other, when no instance can be produced by the ablest and most learned advocates for Presbyterian ordination, in which Presbyters laid on hands by permission of the Church until the year 657; when it is expressly stated in that permission that it was when the Bishop was present officiating that the Presbyterian was allowed to lay his hands near the hands of the Bishop; and that this was confined to the ordination of a Presbyterian; who will be so hardy as

to assert, who so credulous as to believe, that *in the ordination of Bishops*, Bishops ceased to officiate and Presbyters had been permitted to officiate *alone* until the Church had lost Episcopal ordination? In what age after 657 did this occur? Were the lordly Bishops of those times satisfied to yield this part of their official duties to the inferior clergy? So far from it that the privilege of ordaining to the Episcopate was more and more restricted, and the Metropolitan Bishops claimed the right of ordaining all Bishops. Moreover, let it be considered that inasmuch as a number of Bishops, sometimes sixteen, officiated in the ordination of one, if by some inconceivable act of folly on the part of a person elected Bishop of a Church or on the part of the Church itself, he were not regularly ordained, his incapacity would not affect the newly ordained, inasmuch as there were so many more joined with him in the ceremony. So far is the custom of the Church, then, from favouring a vitiated state of the Episcopacy, that its continual tendency would be, admitting the possibility of a vitiated state, to correct it.

550. The second thing proposed to be noticed is the doubt alleged to rest on the validity of the succession in that part of the Catholic Church commonly denominated the Protestant Episcopal Church. It has been doubted whether the ordination of Archbishop Parker, through whom all the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of England derive their ordination, was perfectly canonical; because the persons who ordained him had been deprived of their Bishopricks and expelled the country by the Popish party on the accession of Mary to the Crown of England. The question to be settled in this case is, whether a Bishop who is expelled from his Bishopricks by a successful party, in the contests about doctrines which have in all ages agitated the Church, is thereby deprived of his *character* of Bishop. The two following cases will show that he is not. The one occurred in the 16th century, and the other in the early ages of the Church.

551. The first case was that of Richard Pates, Bishop of Worcester in England, who fled to the continent on the death of Mary and the re-establishment of the party who advocated the Reformation. He attended the Council of Trent, and signed the decrees or acts of the Council as Bishop of Worcester. (Fuller Book ix, p. 58.) In this case the Pope's party assented to the principle that the expelled Bishop retains his character.

552. The other case occurred in the fourth century. The Queen of the Saracens being at war with the Romans made peace, and desired that Moses, a Saracen by birth, celebrated for his religion, should be ordained Bishop for her instruction. He was accordingly taken to Alexandria; but when he was presented to Lucius the Bishop, an Arian, he refused to receive ordination at his hands, on account of the cruelty with which he had treated the orthodox, and desired to be ordained by *the exiles* whom Lucius had driven from their Bishopricks. He and his friends accordingly went to the exiles, and they ordained him. (Socrat. Ec. Hist. B. iv, chap. xxxvi.)

553. These two cases show in the plainest manner that the Papists, as well as the Church in former times, admitted the continuance of the Episcopal character in Bishops exiled through the violence of party contentions. Many cases of similar import might no doubt be easily collected from the histories of the contests between the Arians and the Orthodox. The Bishops therefore who ordained M. Parker, viz. Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, although they had been driven into exile in the reign of Mary, when they returned on the accession of Elizabeth were fully authorized to ordain him.*

Summary.

554. To sum up the whole matter, it is apparent from the earliest writings of the Christians that there were three orders of ministers in the Church, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. This is evident from the Epistles and other works of Ignatius, Clement, and Polycarp who were conversant with the Apostles; of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus, in the second century; of Cyprian, Firmilian, Cornelius, Dionysius, in the third; of Eusebius, Jerome, Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret in the fourth; and of many more. It is not contradicted by a solitary passage in any early writer. It is assented to by very many of the most learned writers of the Presbyterian Churches; viz. by Blondel, Salmasius, Le Clerc, and asserted by Grotius and Calvin, in a remarkably

* Before proceeding to the summary of the preceding pages I must notice an unimportant error in the meaning of a word in section 453. I find that Grotius uses the word *Clerus* in such a manner as to indicate that the *Clergy* are meant by it, and not an individual. Therefore the Clergy, by permission of the Bishop, gave absolution to offenders and lapsed persons, in cases of extremity when the person was about to die and the Bishop was not at hand. This however was not a confirmation as is fully proved in sections 452 and 453.

plain and distinct manner. (See appendix; also 127, 151, 153, 154, 162, 165, 172, 180 and 183, 188, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 201, 202, 203, 241, 242, 247, 252, 257, 266, 282, 302, 329 and 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 341 to 349, 352, 353, 359 &c. 378, 397, 497 to 533.)

555. It is evident that of these the Bishop was chief; that there was but one Bishop in a Church, although the Presbyters were numerous in proportion to the number of the members; and that he governed the Presbyters and the whole Church; nothing being done without his permission. This is asserted by Ignatius, assented to by Polycarp, asserted by Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius, and Jerome, besides others; and contradicted by no one. It is admitted by writers in favour of Presbyterian Church Government; as by King and Grotius; and even Calvin states that there was but one Bishop to a city and the neighbouring region of country, (531) that he possessed such power among the Presbyters as a Consul has in a Senate, and the whole tenor of the 4th chapter of the 4th Book of his Institutes, shows that the office was for life. (See appendix, *Italic lines*; also 127, 130, 153, 154, 180 and 183, 194, 198 to 203, 207, 241, 247 &c. 252, 257, 266, 275, 282, 329 to 334, 336, 337, 341 to 349, 352, 357, 378, 397, 425, 503 to 510, 513, 514, 528, 531.)

556. There was an ordination appropriate to each order, and when a Presbyter was chosen Bishop he was ordained to the office. This is asserted or plainly indicated by Cyprian, Cornelius, Jerome, and Eusebius; and by Grotius and Calvin. (See 252, 258 &c. 263, 302, 331, 333, 336, 346 to 349, 359 to 366, 504, 532.)

557. The Bishops alone ordained. There is not a passage showing that Presbyters took any part until the latter part of the fourth century, when they were permitted to lay their hands near the hands of the Bishop when he ordained a Presbyter. On the contrary, in every one of the few instances in which they attempted to ordain, the ceremony was declared null and void. This is asserted or plainly indicated by Cyprian, Cornelius, Jerome, Eusebius, in the decisions of some councils, and by Grotius. Even Calvin asserts that Bishops ordained Bishops; and that every Bishop, with his Presbyters, ordained his own Presbyters; although without a solitary passage to support him in his declaration, that Presbyters assisted the Bishop in the ordination of Presbyters, before the permission granted them at the period above mentioned. (See 191, 252, 302,

333, 335, 336, 359 to 366, 467 to 470, 504, 517 and notes, 532.*

558. The Bishops were appointed by the Apostles their successors, to govern the Churches; and the name *Bishop*, which at first was a title of the Presbyters, was restricted in the time of the Apostles and consequently by them, to that order which they set over

*It was discovered, too late for correction before now, that the 4th Council of Carthage was held earlier than the year 657, but not so early as to affect the argument. The precise year is not stated in any book I can lay my hands upon, although I have consulted a number. It must, however, at the earliest, have been late in the fourth century; as will appear from the following.

Bishop Taylor, speaking of the rule that Bishops were to be ordained by all the Bishops of the Province, or in cases of necessity at least by three, says this was decreed by the Council of Nice, ratified by the Council of Antioch, agreed also by the Council of Laodicea, and the first and second Council of Arles, "and so we may see it descend through the bowels of *the fourth Council of Carthage* to the inferior ages." (Taylor's Works, vii. p. 118.) The Council of Nice was held when the fourth century was well advanced, and here are a number of others following in succession before the 4th Council of Carthage.

It is to be remembered that the fact of this liberty being then granted, is stated by Taylor, by Hooker, and by Grotius. (See Taylor's Works vii, 137; Hooker's Ec. Polity, ii, 256, and Grotius De Imp. Sum. Pot. circa Sacra, cap. xi, §xi.) That it was then first enjoyed is evident from the following: in the third Council of Carthage a motion was made that if a Church was without a Bishop, she might demand a Presbyter from any Bishop, that he might become her Bishop. It was agreed to; but one asked, What if the Bishop have but one Presbyter? It was replied that the Bishop could alone ordain as many as he wanted. (Taylor's Works vii, 135.)

It is also to be noted that the liberty granted by the decree of the 4th Council of Carthage, was not a liberty to ordain, but only to lay hands near the hands of the Bishop *when he was ordaining a Presbyter*; and that even this liberty was expressly confined to the ordination of a Presbyter.

It is moreover to be noted that this Council was merely a Provincial Council and that the liberty given by it to Presbyters, was confined for a long time to the Church of Carthage. Thus Taylor says, "Since therefore we never find Presbyters joined with Bishops in commission, or practice, or penalty" [penalty for uncanonical ordinations] "all this while; I may infer from the premises, the same thing which the Council of Hispalis expresses in direct and full sentence: 'Episcopus sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest:' 'The Bishop alone may give the Priestly honour, he alone is not suffered to take it away.' This council was held in the year 657, and I set it down here for this purpose, to show that the decree of the fourth Council of Carthage, which was the first that licensed Priests to assist Bishops in ordinations, yet was not obligatory in the West; but for almost three hundred years after, ordinations were made by Bishops alone. But till this Council (of Carthage) no pretence of any such conjunction, and after this Council, sole ordination (ordination by the Bishop alone) did not expire in the West for above two hundred years together; but for aught I know, ever since then it hath obtained, that although Presbyters join not in the consecration of a Bishop, yet of a Presbyter they do; but this is only by a positive subintroduced constitution, first made in a provincial (Council) of Africa, and in other places received by insinuation and conformity of practice." (Taylor's Works vii, 137.) This practice, it appears, did not extend to the Eastern Church. In this Church, "At the consecration of a Bishop, several Bishops lay on their hands, together with the Archbishop; but it does not appear from Dr. King, who gives these offices (of the ordination of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons,) at full length, that in this Church the attending Presbyters lay on their hands, together with the Bishop, at the ordination of a Presbyter, as is the practice in the Church of England." (Religious World Displayed, by the Rev. R. Adam i, 242.)

the Churches, (one over each Church) to rule them in their place. This is asserted by Irenæus, Tertullian, Firmilian, Jerome, Hilary; and assented to by the most learned Presbyterian writers, Peter Moulin, Le Clerc, Grotius; even Calvin allows that they were appointed from the time of Mark which was several years before the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, and many years before the death of John. (513 note.) (See 130, 185, 187, 206, 243, 244, 247 to 250, 282, 288, 290 and 291, 498, 500, 501, 504, 509 to 513, 516, 530.)

559. In particular, the ancient writers declare that the Apostles appointed James Bishop of Jerusalem after the ascension of our Saviour; and Mark Bishop of Alexandria; that Paul appointed Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus Bishop of Crete; that Peter and Paul appointed Linus Bishop of Rome; that John appointed Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna. For these appointments we have the direct assertion of Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, Hilary, Chrysostom, Primasius, Theodoret; and the full assent of the learned Presbyterian Grotius. (See 130, 243, 291, 300, 326, 380 note, 501, 504, 511, 512.)

These declarations are very strongly confirmed by a comparison of the powers of the Bishops as stated by the earliest writers who were contemporary with Paul and the rest of the Apostles, with the powers shown by Paul's Epistles to Timothy to belong to the latter when he took charge of the Church at Ephesus. Thus according to Ignatius, who was contemporary with Paul and Timothy, having seen the Saviour in the flesh (356, 512) and died but a few years after John (356, 357) the Bishop ruled the Presbyters and the whole Church. See Ignatius's Epistle (in the appendix) to the Ephesians, sections 4, 5, 6; to the Magnesians, sections 3 and 4; to the Trallians, section 12; to the Philadelphians, sections 3, 4 and 7; to the Smyrneans, sections 8 and 9; and to Polycarp, section 4. And according to Paul, Timothy had the power of appointing and ordaining such as he esteemed suitable persons, (I. Tim. iii, 10; v, 22; II. Tim. ii, 2;) of honouring them if they acted well, (v. 17;) of publicly rebuking them for offences committed (v. 19, 20, 21;) of restraining* them from preaching false doctrine (i, 3; vi, 3,

* The word translated *charge* in the third verse of the first chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, is very strong and conveys the idea of authority to enforce the charge: and it would be ridiculous in a man to charge those under him not to do a thing, unless he had authority to enforce the injunction. But the original word, *parangeiles*, conveys the idea of *restraining*, in the strongest manner. *Command*, *denounce*, *forbid*, *interdict*, are words given in the Lexicon of Hedericus. as the meaning of this Greek word.

4, 5;) and enforcing the teaching of the true doctrines, (iv, 11, 12, II. Tim. i, 13; ii, 2.) So that Timothy unquestionably exercised Episcopal power and authority in the Church at Ephesus, and was succeeded by Onesimus, in the lifetime of Ignatius, who in his Epistle to the Ephesians mentions with great approbation Onesimus their Bishop, who had visited him on his way to Rome to suffer martyrdom.

560. Such is the abounding evidence on this most interesting question; and, although but a selection from a profusion of the same kind in the voluminous writings of the early Fathers, it shows that the doctrine, *that the Church of Christ was, with his full approbation (512,) left by his immediate agents under Episcopal government,* stands upon the same immovable basis of truth that supports every other part of the Christian Revelation. So believing, after six months of close investigation of many of the writers of the first, second, third, and fourth centuries, and of the arguments brought forward by the Presbyterian writers to justify their departure in the 16th century from the established order of the Church, as well as those given by Mr. Wesley for his in the 18th, the writer could not for the reasons already given (369) and others connected with them, do otherwise than candidly avow his convictions and attach himself to the Church.

This essay was originally intended chiefly for the satisfaction of his friends; to obviate misrepresentations and show the grounds on which he had made an important change in his relation to many of them. To this he was led by the conviction that they would not conceive of the true grounds unless stated to them; inasmuch as the question here discussed, by the culpable neglect of most of those who are aware of the true state of the case, is allowed to sleep as if it were a matter of little importance. He is entirely persuaded that those whose good opinion he is most solicitous to retain, will at least give him credit for honest conviction, after reading the preceding statement of the question; and therefore it became a duty to himself and to them to make it, that the friendship which has stood the test of time and difficulties, may not be sacrificed without an effort to preserve it. He is even persuaded that some of them will think the mass of evidence contained in these pages sufficient to establish the doctrine, that the Church of Christ was under Episcopal Government from the commencement.

But although this essay was originally intended chiefly for the

friends of the writer, several considerations not necessary to state, produced the determination not to confine its circulation to them.

This essay has extended to a much greater length than was expected. After progressing in the work it was found not an easy matter to compress the abundance of evidence into the compass of a few pages. The circumstance of meeting with several works having an important bearing on the question, at different periods as noted in one or two instances in the course of the essay, added somewhat to the length of it. As the same arguments are advanced by different writers, they have been noticed sometimes more than once, and have caused, unavoidably in these circumstances, something of repetition. It was however thought better to notice these works, such as King's, notwithstanding this inconvenience. The translations have been made with care and, it is believed, faithfully. Some of the more important passages are given in the original, by means of which not only may the faithfulness of the translation in those cases be ascertained, but a judgment may be formed of those in which the original is not given. To give the whole would have swelled the essay to too great a length.

The discussion of the subject is limited in these pages to the single question, whether the Government of the Church was Episcopal or not in the commencement. Other points intimately connected with it, relating to the order of the Church and to the evil consequences of separation from it, are ably illustrated in the Sermons of the Rev. Dr. Chapman, of Lexington, not long since published.

The following are extracts from authors quoted in the preceding pages, in the Latin, as promised. The number of the section in which they are quoted in English, is placed at the commencement of each extract, except the first which is quoted in section 130. In some cases only the more important parts of the quotation are given.

D. IRENÆI ADVERSUS HÆRESES, LIB. III.

DE APOSTOLORUM TRADITIONE, VEL AB APOSTOLIS IN ECCLESIIS EPISCOPORUM
SUCCESSIONE.

CAPUT. III.

TRADITIONEM itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in [omni] Ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint audire, & habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim & latenter ab reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos & irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos & successores relinquebant suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes, quibus emendate agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas. Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, & antiquissimæ, & omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulæ

Romæ fundatæ & constitutæ Ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis Traditionem, & annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem & malam sententiam, præterquam oportet, colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorum principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio. Fundantes igitur & instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus, post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui & vidit ipsos Apostolos, & contulit cum eis, cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem Apostolorum, & Traditionem ante oculos haberet. Non solus enim, adhuc multi supererant, tunc ab Apostolis docti.

Sub hoc igitur Clemente, dissensione non modica inter eos qui Corinthi essent fratres facta, scriptis quæ est Romæ Ecclesia potentissimas literas Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans, & reparans fidem eorum, & annuncians quam in recenti ab Apostolis receperant Traditionem, annunciantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem cæli & terræ plasmatorem hominis, qui induxerit cataclysmum, & advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti, qui colloquutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit, & Prophetas miserit, qui ignem præparaverit diabolo & angelis ejus.

Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annunciari, ex ipsa Scriptura qui velint, discere possunt; & Apostolicam Ecclesiæ Traditionem intelligere, cum sit vetustior Epistola his qui nunc falso docent, & alterum Deum super Demiurgum & factorem horum omnium quæ sunt, commentiuntur. Huic autem Clementi succedit Euaristus, & Euaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab Apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, & ab hoc Telesphorus, qui etiam gloriosissime martyrium fecit, ac deinceps Hyginus, post Pius, post quem Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatum ab Apostolis habet Eleutherius. Hac ordinatione & successione, ea quæ est ab Apostolis in Ecclesia Traditio, & veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam & eandem vivificatricem fidem esse, quæ in Ecclesia ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, & tradita in veritate.

Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, & conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt: sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia: in ea quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus Episcopus, quem & nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate: multum enim perseveraverat, & valde senex gloriosissime & nobilissime martyrium faciens exivit de hac vita. Hic docuit semper quæ ab Apostolis didicerat, quæ & Ecclesiæ tradidit, & sola sunt vera. Et testimonium his perhibent quæ sunt in Asia Ecclesiæ omnes, & qui usque adhuc successorum Polycarpo: qui vir multo majoris authoritatis testis, & fidelior veritatis est testis, quam Valentinus, & Marcion, & reliqui qui sunt perverse sententiæ. Is enim est qui sub Aniceto cum advenisset in urbem, multos ex his quos prædiximus, hæreticos convertit in Ecclesiam Dei, unam & solam hanc veritatem annuncians ab Apostolis percipisse se, quam & Ecclesiæ tradidit. Et sunt qui audierunt eum dicentem, quoniam Ioannes Domini discipulus in Epheso iens lavari, cum vidisset intus Cerinthum, exilierit de balneo non lotus, dicens quod timeat ne balneum concidat, cum intus esset Cerinthus inimicus veritatis. Et ipse autem Polycarpus Marcioni aliquando occurrenti sibi, & dicenti, Cognosce nos, respondit: Cognosco te primogenitum Satanae. Tantum Apostoli, & horum discipuli habuerunt timorem, ne verbo tenuis communicarent alicui eorum qui adulteraverant veritatem, quemadmodum & Paulus ait: Hæreticum autem hominem post unam correptionem devota, sciens quoniam perversus est qui est talis, & a semetipso damnatus. Est autem & epistola Polycarpi ad Philippenses scripta perfectissima, ex qua & characterem fidei ejus, & prædicationem veritatis, qui voluit & curam habent suæ salutis, possunt discere.

Sed & quæ est Ephesi Ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Ioanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, testis est verus Apostolorum Traditionis.

468. "Sed Paulus ipse alibi se, non alios complures, Timotheo manus impositione commemorat. *Admonéo te (inquit) ut gratiam suscites quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum.* Nam quod in altera epistola de impositione

manuum presbyterii dicitur, non ita accipio quasi Paulus de seniorum collegio loquatur: sed hoc nomine ordinationem ipsam intelligo: quasi diceret, Fac ut gratia quam per manuum impositionem recepisti, quum te Presbyterum crearem, non sit irrita."

The translation of this passage, given in 468 was taken from *Allen's translation*, before I had seen Calvin's work in the original. It will be observed that the translation of the sentence, *Nam quod*, &c. in 468, attributes to Paul the expression "of the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," at the same time that Calvin shows that he does not understand Paul as having spoken of a Presbytery in that passage. Calvin's words are: "*For what is said in the other Epistle*, (as if he had said, *For the words in the other Epistle*,) *de impositione manuum Presbyterii*, I do not understand as if Paul spoke of a college of Presbyters: but by this name, (viz. *Presbyterii*.) I understand the ordination itself: as if he had said, Take care that the grace which you have received by the laying on of hands, when I created you a Presbyter, be not in vain."

501. "Qui Apostolorum Hierosolymis erat, is munere fungebatur quo postea Episcopi, ideoque Presbyteros vocabat: nisi forte Jacobus hic fuit frater Domini, non Apostolus, sed Episcopus."

504. "At ordinationi nunquam nisi a Pastoribus facta, et quidem antiquitus ab Episcopis solis. Hinc ad primum Ephesiorum Episcopum scribens Paulus monet (I. Tim. v. 22.) *ne cui cito manus imponat*. Et canones antiquissimi, qui Apostolice vocantur, *Presbyterum præcipiunt ab Episcopo ordinari, Episcopum autem non nisi a duobus aut tribus Episcopis*."

507. "Episcopi vox explicatur, et ostenditur in hac quæstione significare Pastorem, qui Pastoribus præsit jure quodam perpetuo."

508. "Agimus autem primo loco de Episcopis, qua voce uti nobis liceat eo significatu, quo Synodi Universales ac topicæ, ac Patres universi perpetuo ea usi reperiuntur." "Neque tamen eo minus proprio ac peculiari quodam jure iis addicere potuit, qui et cum cæteris universi gregis et præter cæteros ipsorum pastorum *inspectores* essent constituti. Quare suo et alieno otio abutuntur, qui cum hanc questionem tractandam susceperint, operose probant commune fuisse Pastoribus omnibus Episcopi nomen, cum ea vox multo etiam pateat latius. Neque minus illi aerem feriant, qui magno conatu id agunt, ut probent omnibus omnino Pastoribus res quasdam communes, jus scilicet prædicandi, sacramenta exhibendi, et si quid his adhæret. Non enim de his in quibus conveniunt, sed de ea, quæ ipsos distinguit, eminentia quaritur."

509. "De Episcopatu ergo, id est, unius Pastoris inter cæteros eminentia, primum statuimus eum nulli Juri Divino repugnare. Si quis contra sentiat, hoc est, si quis totam veterem Ecclesiam condemnet stultitiæ aut etiam impietatis, ei procul dubio incumbit onus probandi;" &c.

"Ipsam Diaconiam ab Apostolis institutum satis arguit non esse a Christo imperatam munerum Ecclesiasticorum æqualitatem. Hoc ergo primum, et minime dubiæ veritatis ponamus, in quo Zanchium, Chemnitium, Hemmingium, Calvinum, Melancthonem, Eucermum habemus consentientes; imo et Bezam, hactenus ut dicat, *quod unus quispiam caterorum Judicio compresbyterorum delectus, Presbyterio proestus (Præpositus) esset et permaneret* id reprehendi nec posse nec debere."

511. "Tertium hoc sit, Episcopatum initium habuisse *Apostolicis temporibus*. Testantur hoc catalogi Episcoporum apud Irenæum, Eusebium, Socratem, Theodoretum, atque alios, qui omnes incipiunt ab *Apostolica ætate*. Tantis autem auctoribus, atque ita inter se consentientibus, fidem derogare in re historica, non est nisi irreverentis et pertinacis animi. Perinde enim id est, quasi neges verum esse quod omnes tradunt Romanorum historia, Consulatum cepisse ab exactis Tarquiniiis. Sed rursus Hieronymum audiamus; *Alexandriæ*, inquit, *a Marco Evangelistâ Presbyteri unum semper ex se Electum in celsiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant*. Obiit Marcus octavo Neronis anno: cui vivente adhuc Johanne Apostolo successit Anianus, Aniano Abilius, Abilio Cerdo; eodem Apostolo superstite post mortem Jacobi Simeon Episcopatum Hierosolymitanum, post mortem Petri Paulique Romanum Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, Antiochenum vero Euodius et Ignatius gesserunt. Hæc certe non est spernenda antiquitas, cui Ignatius ipse, Apostolorum cœtus, et qui hunc proxime sequuntur Justinus Martyr, et Irenæus apertissima testimonia præbent, quæ transcribere nihil est opus. Cyprianus *jam quicum*, inquit, *per omnes Prævincias et per urbes singulas constituti sunt Episcopi*."

512. "Quartum esto, Episcopum hunc Divino jure approbatum, aut (ut Bucerus loquitur) visum Spiritui Sancto, ut inter Presbyteros unus curam singularem gereret. Irrefragabile argumentum huic assertioni præbet Divina Apocalypsis: ipse enim Christus scribi jubet *septem Angelis Asiaticarum Ecclesiarum*. Qui per *Angelos* ipsas Ecclesias intelligunt, manifeste Sacris Literis contradicunt. Nam *Candelabra sunt Ecclesiarum*, inquit Christus, *stellæ autem Angeli septem Ecclesiarum*." — "Christus ergo scribens illis Episcopis, ut eminentibus in Clero, haud dubie eminentiam hanc Episcopalem probavit."

513. "Quæri potest cum tam antiquum quoque, et ipsi Christo approbatum sit munus eorum, qui perpetua quadam dignitate Presbyteris præerant, quo nomine is honor appellatus fuerit, antequam illud Episcoporum commune nomen huic præsentis peculiariter tribui cœpit? Quod circa Neronis annum octavum contigisse putat Hieronymus: Patres veteres hos Presbyterorum Principes putant *Apostolos* appellatos."

"*Angeli* nomen antiquitus ei datum, qui postea *Episcopus* dici cœpit, Apocalypsis evincit."

517. "Non audeo ad hujus rei confirmationem adferre Paulinum illud *de impositione manuum Presbyterii*, quia video Hieronymum, Ambrosium, aliosque veteres, et recentiorum omnium facile principem Calvinum, Presbyterium eo loco non *consessum*, sed *munus* ad quod promotus est Timotheus, interpretari: et sane qui in Conciliis et Patrum scriptis sit exercitatus, ignorare non potest Presbyterium, ut Episcopatum, et Diaconatum nomina esse officiorum." (*Vide sect. 467 notam.*) "Adde quod cum a Paulo *manus* Timotheo *impositas* constet." (*Vide sect. 469.*)

518. "Tertium hoc asseramus, non leves fuisse causas, cur hoc sæculo nonnullis in locis Episcopatus certe ad tempus aliquod omitteretur. Temporarias enim esse causas ipse Beza videtur agnoscere, cum non eum se esse dicit, qui veterem ordinem non restituendum existimaret, *si ruina Ecclesie restituta essent*. Inter has causas prima potuit esse penuria virorum, qui tam gravi muneri sufficerint;" &c. "Non debent quidem res bonæ damnari, quia sunt qui iis abutuntur; sed verso in morem abusu intermitti res ipsas non est infrequens."

"Tertia causa addi potest, quod infestissimis temporibus, magistri veritatis (eo nomine invisi) non culpam tantum ambitionis, sed et suspicionem omnem amoliri debuerant, quod cum sublata Episcopali dignitate sollicitè curaverint, ne sic quidem tamen calumniam effugerunt. Quid non audituri, si doctrinæ mutatio conjuncta fuisset cum majoris gradus adeptione? Adjiciam unam insuper causam cur initio repurgationis non admodum necessarius fuerit Episcopatus. Excitavit Deus præstantes viros, summo ingenio, &c. horum summa apud omnes existimatio facile supplevit quod ab Episcopatu deerat. Et (si cum Zanchio verum volumus agnoscere) re ipsa nulli magis Episcopi fuere quam illi ipsi quorum (quamvis hoc non agentium) auctoritas ad oppugnandum usque Episcopatum valuit." I perceive that in the translation of this passage in section 518, the words in the last parenthesis have been overlooked; they signify, *although not executing this office*.

"Et has quidem ob causas excusari mihi posse videntur Ecclesiæ, quæ nullos Episcopos habent, dum tamen abstineant a sanctissimi moris improbatione, simulque illud retineant quod nullo modo omitti Beza (de Ministr. Evangel. Gradib. cap. xxiii) censuit his verbis; *essentiale fuit, quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua, necesse fuit, est, et erit, ut in Presbyterio quispiam et loco et dignitate Primus actioni gubernandæ præsitet cum eo, quod ipsi Divinitus attributum est, jure*."

523. "Quibus ergo docendi munus injunctum erat, eos omnes nominabant Presbyteros. Illi ex suo numero in singulis civitatibus unum eligebant, cui specialiter dabant titulum Episcopi: ne ex æqualitate, ut fieri solet, dissidia nascerentur."

"Alibi tamen docet quam fuerit antiquum institutum: dicit enim Alexandria, a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclum et Dionysium, Presbyteros semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocasse, quem Episcopum nominabant. Habebant ergo singulæ civitates Presbyterorum collegium, qui Pastores erant ac Doctores." "Unicuique civitati erat attributa certa regio, quæ Presbyteros inde numeret, et velut corpori Ecclesiæ illius accenseretur. Singula (ut dixi) collegia politiæ tantum et pacis conservandæ gratia uni Episcopo suberant."

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE MARTYRDOM AND THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS,
TAKEN FROM THE EDITION PUBLISHED BY THE
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS.

*Translated from the original Greek, and published by Dr. Grabe,
in his Specileg. Patrum, t. 2.*

1. WHEN Trajan not long since came to the Roman empire, Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Apostle [and Evangelist,] a man in all things like unto the Apostles, governed the Church of Antioch with all care. Who being scarcely able to escape the storms of the many persecutions before under Domitian, as a good governor, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the constancy of his doctrine and spiritual labour, withstood the raging floods; fearing lest they should sink those who either wanted courage, or were not well grounded in the faith.

2. Wherefore the persecution being at present somewhat abated, he rejoiced greatly at the tranquillity of his Church: yet was troubled as to himself, that he had not attained to a true love of Christ, nor was come up to the pitch of a perfect disciple. For he thought that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him to a yet more close and intimate union with the Lord. Wherefore continuing a few years longer with the Church, and after the manner of a divine lamp, illuminating the hearts of the faithful by the exposition of holy Scriptures, he attained to what he had desired.

3. For Trajan, in the nineteenth year of his empire, being lifted up with his victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations; and thinking that the religious company of Christians was yet wanting to his absolute and universal dominion; and thereupon threatening them that they should be persecuted, unless they would choose to worship the devil, with all other nations; fear obliged all such as lived religiously, either to sacrifice or to die. Wherefore our brave soldier of Christ, being in fear for the Church of Antioch, was voluntarily brought before Trajan; who was at that time there on his way to Armenia, and the Parthians, against whom he was hastening.

4. Being come into the presence of the emperor Trajan; the emperor asked him, saying: "What a wicked wretch art thou, thus to endeavour to transgress our commands, and to persuade others also to do likewise to their destruction?" Ignatius answered, "No one ought to call Theophorus after such a manner; forasmuch as all wicked spirits are departed far from the servants of God. —

But if because I am a trouble to those evil spirits, you call me wicked, with reference to them, I confess the charge for having within me Christ the heavenly King, I dissolve all the snares of the devils."

5. Trajan replied; "And who is Theophorus?" Ignat. "He who has Christ in his breast." Trajan, "And do not we then seem to thee to have the Gods within us, who fight for us against our enemies?" Ignat. "You err, in that you call the evil spirits of the heathens, Gods. For there is but one God, who made Heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and *one Jesus Christ* his only begotten son; whose kingdom may I enjoy."

6. Trajan, "His kingdom you say who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" Ignat. "His who crucified my sin, with the inventor of it; and has put all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry him in their heart." Trajan, "Dost thou then carry him who was crucified within thee?" Ignat. "I do; for it is written, I will dwell in them and walk in them," [2 Cor. vi. 16.] Then Trajan pronounced this sentence against him; Forasmuch as Ignatius has confessed that he carries about within himself him that was crucified, we command that he be carried bound by soldiers to the great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts, for the entertainment of the people.

7. When the holy martyr heard this sentence he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards thee; and hast made me to be put into iron bonds with thy apostle Paul." Having said this he with joy put his bonds about him; and having first prayed for the Church, and commended it with tears unto the Lord, he was hurried away, like a choice ram, the leader of a good flock, by the brutish soldiers, in order to his being carried to Rome, there to be devoured by the blood-thirsty beasts.

8. Wherefore with much readiness and joy, out of his desire to suffer, he left Antioch, and came to Selencia; from whence he was to sail. And after a great deal of toil, being come to Smyrna, he left the ship with great gladness, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp his fellow-scholar, who was Bishop there; for they had both of them been formerly the disciples of St. John.

9. Being brought to him, and communicating to him some spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds; he entreated first of all the whole Church (for the Churches and cities of Asia attended this holy man by their Bishops and priests and deacons, all hastening to him, if by any means they might receive some part of his spiritual gift) but more particularly Polycarp, to contend with God in his behalf; that being suddenly taken by the beasts from the world, he might appear before the face of Christ. And this he thus spake and testified, extending so much his love for Christ, as one who was about to receive Heaven through his own good confession, and the earnest contention of those who prayed together with him: and to return a recompence to the Churches, who came to meet him by their governors, he sent letters of thanks to them, which distilled spiritual grace, with prayer and exhortation.

Seeing therefore all men so kindly affected towards him; and fearing lest the love of the brotherhood should prevent his hastening to the Lord, now that a fair door of suffering was opened to him; he wrote the Epistle we here subjoin, to the Romans. *See the Epistle.*

10. And having thus strengthened such of the brethren at Rome as were against his martyrdom, by this Epistle, as he desired; setting sail from Smyrna, (for he was pressed by the soldiers to hasten to the public spectacles at great Rome, that being delivered to the wild beasts in sight of the people of the Romans, he might receive the crown for which he strove,) he came to Troas: from whence going on, being brought to Neopolis, he passed by Phillippi through Macedonia, and that part of Epirus which is next to Epidamnus: having found a ship in one of the sea-ports, he sailed over the Adriatic Sea: [and from thence entering into the Tyrhene] and passing by several islands and cities, at length he saw Puteoli. Which being showed to the holy man, he hastened to go forth, being desirous to walk from thence, in the way that Paul the Apostle had gone, [Acts xxviii. 13, 14.] But a violent wind arising, and driving on the ship, would not suffer him so to do: wherefore commending the love of the brethren in that place he sailed forward.

11. And the wind continuing favourable to us, in one day and a night, we indeed were unwillingly hurried on, as sorrowing to think of being separated from this holy martyr: but to him it happened justly, according to his wish, that he might go the sooner out of the world, and attain unto the Lord whom he loved. Wherefore sailing into the Roman port, and those impure sports being almost at an end, the soldiers began to be offended at our slowness; but the Bishop with great joy complied with their hastiness.

12. Being therefore soon forced away from the port so called, we forthwith met the brethren; (for the report of what concerned the holy martyr was spread abroad) who were full of fear and joy; for they rejoiced in that God had vouchsafed them the company of Theophorus; but were afraid, when they considered, that such a one was brought thither to die. Now some of these he commanded to hold their peace, who were the most zealous for his safety, and said, that *they would appease the people, that they should not desire the destruction of the just.* Who presently knowing this by the spirit, and saluting all of them, he desired them that they would show a true love to him; disputing yet more with them than he had done in his Epistle, and persuaded them not to envy him who was hastening unto the Lord. And so, all the brethren kneeling down, he prayed to the Son of God in behalf of the Churches, that he would put a stop to the persecution, and *continue* the love of the brethren towards each other: which being done, he was with all haste led into the amphitheatre, and speedily, according to the command of Cæsar before given, thrown in, the end of the spectacles being at hand. For it was then a very solemn day, called in the Roman tongue the 13th of the Calends of January, upon which the people were ordinarily wont to be gathered together.—

Thus was he delivered to the cruel beasts, near the temple by wicked men: that so the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius might be accomplished; as it is written, "the desire of the righteous is acceptable;" [Prov. x. 24.] namely, that he might not be burthensome to any of the brethren, by the gathering of his relics, but might be wholly devoured by them; according as in his Epistle he had before wished, that so his end might be. For only the greater and harder of his holy bones remained; which were carried to Antioch, and there put up in a napkin, as an inestimable treasure left to the Church by the grace which was in the martyr.

13. Now these things were done the 13th of the Calends of January, that is the 20th day of December; Sura and Synecius being the second time Consuls of the Romans; of which we ourselves were eye-witnesses: and being the night following watching with tears in the house, praying to God with our bended knees, that he would give us weak men some assurance of what had been before done; it happened, that falling into a slumber, some of us on the sudden saw the blessed Ignatius standing by us and embracing us: others beheld the blessed martyr praying for us: others as it were dropping with sweat, as if he were just come from his great labour, and standing by the Lord.

14. Which when we saw, being filled with joy; and comparing the visions of our dreams with one another, we glorified God, the giver of all good things, and being assured of the blessedness of the saint; we have made known unto you both the day and time: that being assembled together according to the time of his martyrdom, we may communicate with the combatant, and most valiant martyr of Christ; who trod under foot the devil, and perfected the course he had piously desired, in Christ Jesus our Lord; by whom, and with whom, all glory and power be to the Father, with the blessed Spirit, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE EPHESIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Ephesus in Asia, most deservedly happy; being blessed through the greatness and fullness of God the Father, and predestinated before the world began, that it should be always unto an enduring and unchangeable glory; being united and chosen through his true passion, according to the will of the Father, and Jesus Christ our God; all happiness, by Jesus Christ, and his undefiled Grace.

1. I HAVE heard of your name, much beloved in God, which ye have very justly attained by a habit of righteousness, according to the faith and love which is in Jesus Christ our Saviour: how that being followers of God, and stirring up yourselves by the blood of Christ, ye have perfectly accomplished the work that was com-
manded.

ural unto you. For hearing that I came bound from Syria, for the common name and hope, [viz. of Christ,] trusting through your prayers to fight with beasts at Rome; that so by suffering I may become indeed the disciple of him who gave himself to God, an offering and sacrifice for us, [ye hastened to see me.] *I received therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus; who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to the flesh is your Bishop: whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ, to love; and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent Bishop.*

2. For what concerns my fellow servant Burrhus, and your most blessed deacon in things pertaining to God; *I entreat you that he may tarry longer, both for your's, and your Bishop's honour.* And Crocus also worthy both our God and you, whom I have received as the pattern of your love, has in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Eplus, and Fronto, in whom I have, as to your charity, seen all of you. And may I always have joy of you, if I shall be worthy of it. It is therefore fitting that you should by all means glorify Jesus Christ who hath glorified you: that by a uniform obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment; and may all speak the same things concerning every thing; *and that being subject to your Bishop, and the Presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.*

3. These things I prescribe to you, not as if I were somebody extraordinary: for though I am bound for his name, I am not yet perfect in Christ Jesus. But now I begin to learn, and I speak to you as fellow-disciples together with me. For I ought to have been stirred up by you, in faith, in admonition, in patience, in long suffering: but forasmuch as charity suffers me not to be silent towards you, I have first taken upon me to exhort you, that ye would all run together according to the will of God. For even Jesus Christ, our insuperable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the Bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.

4. *Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your Bishop, as also ye do. For your famous Presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the Bishop, as the strings are to the harp.* Therefore in your concord, and agreeing charity, Jesus Christ is sung; and every single person among you makes up the chorus: that so being all consonant in love, and taking up the song of God, ye may in a perfect unity, with one voice, sing to the Father by Jesus Christ; to the end that he may both hear you, and perceive by your works, that ye are indeed the members of his Son: wherefore it is profitable for you to live in an unblamable unity, that so ye may always have a fellowship with God.

5. For if I in this little time have had such a familiarity with your Bishop, I mean not a carnal, but spiritual acquaintance with him; how much more must I think you happy who are so joined to

him, as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity? Let no man deceive himself; if a man be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, *as we are told*, [Matt. xviii. 19.] how much more powerful shall that of the Bishop and the whole Church be? He therefore that does not come together into the same place with it, is proud, and has already condemnaed himself. *For it is written*, “*God resisteth the proud*,” [James iv. 6.] *Let us take heed therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the Bishop, that we may be subject to God.*

6. The more any one sees his Bishop silent, the more let him revere him. For whomsoever the master of the house sends to be over his own household, we ought in like manner to receive him, as we would do him that sent him. *It is therefore evident that we ought to look upon the Bishop, even as we would do upon the Lord himself.* And indeed Onesimus himself does greatly commend your good order in God: that you all live according to the truth, and that no heresy dwells among you. For neither do ye hearken to any one more than to Jesus Christ speaking to you in truth.

7. For some there are who carry about the name of Christ in deceitfulness, but do things unworthy of God; whom ye must flee, as ye would do so many wild beasts. For they are ravening dogs, who bite secretly: against whom ye must guard yourselves, as men hardly to be cured. There is one physician, both fleshly and spiritual; made and not made; God incarnate; true life in death; both of Mary and of God: first passable, then impassable; even Jesus Christ our Lord.

8. Wherefore let no man deceive you; as indeed neither are ye deceived, being wholly the servants of God. For inasmuch as there is no contention, nor strife among you, to trouble you, ye must needs live according to God's will. My soul be for yours; and I myself the expiatory offering for your Church of Ephesus, so famous throughout the world. They that are of the flesh cannot do the works of the Spirit; neither they that are of the Spirit the works of the flesh. As he that has faith, cannot be an infidel; nor he that is an infidel have faith. But even those things which ye do according to the flesh are spiritual; forasmuch as ye do all things in Jesus Christ.

9. Nevertheless I have heard of some who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine: whom ye did not suffer to sow among you; but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things that were sown by them: as being the stones of the temple of the Father, prepared for his building; and drawn upon high by the cross of Christ, as by an engine; using the Holy Ghost as the rope; your faith being your support; and your charity the way that leads unto God. Ye are therefore, with all your companions in the same journey, full of God; his spiritual temples, full of Christ, full of holiness; adorned in all things with the commands of Christ: in whom also I rejoice that I have been thought worthy by this present Epistle to converse, and joy together with you; that with respect to the other life, ye love nothing but God only.

10. Pray also without ceasing for ether men: for there is hope of repentance in them, that they may attain unto God. Let them therefore at least be instructed by your works, if they will be no other way. Be ye mild at their anger; humble at their boasting: to their blasphemies, return your prayers: to their error, your firmness in the faith: when they are cruel, be ye gentle; not endeavouring to imitate their ways: (let us be their brethren in all kindness and moderation, but let us be followers of the Lord; for who was ever more unjustly used? more destitute? more despised?) that so no herb of the devil may be found in you; but ye may remain in all holiness and sobriety both of body and spirit, in Christ Jesus.

11. The last times are come upon us: let us therefore be very reverent, and fear the long suffering of God, that it be not to us unto condemnation. For let us either fear the wrath that is to come, or let us love the grace that we at present enjoy; that by the one or other of these, we may be found in Christ Jesus, unto true life. Besides him, let nothing be worthy of you; for whom also I bear about these bonds, those spiritual jewels, in which I would to God that I might arise through your prayers: of which I entreat you to make me always partaker, that I may be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always agreed with the Apostles, through the power of Jesus Christ.

12. I know both who I am, and to whom I write: I, a person condemned; ye, such as have obtained mercy: I, exposed to danger: ye, confirmed against danger. Ye are the passage of those that are killed for God; the companions of Paul in the mysteries of the Gospel; the holy, the martyr, the deservedly most happy Paul: at whose feet may I be found, when I shall have attained unto God; who throughout all his Epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.

13. Let it be your care therefore to come more fully together, to the praise and glory of God. For when ye meet fully together in the same place, the powers of the devil are destroyed, and his mischief is dissolved by the unity of your faith. And indeed, nothing is better than peace; by which all war both spiritual and earthly, is abolished.

14. Of all which nothing is hid from you, if ye have perfect faith and charity in Christ Jesus, which are the beginning and end of life. For the beginning is faith; the end charity. And these two joined together, are of God: but all other things which concern a holy life are the consequences of these. No man professing a true faith, sinneth; neither does he who has charity, hate *any*. *The tree is made manifest by its fruit*, [Matt. xii. 33.] So they who profess themselves to be christians, are known by what they do. For Christianity is not the work of an outward profession; but shows itself in the power of faith, if a man be found faithful unto the end.

15. It is better for a man to hold his peace, and be; than to say, *he is a Christian*, and not to be. It is good to teach; if what he says, he does likewise. There is therefore one master who spake, and it was done; and even these things which he did without speaking are

worthy of the Father. He that possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear his very silence, that he may be perfect; and both do according to what he speaks, and be known by those things of which he is silent. There is nothing hid from God, but even our secrets are nigh unto him. Let us therefore do all things, as becomes those who have God dwelling in them; that we may be his temples, and he may be our God: as also he is, and will manifest himself before our faces, by those things *for which* we justly love him.

16. Be not deceived, my brethren: those that corrupt families by adultery, shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If therefore they who do this according to the flesh, have suffered death; how much more shall he die, who by his wicked doctrine corrupts the faith of God, for which Christ was crucified? he that is thus defiled, shall depart into unquenchable fire, and so also shall he that hearkens to him.

17. For this cause did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured on his head, that he might breathe the breath of immortality unto his Church. Be not ye therefore anointed with the evil savour of the doctrine of the prince of this world: let him not take you captive from the life that is set before you. And why are we not all wise; seeing we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we suffer ourselves foolishly to perish; not considering the gift which the Lord has truly sent to us?

18. Let my life be sacrificed for the doctrine of the cross; which is indeed a scandal to the unbelievers, but to us is salvation and life eternal. *Where is the wise man? where is the disputer?* [1 Cor. i. 20.] where is the boasting of those who are called wise? for our God Jesus Christ, was according to the dispensation of God, conceived in the womb of Mary, of the seed of David by the Holy Ghost: he was born, and baptized, that through his passion, he might purify water, to the washing away of sin.

19. Now the virginity of Mary, and he who was born of her, was kept in secret from the prince of this world; as was also the death of our Lord: three of the mysteries the most spoken of throughout the world, yet done in secret by God. How then was our Saviour manifested to the world? a star shone in Heaven beyond all the other stars, and its light was inexpressible, and its novelty struck terror into men's minds. All the rest of the stars, together with the sun and moon, were the chorus to this star: but that sent out its light exceedingly above them all. And men began to be troubled to think whence this new star came so unlike to all the others. Hence all the power of magic became dissolved; and every band of wickedness was destroyed; men's ignorance was taken away, and the old kingdom abolished; God himself appearing in the form of a man, for the renewal of eternal life. From thence began what God had prepared: from thenceforth things were disturbed; forasmuch as he designed to abolish death.

20. But if Jesus Christ shall give me grace through your prayers, and it be his will, I purpose in a second Epistle which I will suddenly write unto you to manifest to you more fully the dispensation

of which I have now begun to speak, unto the new man, which is Jesus Christ; both in his faith, and charity; in his suffering, and in his resurrection: especially if the Lord shall make known unto me, that ye all by name come together in common in one faith, and in one Jesus Christ; who was of the race of David according to the flesh; the son of man, and Son of God, *obeying your Bishop and the Presbytery with an entire affection*; breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality; our antidote that we should not die, but live forever in Christ Jesus.

21. My soul be for yours, and theirs whom ye have sent, to the glory of God; even unto Smyrna, from whence also I write to you; giving thanks unto the Lord, and loving Polycarp even as I do you. Remember me, as Jesus Christ does remember you. Pray for the Church which is in Syria, from whence I am carried bound to Rome; being the least of all the faithful which are there, as I have been thought worthy to be found to the glory of God. Fare ye well in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our common hope. *Amen.*

TO THE EPHESIANS.

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE MAGNESIANS.

Ignatius who is also called Theophorus; to the blessed [Church] by the grace of God the Father in Jesus Christ our Saviour: in whom I salute the Church which is at Magnesia near the Meander, and wish it all joy, in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ.

1. WHEN I heard of your well ordered love and charity in God, being full of joy, I desired much to speak unto you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For having been thought worthy to obtain a most excellent name, in the bonds which I carry about, I salute the Churches; wishing in them a union both of the body and Spirit of Jesus Christ, our eternal life; as also of faith and charity, to which nothing is preferred: but especially of Jesus and the Father; in whom if we undergo all the injuries of the prince of this present world, and escape, we shall enjoy God.

2. Seeing then I have been judged worthy to see you, by Damas your most excellent Bishop; and by your very worthy Presbyters, Bassus, and Apollonius; and by my fellow-servant Sotio the deacon; *in whom I rejoice, forasmuch as he is subject unto his Bishop as to the grace of God, and to the Presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ*; I determined to write unto you.

3. *Wherefore it will become you also not to use your Bishop too familiarly upon the account of his youth; but to yield all reverence to him according to the power of God the Father: AS ALSO I PERCEIVE THAT YOUR HOLY PRESBYTERS DO; not considering his age,*

which indeed to appearance is young; but as becomes those who are prudent in God, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the Bishop of us all. It will therefore behove you, with all sincerity, to obey your Bishop; in honour of him whose pleasure it is that ye should do so, because he that does not do so, deceives not the Bishop whom he sees, but affronts him that is invisible. For whatsoever of this kind is done, it reflects not upon man, but upon God, who knows the secrets of our hearts.

4. It is therefore fitting, that we should not only be called Christians, but be so. *As some call indeed their governor, Bishop; but yet do all things without him. But I can never think that such as these have a good conscience, seeing they are not gathered together thoroughly according to God's commandment.*

5. Seeing then all things have an end, there are these two indifferently set before us, death and life; and every one shall depart unto his proper place. For as there are two sorts of coins, the one of God, the other of the world; and each of these has its proper inscription engraven upon it; so also is it here. The unbelievers are of this world; but the faithful, through charity, have the character of God the Father by Jesus Christ: by whom if we are not readily disposed to die after the likeness of his passion, his life is not in us.

6. Forasmuch therefore as I have in the persons before mentioned, seen all of you in faith and charity; *I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord: your Bishop presiding in the place of God, your Presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles; and your Deacons most dear to me, being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ; who was with the Father before all ages, and appeared in the end to us. Wherefore taking the same holy course, see that ye all reverence one another: and let no one look upon his neighbour after the flesh, but do you all mutually love each other in Jesus Christ. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you; but be ye united to your Bishop, and these who preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality.*

7. As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to him; neither by himself nor yet by his Apostles; *so neither do ye do any thing without your Bishop and Presbyters: neither endeavour to let any thing appear rational to yourselves apart; but being come together into the same place, have one common prayer; one supplication; one mind; one hope; in charity and in joy undivided. There is one Lord Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God; as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ; who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to one.*

8. Be not deceived with strange doctrines; nor with old fables which are unprofitable. For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we do confess ourselves not to have received grace. For even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. And for this cause were they persecuted, being inspired by his grace, to convince the unbelievers and disobedient that there

is one God who has manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son; who is his eternal Word, not coming forth from silence, who in all things pleased him that sent him. [John i. 1.]

9. Wherefore if they who were brought up in these ancient laws came nevertheless to the newness of hope; no longer observing Sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's day, in which also our life is sprung up by him, and through his death, whom yet some deny (by which mystery we have been brought to believe, and therefore wait that we may be found the disciples of Jesus Christ, our only master:) how shall we be able to live different from him; whose disciples the very prophets themselves being, did by the Spirit expect him as their master. And therefore he whom they justly waited for, being come, raised them up from the dead. [Mat. xxvii. 52.]

10. Let us not then be insensible of his goodness; for should he have dealt with us according to our works, we had not now had a being. Wherefore being become his disciples, let us learn to live according to the rules of Christianity: for whosoever is called by any other name besides this, he is not of God. Lay aside therefore the old, and sour, and evil leaven; and be changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in him, lest any one among you should be corrupted; for by your Saviour ye shall be judged. It is absurd to name Jesus Christ, and to Judaize.—For the Christian religion did not embrace the Jewish, but the Jewish the Christian; that so every tongue that believed might be gathered together unto God.

11. These things, my beloved, I write unto you; not that I know of any among you that lie under this error: but as one of the least among you, I am desirous to forwarn you that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine. but that ye be fully instructed in the birth and suffering, and resurrection of Jesus Christ our hope; which was accomplished in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate, and that most truly and certainly; and from which God forbid that any among you should be turned aside.

12. May I therefore have joy of you in all things, if I shall be worthy of it. For though I am bound, yet am I not worthy to be compared to one of you that are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up; for ye have Jesus Christ in your hearts. And especially when I commend you, I know that ye are a-hamed, as it is written, *the just man condemneth himself.* [Prov. xviii. 17. Sept.]

13. Study therefore to be confirmed in the doctrine of our Lord, and of his Apostles; that so whatsoever ye do, ye may prosper both in body and spirit; in faith and charity; in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Holy Spirit; in the beginning, and in the end: *together with your most worthy Bishop, and the wellwrought spiritual crown of your Presbytery; and your deacons which are according to God.* Be subject to your Bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh: and the Apostles both to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost; that so ye may be united both in body and Spirit.

14. Knowing you to be full of God, I have the more briefly ex-

horted you. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God; and of the Church that is in Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called. For I stand in need of your joint prayers in God, and of your charity, that the Church which is in Syria may be thought worthy to be nourished by your Church.

15. The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you, from which place I write unto you; (being present here to the glory of God, in like manner as you are,) who have in all things refreshed me: *together with Polycarp the Bishop of the Smyrneans*. The rest of the Churches, in the honour of Jesus Christ, salute you. Farewell, and be ye strengthened in the concord of God; enjoying his inseparable Spirit, which is Jesus Christ.

TO THE MAGNESIANS.

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE TRALLIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles in Asia; beloved of God, the Father of Jesus Christ; elect, and worthy of God, having peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ our hope; in the resurrection which is by him: which also I salute in its fulness, *continuing in the Apostolical character*; wishing all joy and happiness unto it.

1. I HAVE heard of your blameless and constant disposition through patience, which not only appears in your outward conversation, but is naturally rooted, and grounded in you: in like manner as Polybius your Bishop has declared unto me; who came to me to Smyrna, by the will of God and Jesus Christ; and so rejoiced together with me in my bonds for Jesus Christ, that in effect I saw your whole Church in him. Having therefore received the testimony of your good will towards me for God's sake, by him; I seemed to find you, as also I knew that ye were, the followers of God.

2. *For whereas ye are subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ; who died for us, that so believing in his death, ye might escape death. It is therefore necessary, that as ye do, so without your Bishop you should do nothing: also be ye subject to your Presbyters, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope; in whom if we walk, we shall be found in him. The deacons also, as being the ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all. For they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God. Wherefore they must avoid all offences, as they would do fire.*

3. *In like manner let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ; and the Bishop as the Father, and the Presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God, and college of the Apostles. Without these there is no*

Church. Concerning all which I am persuaded that ye think after the very same manner: for I have received, and even now have with me the pattern of your love, in your Bishop. Whose very look is instructive; and whose mildness powerful; whom I am persuaded the very atheists themselves cannot but reverence. But because I have a love towards you, I will not write any more sharply unto you about this matter, though I very well might; but now I have done so; lest being a condemned man, I should seem to prescribe to you as an Apostle.

4. I have great knowledge in God; but I refrain myself, lest I should perish in my boasting. For now I ought the more to fear, and not hearken to those that *would* puff me up. For they that speak to me, *in my praise*, chasten me. For I indeed desire to suffer, but I cannot tell whether I am worthy so to do. And this desire, though to others it does not appear, yet to myself it is *for that very reason* the more violent. I have therefore need of moderation; by which the prince of this world *is destroyed*.

5. Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? but I fear lest I should harm you, who are yet but babes in Christ: (excuse me this care,) and lest perchance being not able to receive them, ye should be choaked with them. For even I myself, although I am in bonds, yet am not therefore able to understand heavenly things: as the places of the Angels, and the several companies of them, under their respective princes; things visible and invisible; but in these I am yet a learner; for many things are wanting to us, that we come not short of God.

6. I exhort you therefore, *or rather* not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, that ye use none but Christian nourishment; abstaining from pasture which is of another kind, I mean heresy. *For they that are heretics*, confound together the doctrine of Jesus Christ, with *their own* poison; whilst they seem worthy of belief: as men give a deadly portion mixed with sweet wine; which he who is ignorant of, does with the treacherous pleasure sweetly drink in his own death.

7. Wherefore guard yourselves against such persons. And that you will do if you are not puffed up; *but continue inseparable from Jesus Christ our God, and from your Bishop, and from the commands of the Apostles.* He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, *that does any thing without the Bishop, and Presbyters, and Deacons, is not pure in his conscience.*

8. Not that I know there is any thing of this nature among you; but I fore-arm you, as being greatly beloved by me, foreseeing the snares of the Devil. Wherefore putting on meekness, renew yourselves in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord; and in charity, that is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no man have any grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles; lest by means of a few foolish men, the whole congregation of God be evil spoken of. For woe to that man through whose vanity my name is blasphemed by any.

9. Stop your ears, therefore, as often as any one shall speak contrary to Jesus Christ; who was of the race of David, of the

Virgin Mary. Who was truly born, and did eat and drink; was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; was truly crucified and dead; both those in Heaven, and on earth, and under the earth being spectators of it. Who was also truly raised from the dead by his Father, after the same manner as he will also raise up us who believe in him, by Christ Jesus; without whom we have no true life.

10. But if as some who are atheists, that is to say infidels, pretend, that he only seemed to suffer: (they themselves only seeming to exist) why then am I bound? why do I desire to fight with beasts? therefore do I die in vain: therefore I will not speak falsely against the Lord.

11. Flee therefore these evil sprouts which bring forth deadly fruit; of which if any one taste, he shall presently die. For these are not the plants of the Father; seeing if they were, they would appear to be the branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible: by which he invites you through his passion, who are members of him. For the head cannot be without its members, God having promised a union, that is himself.

12. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God that are present with me; who have refreshed me in all things, both in the flesh and in the spirit. My bonds which I carry about me for the sake of Christ, (beseeching him that I may attain unto God) exhort you, that you continue in concord among yourselves, and in prayer with one another. *For it becomes every one of you, ESPECIALLY THE PRESBYTERS, to refresh the Bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles.* I beseech you that ye hearken to me in love, that I may not by those things which I write, rise up in witness against you. Pray also for me; who through the mercy of God stand in need of your prayers, that I may be worthy of the portion which I am about to obtain, that I be not found a reprobate.

13. The love of those who are at Smyrna and Ephesus salute you. Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called, being one of the least of it. *Fare ye well in Jesus Christ; being subject to your Bishop as to the command of God; and so likewise to the Presbytery.* Love every one his brother with an unfeigned heart. My soul be your expiation, not only now, but when I shall have attained unto God: for I am yet under danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ, to fulfil both mine and your petition: in whom may ye be found unblameable.

TO THE TRALLIANS.

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE ROMANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus; to the Church which has obtained mercy from the majesty of the Most High Father, and his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; beloved, and illuminated through the will of Him who willeth all things which are according to the love of Jesus Christ our God, which also presides in the place of the region of the Romans; and which I salute in the name of Jesus Christ, [as being] united both in flesh and spirit to all his commands, and filled with the grace of God; [all joy] in Jesus Christ our God.

1. FORASMUCH as I have at last obtained through my prayers to God, to see your faces, which I much desired to do; being bound in Christ Jesus, I hope *ere long* to salute you, if it shall be the will of God to grant me to attain unto the end I *long for*. For the beginning is well disposed, if I shall but have grace, without hindrance, to receive what is appointed for me. But I fear your love lest it do me an injury. For it is easy for you to do what you please; but it will be hard for me to attain unto God if you spare me.

2. But I would not that ye should please men, but God; whom also ye do please. For neither shall I ever hereafter have such an opportunity of going unto God; nor will you, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to a better work. For if you shall be silent in my behalf, I shall be made *partaker* of God. But if you shall love my body, I shall have my course again to run. Wherefore ye cannot do me a greater kindness, than to suffer me to be sacrificed unto God, now that the altar is already prepared: that when ye shall be gathered together in love, ye may give thanks to the Father through Christ Jesus, that he has vouchsafed to bring a Bishop of Syria *unto you*, being called from the east unto the west. For it is good *for me* to set from the world, unto God; that I may rise again unto him.

3. Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others. I would therefore that ye *should now do those things yourselves*, which in your instructions you have prescribed to *others*. Only pray for me, that God would give me both inward and outward strength, that I may not only say, but will; nor only called a Christian, but be found one. For if I shall be found a *Christian*, I may *then deservedly* be called *one*: and be *thought* faithful, when I shall no longer appear to the world. Nothing is good, that is seen. For even our God, Jesus Christ, now that he is in the Father, does so much the more appear. A Christian is not a work of opinion; but of greatness of *mind* [especially when he is hated by the world.]

4. I write to the Churches, and signify to them all, that I am willing to die for God, unless you hinder me. I beseech you that you show not an unseasonable good will towards me. Suffer me to be food to the wild beasts by whom I shall attain unto God. For I am the wheat of God; and I shall be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather encourage the beasts, that they may become my sepulchre; and

may leave nothing of my body; that being dead, I may not be troublesome to any. Then shall I be truly the disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Pray therefore unto Christ for me, that by these instruments I may be made the sacrifice of God. I do not, as Peter and Paul, command you.— They were Apostles, I a condemned man; they were free, but I am even to this day a servant: but if I suffer, I shall then become the freeman of Jesus Christ, and shall rise free. And now, being in bonds, I learn, not to desire any thing.

5. From Syria even unto Rome, I fight with beasts both by sea and land; both night and day: being bound to ten leopards, that is to say, to such a band of soldiers; who though treated with all manner of kindness, are the worse for it. But I am the more instructed by their injuries; “yet am I therefore not justified,”— [I. Cor. iv, 4.] May I enjoy the wild beasts that are prepared for me; which also I wish may exercise all their fierceness upon me: and whom for that end I will encourage, that they may be sure to devour me, and not serve me as they have done some, whom out of fear they have not touched. But, and if they will not do it willingly, I will provoke them to it. Pardon me in this matter; I know what is profitable for me. Now I begin to be a disciple: [Luke xiv. 27.] nor shall any thing move me, whether visible or invisible, that I may attain to Christ Jesus. Let fire, and the cross; let the companies of wild beasts, let breakings of bones, and tearing of members; let the shattering in pieces of the whole body, and all the wicked torments of the Devil come upon me, only let me enjoy Jesus Christ.

6. All the ends of the world, and the kingdoms of it, will profit me nothing: I would rather die for Jesus Christ, than rule to the utmost ends of the earth. Him I seek who died for us: Him I desire that rose again for us. This is the gain that is laid up for me. Pardon me, my brethren, ye shall not hinder me from living: [nor seeing I desire to go to God, may you separate me *from him*, for the sake of this world; nor seduce me by any of the desires of it.] Suffer me to enter into pure light; where being come, I shall be indeed the servant of God. Permit me to imitate the passion of my God. If any one has Him within himself, let him consider what I desire; and let him have compassion on me, as knowing how I am straitened.

7. The prince of this world would fain carry me away, and corrupt my resolution towards my God. Let none of you therefore help him: rather do ye join with me, that is, with God. Do not speak with Jesus Christ, and yet covet the world. Let not any envy dwell with you: no not though I myself when I shall be come unto you, should exhort you to it, yet do not ye hearken to me; but rather believe what I now write to you. For though I am alive at the writing this, yet my desire is to die. My love is crucified; [and the fire that is within me does not desire any water; but being alive and springing within me, says,] come to the Father. I take no pleasure in the food of corruption, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ,

[of the seed of David; and the drink that I long for] is his blood, which is incorruptible love.

8. I have no desire to live any longer after the manner of men, neither shall I, if you consent. Be ye therefore willing, that ye yourselves also may be pleasing to God. I exhort you in a few words; *I pray you* believe me. Jesus Christ will shew you that I speak truly. My mouth is without deceit, and the Father hath truly spoken by it. Pray *therefore* for me, that I may accomplish *what I desire*. I have not written to you after the flesh, but according to the will of God. If I shall suffer, ye have loved me: but if I shall be rejected, ye have hated me.

9. Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, which now enjoys God for its shepherd instead of me: let Jesus Christ only oversee it, and your charity. But I am *even* ashamed to be reckoned as one of them: for neither am I worthy, being the least among them, and as one born out of due season. But through mercy I have obtained to be somebody, if I shall get unto God, [I. Cor. xv. 8.] My spirit salutes you; and the charity of the Churches that have received me in the name of Jesus Christ; not as a passenger; for even they that were not near to me in the way, have gone before me to the next city to meet me.

10. These things I write to you from Smyrna, by the most worthy of the Church of Ephesus. There is now with me, together with many others, Crocus most beloved of me. As for those which are come from Syria, and are gone before me to Rome, to the glory of God, I suppose you are not ignorant of them. Ye shall therefore signify to them that I draw near, for they are all worthy both of God, and of you: whom it is fit that you refresh in all things. This have I written to you, the day before the ninth of the Calends of September. Be strong unto the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ.

TO THE ROMANS.

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia; which has obtained mercy, being fixed in the concord of God, and rejoicing evermore in the passion of our Lord, and being fulfilled in all mercy through his resurrection; which also I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is our eternal and undefiled joy; *especially if they are at unity with the Bishop, and Presbyters who are with him, and the deacons appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ; whom he has settled according to his own will in all firmness by his Holy Spirit.*

1. *WHICH Bishop I know obtained that great ministry among you, not of himself, neither by men, nor out of vain glory, but by the love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ: whose*

moderation I admire; who by his silence is able to do more, than others with all their vain talk. For he is fitted to the commands, as the harp to its strings. Wherefore my soul esteems his mind towards God most happy, knowing it to be fruitful in all virtue, and perfect; full of constancy; free from passion, and according to all the moderation of the living God.

2. Wherefore as becomes the children *both* of the light and of truth; flee divisions and false doctrines: but where your shepherd is, there do ye, as sheep, follow after. For there are many wolves who seem worthy of belief, that with a false pleasure lead captive those that run in the course of God: but in your concord, they shall find no place.

3. Abstain *therefore* from *those* evil herbs which Jesus Christ does not dress; because such are not the plantation of the Father. Not that I have found any division among you, but rather *all manner* of purity. *For as many as are of God, and of Jesus Christ, are also with their Bishop.* And as many as shall with repentance return into the unity of the Church, even these shall also be the servants of God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. *Be not deceived, brethren: if any one follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks after any other opinion, he agrees not with the passion of Christ.*

4. Wherefore let it be your endeavour to partake all of the same holy eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ; and one cup, in the unity of his blood; one altar; *as also there is one Bishop, together with his Presbytery, and the deacons my fellow servants:* that so whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to the will of God.

5. My brethren, the love I have towards you makes me the more large; and having a great joy in you, I endeavour to secure you against danger: or rather not I, but Jesus Christ; in whom being bound I the more fear, as being yet only on the way to suffering. But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain to that portion, which by God's mercy is allotted to me: fleeing to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ; and to the Apostles as to the Presbytery of the Church. Let us also love the prophets, forasmuch as they also have led us to the Gospel, and to the hope in Christ, and to expect him. In whom also believing they were saved, in the unity of Jesus Christ; being holy men, worthy to be loved, and had in wonder; who have received testimony from Jesus Christ, and are numbered in the Gospel of our common hope.

6. But if any one shall preach the Jewish law unto you, hearken not unto him: for it is better to receive the doctrine of Christ from one that has been circumcised, than Judaism from one that has not. But if either the one or other, do not speak concerning Christ Jesus; they seem to be but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of men. Flee therefore the wicked arts and snares of the prince of this world; lest at any time being oppressed by his cunning, ye grow cold in your charity. But come all together into the same place, with an undivided heart. And, I bless my God that I have a good conscience

towards you, and that no one among you has whereof to boast either openly or privately, that I have been burthensome to him in much or little. And I wish to all amongst whom I have conversed, that it may not turn to a witness against them.

7. For although some would have deceived me according to the flesh; yet the Spirit, being from God, is not deceived: for it knows both whence it comes, and whither it goes, and reproveth the secrets of the heart. *I cried whilst I was among you; I spake with a loud voice; attend to the Bishop and to the Presbytery, and to the deacons.* Now some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the division that should come among you. But He is my witness for whose sake I am in bonds that I knew nothing from any man. *But the Spirit spake, saying on this wise; do nothing without the Bishop: keep your bodies as the temples of God: love unity: flee divisions: be the followers of Christ, as he was of his Father.*

8. I therefore did as became me, as a man composed to unity. *For where there is division and wrath, God dwelleth not. But the Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and to the council of the Bishop.* For I trust in the grace of Jesus Christ that he will free you from every bond. Nevertheless I exhort you that you do nothing out of strife, but according to the instruction of Christ. Because I have heard of some who say; unless I find *it written in the originals*, I will not believe *it to be written in the Gospel*. And when I said, it is written, they answered what lay before them in their corrupted copies. But to me Jesus Christ is instead of all the uncorrupted monuments in the world: *together with* those undefiled monuments, his cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is by him: by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.

9. The priests indeed are good: but much better is the High Priest to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been entrusted with the secrets of God. He is the door of the Father; by which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all prophets enter in; *as well as the Apostles and the Church.* And all these things *tend to the unity which is of God.* Howbeit the Gospel has somewhat in it far *above all other dispensations*; namely, the appearance of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, his passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets referred to him: but the Gospel is the perfection of incorruption. *All therefore together are good, if ye believe with charity.*

10. Now as concerning the Church of Antioch which is in Syria, seeing I am told that through your prayers, and the bowels which ye have towards it in Jesus Christ, it is in peace; *it will become you, as the Church of God, to ordain some deacon to go to them thither as the ambassador of God; that he may rejoice with them when they meet together, and glorify God's name. Blessed be that man in Jesus Christ, who shall be found worthy of such a ministry; and ye yourselves also shall be glorified.* Now if ye be willing, it is not impossible for you to do this for the sake of God; as also the other neighbouring Churches have sent them, some Bishops, some priests and deacons.

11. *As concerning Philo, the deacon of Cilicia, a most worthy man, he still ministers unto me in the word of God; together with Rheus of Agathopolis, a singular good person, who has followed me even from Syria, not regarding his life: these also bear witness unto you. And I myself give thanks to God for you, that ye receive them as the Lord shall receive you. But for those that dishonoured them, may they be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ. The charity of the brethren that are at Treas salutes you: from whence also I now write by Burrhus, who was sent together with me by those of Ephesus and Smyrna, for respect sake. May our Lord Jesus Christ honour them; in whom they hope, both in flesh, and soul, and spirit; in faith, in love, in unity. Farewell in Christ Jesus our common hope.*

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO THE SMYRNEANS.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus; to the Church of God the Father, and of the beloved Jesus Christ; which God hath mercifully blessed with every good gift, being filled with faith and charity, so that it is wanting in no gift: most worthy of God, and fruitful in saints; the Church which is at Smyrna in Asia; all joy, through his immaculate Spirit, and the word of God.

1. I GLORIFY God, even Jesus Christ, who has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that you are settled in an immoveable faith, as if you were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit; and are confirmed in love through the blood of Christ; being fully persuaded of those things which relate unto our Lord: who truly was of the race of David according to the flesh, but the Son of God according to the will and power of God: truly born of the Virgin, and baptized of John, that so *all righteousness might be fulfilled by him*, [Mat. iii. 15.] He was also truly crucified by Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch, being nailed for us in the flesh; by the fruits of which we are, even by his most blessed passion; that he might set up a token for all ages through his resurrection, to all his holy and faithful servants, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, in one body of his Church.

2. Now all these things he suffered for us, that we might be saved. And he suffered truly, as he also truly raised up himself: and not, as some unbelievers say, that he only seemed to suffer, they themselves only seeming to be. And as they believe so shall it happen unto them; when being divested of the body they shall become mere spirits.

3. But I know that even after his resurrection he was in the flesh; and I believe that he is still so. And when he came to those who were with Peter, he said, unto them, *take, handle me, and see that*

I am not an incorporal demon. And straightway they felt him and believed; being convinced both by his flesh and spirit. For this cause they despised death, and were found to be above it. But after his resurrection he did eat and drink with them, as he was flesh; although as to his spirit he was united to the Father.

4. Now these things, beloved, I put you in mind of, not questioning but that you yourselves also believe that they are so. But I arm you before-hand against certain beasts in the shape of men; whom you must not only not receive, but if it be possible must not meet with. Only you must pray for them, that if it be the will of God they may repent; which yet will be very hard. But of this our Lord Jesus Christ has the power, who is our true life. For if all these things were done only in show by our Lord, then do I also seem only to be bound: and why have I given up myself to death, to the fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? but now the nearer I am to the sword, the nearer I am to God: when I shall come among the wild beasts, I shall come to God. Only in the name of Jesus Christ, I undergo all, to suffer together with him; he who was made a perfect man strengthening me.

5. Whom some, not knowing, do deny; or rather have been denied by him, being the advocates of death, rather than of the truth. Whom neither the prophecies, nor the law of Moses have persuaded; nor the Gospel itself even to this day, nor the sufferings of every one of us. For they think also the same things of us.—For what does a man profit me, if he shall praise me, and blaspheme my Lord; not confessing that he was truly made man? now he that doth not say this, does in effect deny him, and is in death. But for the names of such as do this, they being unbelievers, I thought it not fitting to write them unto you. Yea, God forbid that I should make any mention of them, until they shall repent to a true belief of Christ's passion, which is our resurrection.

6. Let no man deceive himself; both the things which are in Heaven, and the glorious Angels, and princes, whether visible or invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, it shall be to them to condemnation. "He that is able to receive this, let him receive it," [Matt. xix. 12.] Let no man's place *or state in the world* puff him up; that which is worth all is faith and charity, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion from us, as to what concerns the grace of Jesus Christ which is come unto us, how contrary they are to the design of God? they have no regard to charity; no care of the widow, the fatherless, and the oppressed; of the bound or free, of the hungry or thirsty.

7. They abstain from the eucharist, and from the public offices; because they confess not the eucharist to be the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ; which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness, raised again from the dead. And for this cause contradicting the gift of God, they die in their disputes: but much better would it be for them to receive it, that they might one day rise through it. It will therefore become you to abstain from such persons; and not to speak with them neither in private nor in pub-

lic. But to hearken to the prophets, and especially to the Gospel, in which both Christ's passion is manifested unto us, and his resurrection perfectly declared. But flee all divisions, as the beginning of evils.

8. *See that ye all follow your Bishop, as Jesus Christ, the Father; and the Presbytery, as the Apostles. And reverence the deacons, as the command of God. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the Church separately from the Bishop. Let that eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the Bishop, or by him to whom the Bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people also be: as where Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop, neither to baptize, nor to celebrate the holy communion: but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing unto God; that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done.*

9. For what remains, it is very reasonable that we should repent, whilst there is yet time to return unto God. *It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and to the Bishop: he that honours the Bishop, shall be honoured of God. But he that does any thing without his knowledge, ministers unto the devil.* Let all things therefore abound to you in charity; seeing ye are worthy. Ye have refreshed me in all things; so shall Jesus Christ you. Ye have loved me both when I was present with you, and now being absent, ye cease not to do so. May God be your reward, for whom whilst ye undergo all things, ye shall attain unto him.

10. Ye have done well in that ye have received Philo, and Rheus Agathopus, who followed me for the word of God, as the deacons of Christ our God. Who also give thanks unto the Lord for you, forasmuch as ye have refreshed them in all things. Nor shall any thing that ye have done, be lost to you. My soul be for yours, and my bonds which ye have not despised, nor been ashamed of. *Wherefore* neither shall Jesus Christ, *our* perfect faith, be ashamed of you.

11. Your prayer is come to the Church of Antioch which is in Syria. From whence being sent bound with chains becoming God, I salute the Churches; being not worthy to be called from thence, as being the least among them. Nevertheless by the will of God I have been thought worthy of this honour; not for that I think I have deserved it, but by the grace of God: which I wish may be perfectly given unto me, that through your prayers I may attain unto God. And therefore that your work may be fully accomplished both upon earth and in Heaven; it will be fitting, and for the honour of God, that your Church appoint some worthy delegate who being come as far as Syria, may rejoice together with them that they are in peace; and that they are again restored to their former state, and have again received their proper body. Wherefore I should think it a worthy action, to send some one from you with an Epistle, to congratulate with them their peace in God; and that through your prayers they have now gotten to their harbour. For inasmuch as ye are perfect yourselves, you ought to think those things that are perfect. For when you are desirous to do well, God is ready to enable you thereunto.

12. The love of the brethren that are at Troas salutes you; from whence I write to you by Burrhus whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians your brethren; and who has in all things refreshed me. And I would to God that all would imitate him, as being a pattern of the ministry of God. May his grace fully reward him. *I salute your very worthy Bishop, and your venerable presbytery; and your deacons, my fellow-servants;* and all of you in general, and every one in particular, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in his flesh and blood; in his passion and resurrection both fleshly and spiritually; and in the unity of God with you. Grace be with you, and mercy, and peace, and patience for ever more.

13. I salute the families of my brethren, with their wives and children; and the virgins that are called widows. Be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost. Philo, who is present with me, salutes you. I salute the house of Tavius, and pray that it may be strengthened in faith and charity, both of flesh and spirit. I salute Alce, my well beloved, together with the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutechnus, and all by name. Farewell in the grace of God.

TO THE SMYRNEANS FROM TROAS.

EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS

TO ST. POLYCARP.

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, Bishop of the Church which is at Smyrna; their overseer, but rather himself overlooked by God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; all happiness.

1. HAVING known that thy mind towards God is fixed as it were upon an immoveable rock, I exceedingly give thanks, that I have been thought worthy to behold thy blessed face, in which may I always rejoice in God. Wherefore I beseech thee by the grace of God with which thou art clothed, to press forward in thy course, and to exhort all others that they may be saved. Maintain thy place with all care both of flesh and spirit; make it thy endeavour to preserve unity, than which nothing is better. Bear with all men, even as the Lord with thee. Support all in love, as also thou dost. Pray without ceasing; ask more understanding than what thou already hast. Be watchful, having thy spirit always awake. Speak to every one according as God shall enable thee. Bear the infirmities of all, as a perfect combatant: where the labour is great, the gain is the more.

2. If thou shalt love the good disciples, what thanks is it? but rather do thou subject to thee those that are mischievous, in meekness. Every wound is not healed with the same plaister: if the accessions of the disease be vehement, mollify them with soft remedies: be in all things, *wise as a serpent but harmless as a dove.* For this cause thou art composed of flesh and spirit; that thou mayest mollify those things that appear before thy face: and as for those that are not seen, pray to God that he would reveal them unto thee, that so thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but mayest abound in every gift. The times demand thee, as the pilots the winds; and he that is tossed in a tempest, the haven where he would be; that thou mayest attain unto God. Be sober, as the combatant of God: the crown proposed to thee is immortality, and eternal life;

concerning which thou art also fully persuaded. I will be thy surety in all things, and my bonds, which thou hast loved.

3. Let not those that seem worthy of credit, but teach other doctrines, disturb thee. Stand firm and immoveable, as an anvil when it is beaten upon. It is the part of a brave combatant, to be wounded, and yet overcome. But especially we ought to endure all things for God's sake, that he may bear with us.— Be *every day* better than other: consider the times; and expect him who is above all time, eternal, invisible, though for our sakes made visible: impalpable, and impassable, yet for us subjected to sufferings; enduring all manner of ways for our salvation.

4. Let not the widows be neglected: be thou, after God, their guardian. *Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent:* neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy. Let your assemblies be more full: inquire into all by name. Overlook not the men and maid servants; neither let them be puffed up; but rather let them be the more subject to the glory of God, that they may obtain from him a better liberty. Let them not desire to be set free at the public cost, that they be not slaves to their own lusts.

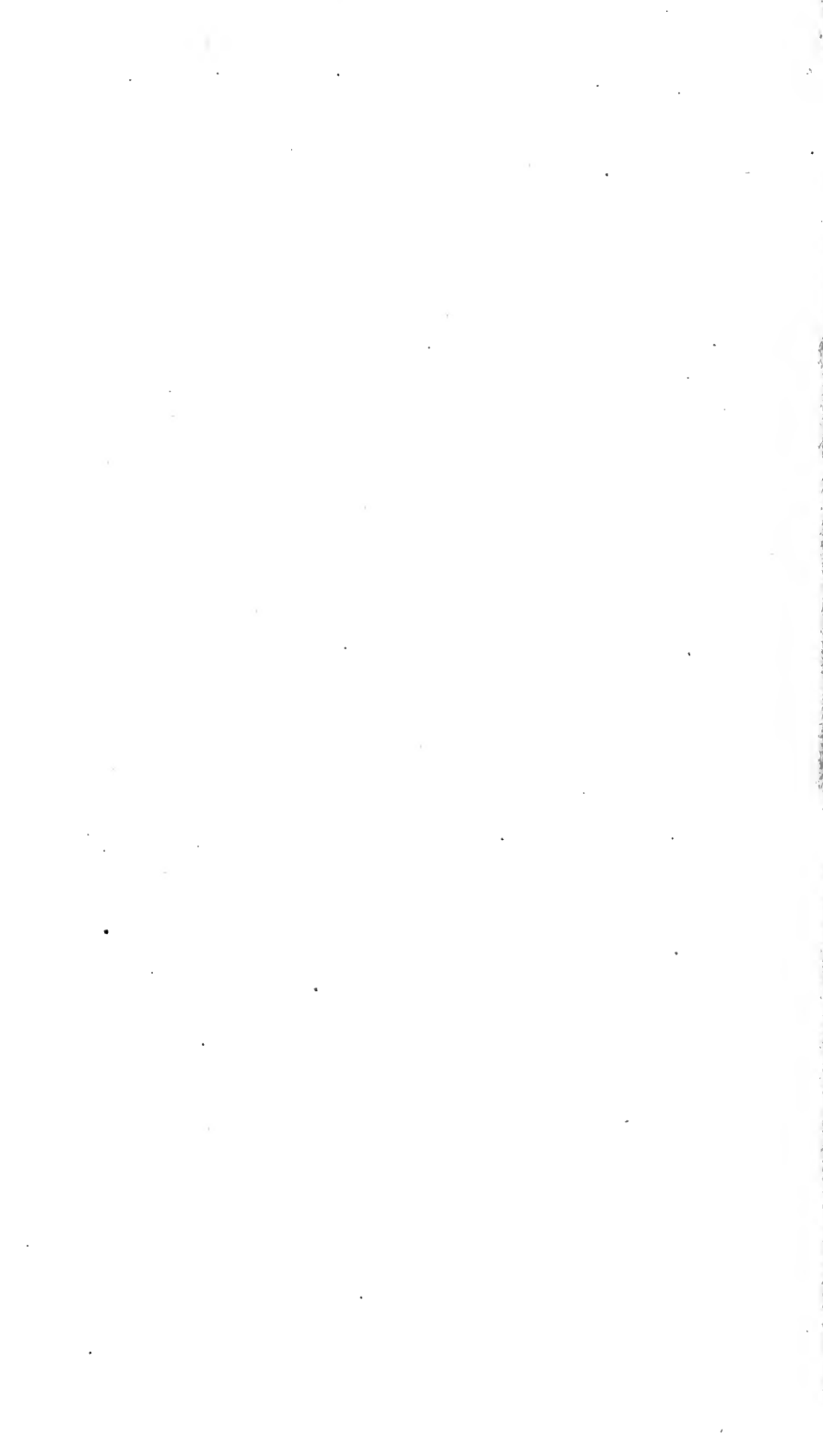
5. Flee evil arts, or rather make not any mention of them. Say to my sisters, that they love the Lord; and be satisfied with their own husbands, both in the flesh and spirit. In like manner, exhort my brethren in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, *even* as the Lord the Church. If any man can remain in a virgin state, to the honour of the flesh of Christ, let him remain without boasting: but if he boast, he is undone. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the Bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the Bishop, that so their marriage may be according to godliness, and not in lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

6. *Hearken unto the Bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their Bishop, with their presbyters and deacons.* And may my portion be together with theirs in God. Labour with one another, contend together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, and rise together, as the stewards, and assessors, and ministers of God. Please him under whom you war; and from whom you receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter; but let your baptism remain as your arms, your faith as your helmet, your charity as your spear, your patience as your whole armour. Let your works be your charge, that so you may receive a suitable reward. Be long-suffering therefore towards each other in meekness, as God is towards you. Let me have joy of you in all things.

7. Now forasmuch as the Church of Antioch in Syria is, as I am told, in peace through your prayers; I also have been the more comforted and without care in God; if so be that by suffering, I shall attain unto God; that through your prayers I may be found a disciple of Christ. It will be very fit, O most worthy Polycarp, to call a select council, and choose some one whom ye particularly love, and who is patient of labour, that he may be the messenger of God: and that going unto Syria, he may glorify your incessant love, to the praise of Christ. A Christian has not the power of himself; but must be always at leisure for God's service. Now this work is both God's and yours, when ye shall have perfected it. For I trust through the grace of God that ye are ready to every good work that is fitting for you in the Lord. Knowing therefore your earnest affection to the truth, I have exhorted you by these short letters.

8. But forasmuch as I have not been able to write to all the Churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis: (for so is the command of those to whose pleasure I am subject;) do you write to the Churches that are near you, as being instructed in the will of God, that they also may do in like manner. Let those that are able send messengers; and let the rest send *their* letters by those who shall be sent by you; that you may be glorified to all eternity, of which you are worthy. I salute all by name; particularly the wife of Epitropus, with all her house, and children. I salute Attalus my well beloved. I salute him, who shall be thought worthy to be sent by you into Syria. Let grace be ever with him, and with Polycarp who sends him. I wish you all happiness in our God, Jesus Christ: in whom continue in the unity, and protection of God. I salute Aleo my well beloved. Farewell in the Lord.











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