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LECTURES ON  
HADDAN'S  
APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION



SEABURY

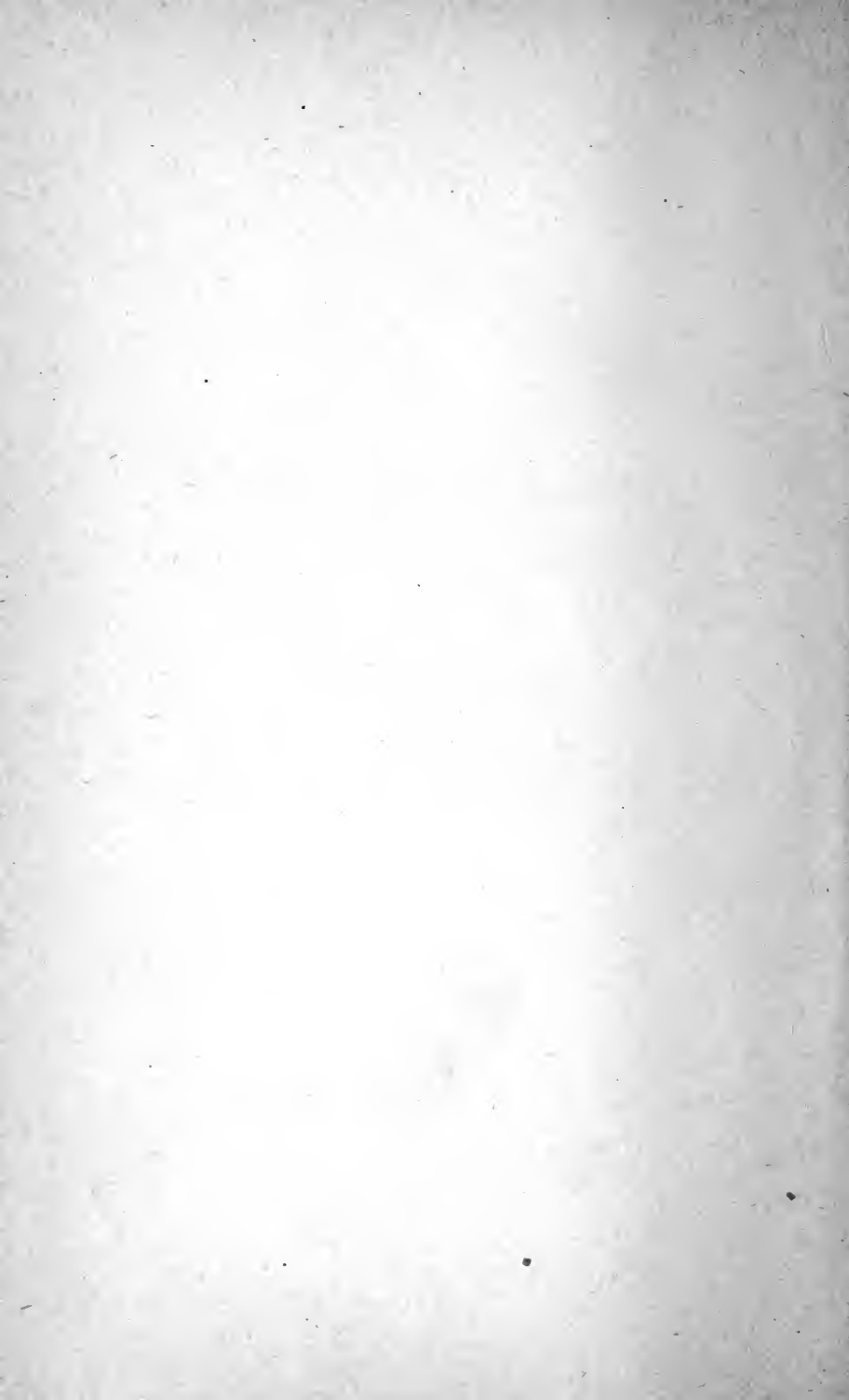
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# LECTURES

ON

## APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

BEING

AN EXPOSITION AND APPLICATION OF THE TEACHING  
OF THE LATE

REV. ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B.D.

(SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND RECTOR OF  
BARTON-ON-THE-HEATH)

IN HIS TREATISE ON THAT SUBJECT  
(RIVINGTONS, 1869)

BY

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LAW IN THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK



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## PREFACE.

THE treatise of the late Mr. Haddan, entitled *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, has been one of the text-books in the department of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Theological Seminary for many years. It has been used with a considerable measure of satisfaction, so far as could be ascertained, on the part of the students, and with an increasing appreciation of its value on the part of the professor. Considered as a statement of the doctrine of which it treats, and as an aid to those who seek to understand it, and to disentangle it from the misconceptions in which, by manifold controversies, it has been involved, it is singularly well adapted for a text-book—a book, that is to say, which a teacher may advantageously use as a text for the instruction which he desires to impart. It is characterized, too, not less by its candour and moderation, than by the comprehensive and exact learning, and the remarkable power of condensation, which doubtless led the late Dean Church to refer to it as the final authority on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

But although first published so recently as 1869, it has been found of late a matter of some difficulty for the students, even with that observance of *tradition* to which they are proverbially addicted, to obtain a sufficient number of copies for use in the course; and in the present year, there appearing

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the notice of Haddan in Stephens and Lee's *Dictionary of National Biography*.

no likelihood of the issue of another edition of the work, the alternative was forced upon me, either to abandon its use altogether, or to give such lectures on it as would convey to the students at least a part of the valuable treasure which it contains. In the endeavour to carry out the latter plan, I subjected the book to a careful analysis intended to present, as far as possible, in an affirmative way, teaching which, in the author's method, is to a considerable extent negatively and defensively stated : and, in following the scheme thus indicated, I endeavoured to express the meaning of the author as I understood it ; using his language or my own, as seemed most suitable to the purpose which I entertained ; quite freely intermingling with the author's words my own turns of expression, and comments explanatory or additional—intent only upon imparting such knowledge of the subject as, with the instruction of the author, and others in the same line, might be in this way conveniently applied.

Nearing the conclusion of this endeavour I was urged to the publication of the lectures, on the ground of their probable usefulness not only to those who could not obtain the book, but also to some who might be so happy as to possess it ; for, with all its value, it is a book which cannot by many be clearly apprehended without labour, and which is on that account not unfit to be interpreted. In assenting to this request I have had no other wish than such as is implied in the reason assigned for it. I should earnestly deprecate the imputation of having endeavoured either to improve upon the book or to furnish a substitute for it. My effort, rather, has been to supplement and extend the usefulness of a work to which I feel myself under lasting obligation.

W. J. S.

ANNUNCIATION RECTORY, NEW YORK,  
*Feast of the Annunciation, 1893.*

## BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA

NOTED FROM

### STEPHENS AND LEE'S DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.

ARTHUR WEST HADDAN was born August 31, 1816. He entered Brasenose, Oxford, 1834; was elected Scholar of Trinity, June 15, 1835; graduated B. A., 1837, afterward taking the degrees of M. A. and B. D.; and became a Fellow of Trinity College in 1839.

Haddan was deeply affected by the Oxford movement, and much influenced by Isaac Williams, then a tutor in Trinity. The special effect of the movement in that college was to lead its more distinguished advocates to the study of history, in order to maintain the historical position and claims of the Church. From the first, Haddan never swerved from his loyalty to the Church, or faltered in defence of its Apostolic character.

Ordained deacon in 1840, he acted for about a year as curate to John Henry Newman at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford. He was ordained priest in 1842, and about this time engaged in work for the Anglo-Catholic Library, editing, with great care and learning, five volumes of Bramhall's works, and six volumes of Thorne-dike's works, in that collection. He also brought out, in connection with Professor Stubbs after-

ward Bishop of Oxford, the first volume of the great work, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, founded on the collections of Spelman and Wilkins. His treatise on *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England* came out in 1869; and two editions appear to have followed his death, one in 1879 and the other in 1883. Though remembered chiefly for works on ecclesiastical history, his attainments were also great in biblical criticism, theology, philosophy, and classical scholarship. A man of singular modesty and unselfishness, he never obtained preferment, save to the poorly endowed living from his college, and the barren title of honorary Canon of Worcester. His devotion to study, and the toils of his literary pursuits, did not prevent him from engaging with earnestness in his pastoral work at Barton-on-the-Heath, to which he was much attached. He died February 8, 1873, *æet.* fifty-six.

# ANALYSIS.

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*APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION AS A DOCTRINE; AND AS  
MAINTAINED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN  
THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, AND  
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# LECTURES ON APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

## PART I.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION AS A DOCTRINE ; AND  
AS MAINTAINED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN THE  
PRIMITIVE CHURCH, AND IN THE CHURCH OF  
ENGLAND.

### LECTURE I.

(Chapter I. pp. 1-26.)

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCTRINE.

- I. Statement of the doctrine. II. Grounds on which it rests. III. Argument. 1. Essential to the being of the Church. 2. Individual assent essential to full acceptance of faith. IV. Grounds on which doctrine is assailed. 1. As meaning too little. 2. As meaning too much. V. Religious antagonism indicated by objections. VI. In what view important to be studied. VII. The issue involved. VIII. Tendency of the issue. IX. Implications involved in the doctrine. 1. The continued existence and need of supernatural gifts. 2. These divinely intrusted to a corporate body. 3. That in the Church is a divinely constituted ministry. 4. That this ministry receives its authority from God by transmission through those who have received it. 5. The only authorized transmitters the Bishops. 6. The transmission unbroken in continuity from the Apostles. X. Unity of this scheme. XI. Consequence of rejection of the doctrine. XII. General tone of dissent now as contrasted with that of seventeenth century. XIII. Circumstances of the present day requiring special attention to the doctrine.

## I. STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE.

THE doctrine of Apostolical Succession means, that, according to the institution of Christ, a ministry ordained in due form by Episcopal succession from the Apostles is an integral part of that visible Church to which the disciples of Christ are, by His will, to be joined. It implies, further, that the ministry so ordained is not a merely external office convenient for government, but involves also the transmission of special gifts of grace for the carrying on of the supernatural work of Christ by His Spirit—[involves, that is to say, the grace of order ; by which is to be understood the gift of the Holy Spirit conferring upon the ordained : (1) the power or ability to impart or minister the grace merited by Christ for man ; (2) the authority to impart such grace in the means of Christ's appointment ; (3) the supernatural aid requisite to the efficient and sanctifying discharge of this trust.]<sup>1</sup>

## II. GROUNDS UPON WHICH THE DOCTRINE RESTS.

The doctrine so stated rests upon the commission given by our Lord to His Apostles, [which is evidenced, first, by the various charges of our Lord to the first holders of the Apostolic office, involving its authority and perpetuity ; and, secondly, by the acts of the Apostles in providing for the transmission of orders. It does not come within the scope of this work to discuss in detail the scriptural evidences of the Apostolic commission, although in a subsequent chapter the author treats of the nature

<sup>1</sup> Statements for the substance of which the author of the work treated of is not responsible have been generally—*i. e.*, where they seemed of sufficient importance—included, as above, within brackets, although sometimes the author and the commentator are so intermingled as to make this discrimination impossible.—W. J. S.

of that evidence, and of the method by which it may be properly apprehended and used. It is sufficient for the purpose of the present statement of the case to indicate generally the ground on which the doctrine rests, leaving the student to ascertain from the abundance of other treatises on the subject—*e.g.*, Archbishop Potter on *Church Government*, Bishop H. U. Onderdonk's tract *Episcopacy Tested by Scripture*—in what manner it is substantiated by Holy Scripture.]

### III. ARGUMENT.

1. **Apostolic Succession Essential to the Being of the Church.**—If they only can impart the gifts of God who have received them for that purpose, and if the authority to transmit the grace of the ministry belonged from the beginning solely to the Apostles to whom Christ gave it, then the authority belongs neither to the Church as a body, nor to the secular power, nor to individual claimants, but to those who have received it by that succession through which the Apostles transmitted it; and if this succession be, by Apostolic authority under Divine guidance and direction, lodged in trust for its perpetuation in the hands of an order of rulers succeeding to the Apostolic power of ordination and oversight of subordinate orders as well as of the disciples in general, then no exercise of that function can be authorized in those subordinate orders more than in the disciples—so that a Church is so, at any rate in its integrity, only when it possesses this ministry of Apostolic succession.
2. **Individual Assent to this Doctrine Essential to full Acceptance of the Faith.**—And although this doctrine be not in the same sense *de fide* as, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity or that of the Atonement; and although it is in itself

a subordinate portion of the doctrine of the Church and Sacraments ; and although it may in this or that case be impossible for individuals to bring themselves within reach of what is part of an external and positive institution, and *real* necessity supersedes positive law—yet if this succession be indeed part of the means of grace appointed by Christ Himself through His Apostles it plainly cannot be wilfully disregarded without sin ; or lost, still less put aside, without risking the loss or diminution of the gifts and promises which are bound up with it in that case by Divine appointment. Even external institutions, in short, if ordained by Christ as a means of grace, cannot safely be wilfully disregarded by His disciples.

#### IV. GROUNDS ON WHICH THE DOCTRINE IS ASSAILED.

1. **As meaning too little.**—It is said that this Apostolic succession is a merely mechanical piece of external order—useless if an inward call to the ministry is felt to exist, a mockery if it is not ; or that it is a purely historical fact or assertion, of no moral significance, which is uncharitably insisted on by its advocates ; or that it is a substitution of outward form for inward union with Christ.

2. **As meaning too much.**—On the other hand the doctrine is scouted as drawing with it a whole system of teaching which is the reverse of insignificant ; and as bound up with the principle of a Church divinely appointed, and with the whole range of what is briefly called Sacramental doctrine.

#### V. THE RELIGIOUS ANTAGONISM INDICATED BY THE OBJECTIONS.

These objections indicate a religious antagonism opposing distinctly certain theories to the princi-



ples on which the Church is based and works. The theory of the obligation of each individual to make a Creed for himself is opposed to the principle that the Church by God's appointment furnishes an essential element of the rightful instruction and guidance of human reason ; and the notion of union with Christ through an assumed inward consciousness, testified solely by the feelings of the individual, is opposed to the principle of union with Christ through union with His Church, by the instrumentality of Sacraments of His appointment.

#### VI. IN WHAT VIEW THE DOCTRINE IMPORTANT.

The doctrine, then, is to be studied not as a mere matter of antiquarian research or human expediency, but as touching the reasonable and comfortable certainty of God's gifts of truth and grace, and as involved in the duty of humble obedience in the seeking of those gifts where God has lodged them.

#### VII. THE ISSUE INVOLVED.

For the issue involved in the denial of this doctrine is not merely whether this or that order of external government has the greater advantage in point of antiquity, or continuity, or utility ; but, beyond this, whether the Church has been divinely appointed to be primarily and ordinarily the channel of the supernatural gifts of God, instead of the conditions of salvation being left to rest absolutely within the will of the individual soul.

#### VIII. TENDENCY OF THE ISSUE.

And accordingly this issue, the outgrowth of that individualism which evacuates all outward acts or

institutions of every other value than that of external signs or motives of the man's own will, leads in the long run, however for a while unintended or repudiated, to a serious risk, at the least, of the denial or depreciation of supernatural truth and grace altogether.

#### IX. IMPLICATIONS INVOLVED IN THE DOCTRINE.

Consider, then, a little more in detail what is implied in the belief in an Apostolic ministry; and how far, on the other hand, the belief in such a ministry is required, in order to the safety of those plainly soul-concerning doctrines which are implied by it. The particular fact indicated by the words lies, no doubt, in small compass. But it is the complement, and, as it seems, in actual fact, the condition of a whole body of truth, which affects the entire treatment of the Christian life from its beginning to its earthly close; viz., of all that is involved in the doctrine of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and, more remotely, even of the entire doctrine of grace. For although many, struggling to retain the substance while discarding the form, hold parts of these doctrines, shunning the obligation to accept them as a whole, yet they do so, it should seem, by the force of tradition, or because the belief of the Church around them externally upholds their own belief. Succession of order, though a strong outward safeguard, is not, it is true, an infallible pledge, either of succession of faith or of retention of spiritual life; yet those who have lacked the Apostolic ministry have commonly, in the lapse of time, impaired both. And if on the one side undue worship of the Blessed Virgin has crept in, in spite of Church organization—marred, however, by the assumption of Papal infallibility—certainly on the other side

Naturalism appears to be the inevitable issue of the uncontrolled results of casting off the Church altogether. There is implied, then, in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession :

1. **The Continued Existence and Need of Supernatural Gifts.**—Christianity is not merely a philosophy, or a moral system only ; nor is it a self-caused change of feeling or will, and nothing more : but beyond all these, and, indeed, as the cause and foundation of all of them, it is, first, a revelation of supernatural truths which claim not opinion, but faith ; and, next, a supernatural dealing with the soul, whereby man is transformed by God's work, with his own will, into a new being. Belief in an Apostolic ministry implies, then, belief in a supernatural revelation of truth and in a supernatural gift of spiritual life, belief in the *grace of God*—a belief held, no doubt, by thousands who try to dis sever it from outward ordinances, yet which loses in that case, by inevitable law, its sobriety, its certainty, and in due time its reality also ; and which in such case is apt to be limited to fancied occasions and self-made sacraments, to the moment of supposed conversion, the excitement of startling preaching, and the like ; and which thus reasserts in a bastard form the very principle which it condemns.

2. **These Supernatural Gifts Divinely Intrusted to a Corporate Body.**—These gifts of grace are obtained ordinarily and primarily by the individual Christian as in union with Christ through His Church ; which, therefore, is not a voluntary association, nor a department of the State, nor an invisible abstraction, but a divinely constituted visible body—the witness of truth and the channel of grace.

3. **That in the Church is a Divinely Constituted Ministry.**—The doctrine implies, further,

that in the Church there is a divinely constituted ministry ; that the body corporate acts through an order of men [qualified to represent it, not as commissioned by the body, either as authorized by God to give such commission, or still less by virtue of an imaginary power resulting from the idle dream of a fancied identity of the Church with Christ who is its Head and not its subservient member, but] set apart by *God's ordinance* from their fellow Christians as ministers of the spiritual gifts intrusted to it ; stewards of the mysteries of God, to give to each one his portion in due season ; an order of men who are not simply almoners, lecturers, mouth-pieces of united worship, professional teachers, but *ministers of the Word and Sacraments*, possessing exclusively the commission of Christ.

4. **That this Ministry Receives its Authority from God by Transmission through those who have themselves Received it.**—The work of the ministry is not their work, but God's work through them. Their qualification, therefore, must be from God Himself, and in the way of His appointment ; viz., from those who have by commission or succession been qualified to confer it. They who give must first have received ; and so belief in an Apostolical ministry involves belief in the *grace of orders*—i.e., in the necessity and spiritual effectiveness of a proper formal ordination.

5. **The only Authorized Transmitters the Bishops.**—Upon Scriptural and historical grounds we are further limited to the belief that the office of ministering the grace thus rendered necessary belongs to that special class of the ministry to whom the Apostles gave it ; viz., to Bishops as successors in the Apostolic office.

6. **The Transmission Unbroken in Continuity from the Apostles.**—Either that, or a new commission from God creating afresh the gift of

Christ ; which would be—not only without evidence, but—inconsistent with the idea of a gift originally imparted once for all, and contrary also to Divine analogies in nature and in grace, wherein the work of God, initiated once for all by His creative word, is to fulfil its appointed task thenceforward by the power then inaugurated.

#### X. UNITY OF THIS SCHEME.

All this scheme of doctrine holds together as of one piece. It means—without Bishops, no Presbyters ; without Bishops and Presbyters, no legitimate certainty of Sacraments ; without Sacraments, no certain union with the mystical Body of Christ ; without this, no certain union with Christ ; and without that union, no salvation.

Yet with these necessary provisos at every step, by the very nature of the moral laws and attributes of God : first, that these outward things may be had ; secondly, that due allowance be made for ignorance, prejudice, or necessity ; thirdly, that the system be regarded as subservient and ministering to a true faith, a living religion, and a hearty love of Christ in the soul.

#### XI. CONSEQUENCE OF REJECTION OF THIS DOCTRINE.

Not only does the holding of Apostolic succession involve the holding of this whole scheme of doctrine, but the reverse also seems true, that those who do not hold this are almost necessarily led on to reject the larger portion at least of the doctrine involved in it.

A Divine commission is essential to the ministration of Sacraments which contain Divine gifts, and the denial of the Divine commission leads

naturally to the denial of the grace of the Sacraments.

And, conversely, Zwinglian doctrine in regard to the Sacraments implies also a conception of the Church that reduces it to a merely outward coöperation of Christians for the sake of expediency, and regards each Christian soul as in such sense in separate union with Christ as to require no union with His Church.

## XII. GENERAL TONE OF DISSENT NOW AS CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The contrast shows plainly, as a matter of historical fact, that loss of the ministry has been followed by loss of doctrine.

Many portions of the works of the great non-conformist writers of the earlier period would now sound to their followers as if from some obnoxious Church writer of the present. Even Wesley is full of doctrine which would be condemned as Tractarian, if Methodists met with it not knowing it to be his.

Not only have Sacraments been evacuated of their supernatural power, but it is questionable whether the very conception of the supernatural working of the Spirit of God in the soul is not seriously weakened in the popular religionism which disclaims Church doctrine.

## XIII. CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRING PRESENT ATTENTION TO THE DOCTRINE.

Increased Church feeling in recent years has given to this subject renewed importance. The transition from traditional acceptance to pronounced assertion has challenged the grounds of

belief. The prevalent longing for unity, [which seems to develop in proportion to the increase of a spurious and uncharitable liberality, and] which leads to the desire to be rid of anything which appears like a barrier to that unity ; and the social interests, intermarriages, and relationships which tend toward the perpetual blinking and smoothing over of differences, combine to call for the demonstration of the ministry of Apostolic succession, as the basis of the only unity that is such in fact as well as in name, as in itself the exponent of true charity, the bond of peace preserving the unity of the Spirit.

And, again, the increased facilities of intercourse which we have in this day, bringing the whole world near together, make it the more necessary to understand the value of our own position in proportion as we become more familiar with that of others, and are brought more closely into contact with those who hold more or less perfectly, and with more or less distinctness, the principles to which we owe allegiance ; while in England, in view of the probability of disestablishment, and in the United States, where the severance from the civil system is already complete, the Church, in mere self-defence, must needs fall back upon the ground of its own independent and Divine authority.

## LECTURE II.

(Chapter II. p. 27.)

OBJECTIONS TO THE DOCTRINE AS HELD BY THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

- I. Objections admitting the doctrine and denying the succession. 1. Roman Catholics object: (a) on alleged historical grounds; (b) on legal grounds; (c) on captious grounds. 2. Eastern objections. II. Objections denying the doctrine without admitting the fact. 1. Various theories of denial. 2. Grounds on which these theories rest.

I. OBJECTIONS ADMITTING THE DOCTRINE AND  
DENYING THE SUCCESSION.

1. **Roman Catholic Objections.** — Roman Catholics hold the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, though corruptly in connection with Papal dispensations in the matter of ordination, and with theories of Papal infallibility, and in regard to the relation of Papal to Episcopal power. But as regards the English Church they deny the succession. They do this: (a) *on alleged historical grounds*, relating to the bare fact of the ordination of those through whom the succession is traced; (b) *on legal grounds*, that is to say on grounds which, supposing the fact of ordination to be proved, affect the lawfulness of the acts of those who have received such ordination, basing their objections upon the principle of the invalidity of schismatical or heretical orders, or on the claim of insufficiency of form or intention, or on the allegation of want of mission; and (c) *on captious grounds*, e.g., that English priests lack the mark of sacerdotal caste that is indelibly impressed upon the whole being of a Roman priest, or that the doctrine of succession



is not held by English Churchmen, or that some clergymen have been careless about baptism, etc.

2. **Eastern Objections.**—Eastern theologians object on analogous, but not altogether identical, grounds. Both East and West demand not only transmission of office, but that the office transmitted shall include such doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice as they themselves hold. Easterns insist also that the doctrine of the infallibility of General Councils is bound up with the doctrine of the succession.

## II. OBJECTIONS DENYING THE DOCTRINE WITHOUT ADMITTING THE FACT.

The opposite class of objectors supersede all need of inquiry into the fact, by denying the doctrine ; and this denial proceeds upon

1. **Various Theories.**—As, for example, that the power of appointing ministers resides in the general body of Christian men, and needs no transmission ; that inward consciousness of fitness in the individual is his sufficient commission, outward appointment being merely matter of decent order ; or that the ministry needs no special gift—having indeed none to confer—but is limited to moral instrumentality. Such, in the main, apart from mere Erastianism,<sup>1</sup> which recognizes no spiritual ministry at all, are the views of those who have separated themselves, and of those in the Church who sympathize with them.

<sup>1</sup> “ One unhappy effect of the extravagant claims, before the Reformation, in behalf of the spiritual power, was to beget a reaction afterwards towards the opposite extreme. Hence the HOBBIAN, or, as it is more commonly called (*euphonia gratia*, I suppose, for the infidel of Malmesbury was its sturdiest patron, and his name fits it better than that of the German physician), the ERASTIAN theory, which regards the Church as the mere creature of the state.”—SEABURY'S *Continuity of the Church of England* (p. 50).

Even the many varying Presbyterian views of succession seem now pretty nearly to have resolved themselves into one broad opposition between an Episcopal succession on the one hand, as opposed to an election by the congregation together with an inward call ; and again between a belief in the spiritual power of the ministry, as distinguished from a purely human conception of the office.

## 2. Grounds on which these Theories Rest.

—And such naturalistic views rest partly on alleged historical facts ; as, that the primitive Church either had no apostolically ordained government, or that, if it had, it was Presbyterian ; or that English reformers denied the necessity of ordination, or of Episcopal ordination, and that when they spoke of three orders, and provided three distinct forms of ordination, they meant all the while two—holding Bishops and Priests the same ; or that the English Church has acknowledged Presbyterian orders.

But besides these professedly historical assertions the objections rest on principles of a deeper kind ; *e.g.*, the right of the immediate union of the individual soul with Christ ; direct access to Christ as the privilege of all believers ; an inward call as the only essential qualification for the ministry ; the transmission of the faith as the one important bond of continuity ; or, more perversely still, trust in the Atonement and not in the Sacraments, as though the latter were not the means appointed by Christ for the appropriation of the former.

Considerations like these—sometimes perverse misapplications of precious truths—are strengthened by a logic of consequences which weighs more than the logic of reason ; and the objectors shrink from a position which, however true, is held to unchurch Protestant bodies, and is mixed up with a doctrine of the priesthood which has not yet recovered from the discredit of its mediæval perversion.

### LECTURE III.

(Chapter III. p. 37.)

#### APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION AS A DOCTRINE.

- I. The ministry in relation to its objects. I. The intervention of the ministry a help and not a hindrance. 2. Authorized form essential to the preservation of vital religion, not a substitute for it. II. The ministry in relation to its subjects. III. The ministry in its relation to the Church. IV. The ministry in its relation to those to whom it is wanting. V. The ministry as conditioned by outward continuity from the Apostles. I. Probability that God would connect His grace with a series of facts. 2. The sufficient plainness of Apostolical Succession. VI. General authority not to be impaired by exceptional cases of apparent exemption. VII. The doctrine depends upon the evidence of its authority, not upon our conception of its consequences.

#### I. THE MINISTRY IN RELATION TO ITS OBJECTS ; *i.e.*, THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

SACRAMENTS, and an authorized ministry as dispensers of the Sacraments, are alleged to be inconsistent with the Gospel, as limiting the freedom of individual access to the Saviour by faith, and as apt to withdraw the soul from due appreciation of vital religion ; but this objection is obviated by the right understanding of the relation of the ministry to the members of the Church.

**I. The Ministry a Help and not a Hindrance.**  
—Ministry and Sacraments no doubt involve the intervention of men in the concerns of a man's soul ; but this can be called a limit upon access to God only in so far as it points out a right and authorized way. But so a road might be said to limit a traveller ; or a magistrate be said to limit the seeker for justice ; or language to be a limit to

thought, or the body a limit to the soul. These are all alike necessary or helpful limits—not in the way of hindrance, but in the way of guiding us to certain modes. And if the principle of such intervention be established, no exaggerated or wrong inferences from the principle can overthrow it. Because, for example, the claim to infallibility is unfounded, it does not follow that it is not the office of the Church to teach.

2. **Authorized Form Essential to the Preservation of Vital Religion, not a Substitute for it.**—It is as impossible to have a healthy religion without clothing it in forms, as it is to think without words, or indeed to think in any other words than those which happen to be the particular tongue of the thinker. Formalism attaches itself quite as readily to the inventions of men as to the institutions of God, to recollections of the supposed moment of conversion as readily as to that of the past rite of Baptism, and to the hearing of a sermon as readily as to the mechanical partaking of the Lord's Supper. It changes ail alike into outward and empty things if they are severed from present moral influence. Certainly that which has the promise of God's grace can scarcely, for that reason, be more formal than that which man has invented. And the real question is not between forms and no forms, but between forms authorized and forms unauthorized; nor between priests and no priests, but between priests whom God has commissioned and teachers whom men have heaped to themselves.

## II. THE MINISTRY IN RELATION TO ITS SUBJECTS; *i.e.*, THE CLERGY.

Objectors are wont to claim a contrast between the importance attached by them to an inward call,

and the importance attached by the Church to an outward ordination. This contrast is unfair and unsound—unfair, because it opposes two things which, rightly understood, the Church holds as much as any dissenter; unsound, because it is based upon an inadequate conception of the ministry. It is an *ad captandum* argument—an inference from the shortcomings of individuals, to the detriment of a general principle. The Church at all times, and our own in terms so strong that men sometimes demur to them, has required the inward call as well as the outward appointment. It is not solely a question of fitness, but also one of authority. No personal qualification for the office of an ambassador can constitute a man an ambassador, without the requisite commission. The mere knowledge of the Gospel, and a personal appreciation of its value, do not constitute the authority to make men partakers of its benefits. An outward ordination at the hands of one empowered to ordain is the appropriate correlative of the inward influence of the Holy Spirit. It furnishes: (1) a wholesome check upon self-deception and fanaticism; (2) an evidence to others which cannot be supplied by the assertion of individual experience; and (3) a source of strength to those who would otherwise shrink from so awful a responsibility. [One may perhaps be pardoned, however, for the observation, that the author, notwithstanding his generally satisfactory treatment of this objection, appears to use the language of the objector rather than the language of the Church in making an inward *call* correspond to the outward appointment (p. 52), whereas the correspondence is more properly between the inward *movement* and the outward *call*; both being, on the principles of Apostolic Succession, the act of the Holy Spirit—the Holy Spirit giving in ordination the Divine *vocation* to those who have previously

been by Him inwardly *moved* to seek it. This is the language of the Church so far as relates to the inward operation of the Holy Spirit (see "Ordering of Deacons," first question), and it is important to adhere to it. By means of ordination the ministry becomes the vocation of those who are admitted to it. The idea that a man has the divine vocation inwardly, previous to ordination, is directly opposed to the idea that he receives it outwardly by means of ordination; *i.e.*, it is opposed to the idea of the *grace of order*. It is the grace of God which in ordination gives a man his vocation. This, of course, presupposes that the grace of God has inwardly moved him to seek that vocation; which is all that ought to be insisted on, as making the inward qualification correspond with the outward qualification, and which is that which the Church does insist on, ascertaining the fact so far as in the nature of the case is possible. (See Dr. Samuel Seabury's "Discourse on the Trust of the Candidate that he is inwardly Moved by the Holy Ghost": *Discourses and other Papers*, (p. 16). Pott, Young & Co., New York, 1874.,]

### III. THE MINISTRY IN ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

Here also objectors oppose an equally misleading contrast—that, *viz.*, between a succession of faith, and a succession of order; whereas the Church exists, among its highest purposes, for the transmission of a true faith; and an organized transmission of orders is among the conditions actually necessary to enable it to fulfil this very purpose. Valid orders, no doubt, have not always carried unimpaired faith; yet, on the other hand, precisely there, where valid orders have been wanting, has the faith also been most impaired, or

failed altogether, as with Socinian or Unitarian communities. And, humanly speaking, the faith has been preserved at all, solely by the existence of the Church as a whole ; and the Church as a whole has been held together by the very fact of transmitted orders.

The outward instruments of grace are, by their very nature, subordinate in all cases to the grace ministered by them. They are no substitutes for it. And if ever the choice is forced upon men between the loss of them, and the acceptance of a false faith, no doubt the loss of privilege is a less evil than the commission of sin. It is better to suffer wrong than to do it. But it still remains true, that if God has appointed a definite way of receiving truth, and transmitting grace, it is at once a plain duty, and a comfortable source of assurance, that we should seek that truth and grace where God has deposited them.

#### IV. THE MINISTRY IN ITS RELATION TO THOSE TO WHOM IT IS WANTING.

A doctrine that constitutes a Church by the condition of an Apostolical ministry, and determines the question of communion not by the test of the love of Christ, but by that of a valid ministry, is assumed by many to be self-condemned.

Yet here, as elsewhere, the misconception arises from lack of belief in the truth. It rests upon a denial of the general necessity of belonging at all to an outward and visible Church of Christ's appointment. Men are right, of course, in rejecting things indifferent as grounds of separation between Christians : the error lies in assuming Church communion to be a thing indifferent. Love, and sympathy with that which is good, are not to obliterate the boundary lines of truth ; and truth is not the

less to be held, because there are good men who, unhappily for themselves, do not hold it. We who live in the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and regard communion with that Church as necessary if it may be had, are neither precluded from recognizing the grace of God in some who deny that truth, nor bound to approve of sin, or other error, in some who have adhered to that truth. The teaching of our Lord, which recognizes the fact that the communion of the visible Church may include ungodly men, implies the existence of that visible Church, and harmonizes with the doctrine of a visible ministry of His appointment for the exercise of supernatural powers of His gift.

#### V. THE MINISTRY AS CONDITIONED BY OUTWARD CONTINUITY FROM THE APOSTLES.

An outward ministry, administering outward Sacraments, is one thing; such a ministry continuous from the Apostles is another thing. Since the need of such a continuity involves the further need of the historical proof of it, is it reasonable to make salvation dependent upon the proof of a series of facts, or to suspend it in any degree upon that which requires a complicated proof, and which some allege to be incapable of proof? But if a ministry be necessary, and if no man taketh this honour to himself except God call him, and if neither Scripture nor Apostolic practice show any mode of calling to it except by means of those who have received it, it is of no consequence what difficulties are in the way. There can be no ministry save where the Apostles have lodged the power of appointing one. We are sent back, of necessity, to this one source of all rightful ministry. And the mode by which the Apostles appointed is in accord-



ance with the ordinary providence of God ; and is, in itself, sufficiently plain not to be open to the objections made against the difficulty of its proof.

1. **Probability that God would Connect His Grace with a Series of Facts.**—It has been the character of every revelation of God, from the beginning, to be bound up with a long, complicated, and, at first sight, irrelevant history. The historical form of the Bible and the historical form of the Church may well run parallel—just as in political relationships, which bind men into involuntary dependence on the successive developement of historical facts ; and in the family relationships, which bind up children by the past lives of parents and grandparents. The facts of a kingdom spiritual but visible, and of a government transmitted though not inherited, are, by the testimony of Scripture and Creed, and practice of the early Church, among the resemblances and not the differences of earlier and later dispensations. The Church is one body of which Christ is the Head ; a single city built upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets.

2. **The Sufficient Plainness of the Fact of Apostolic Succession.**—In one sense Apostolic Succession requires a complicated proof ; in another it is a palpable fact—as much a matter of moral certainty as is the actual appointment, by the rightful authority, of ministers of state, judges, etc. No one doubts the fact of the ordination of the Clergy or Bishops now officiating, although, among some myriads, there may occasionally have been an impostor. Yet this assurance is not founded on personal inspection of legal evidence. It rests upon the overwhelming presumption that the fact would not be as it is, unless the legal evidence were behind it ; and this presumption extends back to the beginning as regards the

Church. Add to this presumption the multiplication of the links of ordination, increasing in geometrical ratio owing to the universal rule of several consecrators; and it becomes as reasonable to doubt the fact of succession, as it would be to doubt the fact of our descent from parents and grandparents—certainly not historically missing although not always to be named. As a matter of evidence the physical necessity in one case is scarcely a stronger presumption than the moral necessity in the other. Add, also, that direct evidence does exist to a remarkable degree, and the value of the objection seems to be reduced to its lowest terms, and to be equal to zero.

#### VI. GENERAL AUTHORITY NOT TO BE IMPAIRED BY EXCEPTIONAL CASES OF APPARENT EXEMPTION.

The ministry being not a physical necessity, but an imposition of moral obligation, its general authority cannot be impaired by exceptional cases of apparent exemption from its operation. The law of the spiritual gifts of God is in all cases moral and not physical. An unintentional defect cannot defeat God's grace for those who perhaps do not even know of the defect, much less have had any share in causing it. And the general intention of the Church, in the judgment even of common sense, covers mechanical or technical or unconscious defects.

#### VII. THE DOCTRINE DEPENDS UPON THE EVIDENCE OF ITS AUTHORITY, NOT UPON OUR CONCEPTION OF ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The argument from consequences is invidious, and at bottom skeptical. The denial of baptismal

grace, on the ground of the goodness of the unbaptized or of heathen, and the wickedness of many baptized Christians, is parallel with the assumption that those who maintain Apostolic Succession must, in consistency, deny the existence of the grace of God entirely outside the limits of the duly organized Church. The reasoning is that of men who regard God's spiritual gifts as if they were purely mechanical forces. A man may defeat God's grace, but his doing so is no proof that he never had it. A man may cut himself off from the appointed means of grace, yet with such moral excuse as that the mercy of God still extends to him the grace itself. The truth is unaltered, none the less ; nor is the vantage ground both of faith and of grace diminished, upon which the Churchman stands, and by which he will be judged.

## LECTURE IV.

(Chapter IV. p. 74.)

### APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION SCRIPTURAL.

- I. New Testament usage of *Επίσκοπος* and *Πρεσβυτέρος*.  
 II. Nature of Scriptural evidence. 1. Comparison with evidence for the doctrine of the Trinity. 2. Relation of Scripture to the Church. 3. Relation of doctrine to dogma. 4. Evidence of incidental allusion. III. Polity in what sense gradually developed. IV. Source of power of rulers.

### I. NEW TESTAMENT USAGE OF *Επίσκοπος* AND *Πρεσβυτέρος*.

It is no part of the intention of this paper to attempt to do what has been thoroughly done over and over again. But when scholars and divines

can still be found to think Apostolic Succession dependent upon strained arguments respecting the Scriptural usage of the words Bishop and Presbyter, it is desirable at least to point out that the very opposite is really the case. If ever, in fact, a plain case was needlessly mystified, it has been that of the Scriptural evidence as to the true doctrine, several orders, and proper powers of the ministry, by the very attempt now alleged by some to be its main support. The one thing chiefly needed to make the truth clear is simply the straightforward acceptance of what is manifestly the plain usage of the New Testament; viz., the employment of these terms Bishop and Presbyter as equivalent—one descriptive of office and the other of age, as the Fathers repeatedly tell us; or, as has been conjectured, the former the Gentile, the latter the Jewish name. Much confusion is avoided by recognizing this fact. Once take the clear usage of Scripture for granted, and rise, of course, above the childishness which cannot distinguish words from things, and the Scripture teaching on this subject becomes plain. No Church is there mentioned that has not an order of Clergy as a matter of course, and one also appointed by the Apostles as soon as the Church is fairly settled, or at least subordinate to them. This order included Deacons, and these and other members were subordinate to Presbyters, called also Bishops, and these subject to a higher and an individual ruler; viz., to an Apostle acting in concert with the College of Apostles. Further, as the charge of that Apostle became enlarged, and it was necessary to provide against death, the charge is committed to one individual, deputed and empowered to do what no mere Presbyter ever is empowered to do; viz., to rule the whole Church in that district, Presbyters (sometimes called Bishops) included, and to ordain.

## II. NATURE OF SCRIPTURAL EVIDENCE.

This is not formal nor technical, nor in such terms as later needs would require, and therefore is in itself more probable; but it is such as implies, in its references, facts without the existence of which the references are unintelligible.

1. **Comparison with Evidence for the Doctrine of the Trinity.**—They who deny the doctrine of the Trinity because (1) the word itself, and (2) a technically complete theological account of the truths it signifies, are not in the New Testament, may also consistently deny the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy, and the ministry as divinely endowed with gifts of grace; because (1) the word Bishop does not mean in the New Testament what we now mean by a Bishop, and (2) the teaching in reference to the powers of the ministry is left to be gathered from allusions and inferences. Conversely, they who deny Apostolic succession on such grounds cannot logically refuse to deny the doctrine of the Trinity.

2. **Relation of Scripture to the Church.**—Such reasoners overlook the fact that the New Testament is a collection of what, with reverence, must be termed occasional tracts or biographies, written by men who believed the Gospel, and lived as members of the Church already, to others who likewise so believed and lived; and which therefore is framed not to teach doctrine or discipline *ab initio*, but to put on record what was already known, or to correct particular errors and enforce particular truths.

3. **Relation of Doctrine to Dogma.**—They overlook also the fact that precise and dogmatic statements do not belong to the commencement of a belief, but to later stages, when it begins to sys-

tematize within, and is assailed by error from without. A sermon and a theological treatise do not teach the same truth in the same way; and a prayer or a religious biography may be based upon and imply the Creed, without using one technical term of theology.

4. **Evidence of Incidental Allusion.**—Nor is the weight of Scripture evidence lessened because the limitation of the ministering of the Word and Sacraments to proper ministers is gathered from allusions to their stewardship of God's mysteries, or from inferences inevitably drawn from their office of tending the flock, and of tending it as under shepherds to Christ the Chief Shepherd, and therefore as holding an office analogous to His.

### III. POLITY IN WHAT SENSE GRADUALLY DEVELOPED.

The polity may be said to have been gradually developed in the sense of the gradual application to the needs of the Church, as these gradually appeared, of the threefold ministry involved in the Apostolic office—Deacons, Presbyters (or Bishops), being settled as they were needed under Apostolic supervision, continued ultimately by men of Apostolic powers with the condition of residence in limited districts—being Bishops according to the later usage of that term.

### IV. SOURCE OF POWER OF RULERS.

This development, however, is plainly not from the body of the disciples upward through two intermediate orders to the Apostolic or Episcopal order, nor by voluntary promotion on the part of the second order of those whom they appointed to hold the first. On the contrary, the progress appears to have been distinctly a distribution and

application of power resident in the Apostolic office from the beginning, by the commission of Christ Himself, to the disciples of Christ as constantly subordinate to that recognized authority, according to the exigence of time and place. There appears no instance in the New Testament of the formal appointment of any one member of any order of the ministry save by Apostles, or Apostolic delegation to a single person ; nor any mention even of any one to receive such appointment except by Apostles, or by the Church through the concession of Apostles. Even those who seem to have ministered without formal appointment and by extraordinary vocation, appear to have been subject to Apostolic rule and order ; and St. Paul, who had such vocation, claimed nothing more, nor less, than the Apostolate shared with other Apostles. The grace of the ministry flowed through Apostles, and in due time through those whom the Apostles appointed to act in their stead ; and this by formal laying on of hands.

## LECTURE V.

(Chapter V. p. 100.)

### HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE DOCTRINE.

- I. Nature of patristic testimony as to this doctrine. 1. St. Clement of Rome. 2. St. Ignatius. II. Weakness of negative allegations. III. Comparison of this evidence with that for the Canon of the New Testament, and for the Creed. IV. Presumptions from later history.

### I. NATURE OF THE PATRISTIC TESTIMONY.

THE tendency of modern skeptical theology is to resolve the historical fact of actual belief in this doctrine, into a subjective result of current opinions

and circumstances ; and so to rob the fact of this historical belief both of the character of truth in itself, and of all evidential value as proof of a preceding revelation.

This tendency is, no doubt, partly a reaction from the opposite extreme of indiscriminate acceptance of all sorts of assertions, which were apt to be taken all alike as good evidence. Some room, too, for such plausible theorizing is, perhaps, afforded by the necessary character of patristic, as of all literary, testimony, which would only change gradually from allusion to formal statement. The testimony at first is very like that of Scripture—incidental ; implying doctrine through sentiment ; asserting it in parts ; explaining it in reference to occasional exigencies ; but then, in time, as reflection suggested, or attack required, formulated into theological system.

But there is literally no room for such a subjective theory to have grown up, when the assertion of the doctrine begins in uninspired writers, even before the Canon of Scripture closes, and continues on from that time.

**i. St. Clement of Rome.**—The Epistle of St. Clement, written before some books of the New Testament, holds a position, as evidence, only differing from that of Scripture because the Church did not understand it to be inspired. St. Clement, being the Bishop of Rome, writes to the Church at Corinth, apparently left, by the recent death of St. Paul, without Apostolic or Episcopal oversight, and charges them to obey their Presbyters, whom, in accordance with Scriptural usage not yet changed, he also calls Bishops. He grounds this charge upon the fact of the existence among Christians of divinely appointed distinctions, analogous to those among the Jews, reckoning, on the Jewish side of the analogy, High Priest, Priests, Levites, and Lay-



men ; and urges obedience to the Presbyters (or Bishops) on the ground of their legitimate ordination, affirming that the Apostles had appointed an order or method of succession—for the hard word *ἐπινομή* must necessarily have some meaning equivalent to this—such that themselves first, and certain *ελλόγιμοι ἄνδρες* in succession to themselves, should appoint (*καθιστάναι*), while the Church at large was simply to consent to the appointment (*συνευδοκησάσης*). And these *ελλόγιμοι ἄνδρες*, who were thus to keep up the succession of Presbyters and Deacons (*ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι*) when those who had been first appointed should have “fallen asleep”—who were, in a word, to succeed the Apostles in their special function of ordination—were themselves officials appointed subsequently to the first appointed Presbyters and Deacons, who were long before established by the Apostles at each several time, as they planted a Church in each place (*κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις*) ; so that these last named were by themselves plainly incompetent to perpetuate their own succession, but needed this further special organization in order to render such perpetuation possible. In other words, that along with these two orders of the ministry, there was another ; viz., the Apostles and their successors, who were what we now call Bishops.

This is the testimony of one who writes in the name of his own Church, representing it as what we would now call its Bishop—a position which all antiquity with one voice assigns to him. Such testimony is quite inconsistent with modern theories, and is consistent only with the plain inference of the Apostolic appointment of a special ministry with exclusive powers and Episcopal ordination.

2. **Testimony of St. Ignatius.**—The language of the next and most important sub-Apostolic wit-

ness, St. Ignatius, writing some thirty years later than the conjectural date of St. Clement, and certainly after the period of the Book of Revelation, when diocesan Episcopacy had undoubtedly spread over the Church—probably about A.D. 112—is also plain enough. It is so plain, that nothing short of the assumption of far more than interpolations, or of the spuriousness of some of the Epistles, nothing indeed short of condemning the entire Epistles as throughout spurious, will serve the turn of objectors. Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons, under these names, settled in each Church—union with them as the condition of union with Christ—everything, even baptizing, to be done under and with the Bishop, and no Eucharist apart from him—such is the repeated, unmistakeable, and well-known teaching of one standing so close to the Apostles as to make it an hypothesis too absurd to be thought of, that a revolution so enormous as the anti-Church view would require could possibly have crept in at all, much less unawares, and that within a dozen years, at the outside, of St. John's death. And this argument then admits of no answer but that stale one of forgery. To make it complete, it is only needful to point out, first, that the language of St. Ignatius agrees in spirit with, while it differs only in terminology from, that of Scripture just preceding him; and, next, that it agrees both in spirit and terminology with that of the times immediately following him. His technical use of the words Bishop and Presbyter is not exceptional, occurring unaccountably a long while before it is found elsewhere; but it is simply the first of an unbroken series of such usage continuing thenceforth.

Upon these two witnesses the case might rest, speaking as they do for West and East, at a date inconsistent with any serious departure from Apostolic institution. But it is further to be noted that

other doctrines grew into prominence after a while ; this one at once. Others came forth, for the most part, toward the end of the second century. But in this case the evidences are much more plentiful. Many references and careful records bridge over the space to the time when Irenæus and Tertullian triumphantly appeal to the succession of order—as evidence of the succession of faith—from the Apostles.

## II. WEAKNESS OF NEGATIVE ALLEGATIONS.

Before A.D. 300 there is literally nothing except (1) Tertullian's assertion [after he turned heretic], "Where Clergy cannot be had there is still a Church, . . . albeit only three exist to form it, and they laymen," which, of course, presumes the necessity of Clergy where they may be had, and is, besides, balanced by other statements of his maintaining the succession ; and (2) a groundless inference from the use of the word *Presbyter* by Irenæus, who speaks of the succession of *Presbyters*, and of the *Presbyters* who preceded Pope Soter in the See of Rome ; by which, however, he undoubtedly referred to single rulers like Soter himself : and, a Bishop being a *Presbyter*, the succession may be spoken of as a succession of *Presbyters*, without excluding Bishops ; just as the succession in the Jewish ministry may be spoken of as a succession of *Priests*, without excluding the High Priest. Irenæus, indeed, calls a Bishop a *Presbyter*, as he is ; as St. Peter and St. John, Apostles, call themselves *Presbyters*, as they also were ; yet he never calls a *Presbyter* a Bishop.

After A.D. 300, there is, (1) the claim of Acrius, contemptuously condemned ; (2) a Canon of the Council of Aneyra, obscure and much disputed, probably sustaining what it is alleged to disprove,

and contemporary with acts of Universal Councils condemning presbyterian ordinations as void in themselves [for example, in the case of Ischyras, ordained by the Presbyter Colluthus—who, by the way, *pretended* to be a Bishop; and the case of the persons ordained by Maximus, who is declared to be no Bishop—Can. 4, Const., A.D. 381]; (3) the speculations of St. Jerome, who nevertheless reserves to the Bishop the exclusive right of ordaining, and who, in attributing the distinction of order to ecclesiastical rather than to Divine appointment, is found to mean, after all, that these distinctions were established by the divinely guided Apostles; (4) the perversion of the case of the Presbyters of Alexandria, who are said to have named one of themselves to fill the See, which is simply a precedent for the election of Bishops, not exactly by Dean and Chapter, but by the town clergy, and the various legends in respect to which, current in later times, are quite sufficiently numerous and absurd to discredit one another—that of Eutychius in the tenth century, transforming nomination into consecration, being quite as absurd as any, and, in the mouth of so late, ignorant, and blundering a writer, too worthless to deserve the crushing answers that learned men have bestowed upon it; and (5) an assertion of the Pseudo Ambrose, that, in the beginning, any one was allowed (not to rule or ordain) but to preach and baptize—which, if it were true, could amount to nothing more than a temporary overflow of zeal beyond authority.

### III. COMPARISON OF THIS EVIDENCE WITH THAT FOR THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND FOR THE CREED.

The earliest detailed evidence for the text of even the Gospels consists of second century transla-

tions, and second century Fathers, and a second century list of the books of the Canon—the Fathers, except Justin Martyr, being of the latter part of the second century. Before these, fragmentary allusions reach back to Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement. If these are sufficient to compel the faith of any reasonable man in the matter of Scripture—as they are ; then parallel evidence, and that in all points stronger, must be good to prove the Apostolic succession. The parallel is good at the end of the second century ; but it is to be added that there is proof express and detailed of an Apostolic ministry by due succession at the end of the first century. [Occasional instances of churches with Presbyters and without Bishops, if they can be substantiated, will not serve to overthrow the presumption thus established—for the same thing might happen to-day. It is necessary to this end to go further, and prove that there is no primitive instance of Episcopal succession.]

In regard to the Creed, it has been already said, that the statement of the doctrine of the Trinity systematically, and as a whole, is very far later than the statement of the doctrine of the Succession. Accept the Book, and the Creed and the ministry alike find their seal and sanction in that Book. But the external evidence for all three is of the same kind—only, far stronger in regard to the ministry than in regard to either of the others.

#### IV. PRESUMPTIONS FROM LATER HISTORY.

There is yet another historical presumption, exceedingly strong, against those who now slight the Apostolic ministry and orders. The unbroken and unquestioning usage of fifteen hundred years is in itself enough. For how could it possibly happen, as Hooker well asks, that all that time, if the exist-

ing Episcopacy were wrong, no one Church ever discovered the right order, or doubted the rightness of the Episcopacy which did exist? But the presumption is still further strengthened when it is added, that those who now deny an Apostolic ministry did not begin by doing so, but were led by circumstances into the want of it, and then gradually, and by a manifest afterthought, came to make a merit of their own defect, and to defend as right what at first they only endured as unavoidable. No doubt the Reformation, as a reaction on behalf of inward religion against what had become merely outward and mechanical, contained within itself the ultimate result of an extensive revolution in the relations between clergy and laity, and of one to a great extent right; and, moreover, besides weakening what was right in the process of rejecting what was wrong, contained also the germs of a dangerous and untrue denial of principles, provoked by the extreme abuse of those principles. And there are words of Luther, and more explicitly of Knox and the Scottish reformers, which cover, if pressed to their full meaning, the whole extent of an utter denial of any Apostolically appointed Church organization. But it is the fact, nevertheless, that these views were neither the leading cause of the Reformation anywhere, nor came forward prominently and generally in the controversy for some considerable period; but were thrust upon the reforming party by the pressure of circumstances, and only gradually became pronounced as events developed themselves.

The long-continued plea of the Lutherans, that they appealed to a General Council; the express declaration of the Confession of Augsburg, that *the Bishops could easily retain obedience if they would not urge the observance of traditions which could not be observed with a good conscience*; the declaration even of Calvin, who, moreover, himself signed the

Augsburg Confession, that *if the hierarchy were one wherein the Bishops were so above others as not to refuse to be under Christ, there is no anathema which they are not worthy of—if there be any such—who observe it not with the greatest obedience*; his overture, in connection with Bullinger and others, to Edward VI. for a union, *offering to have Bishops in their Churches for better unity and concord*, an overture testified by Archbishop Parker, but which had been quashed by means of Gardiner and Bonner—all this, and much more of the kind, agrees with such statements as those of even Beza and Claude, justifying their position on the ground that any one would be right in running unscathed to extinguish a fire in his father's house; and with the statement of Du Moulin describing the position of the French Reformed as an "interregnum;" and with the defence of the Synod of Dort as a method "extraordinary," and so such as "cannot in any degree prejudice that which is ordinary;" and with the words of Peter Du Bose, that "our Churches did not embrace the Presbyterian discipline from dislike of Episcopacy or because it seemed to us opposed to the Gospel, . . . but because they were compelled by necessity;" and so on. And even when strife and the hardening effect of controversy had led on such as Beza to maintain his position to be not merely permissible but right, yet distinctions *de triplici Episcopatu*, and the like, softened off the sharp edge of absurdity involved in an outright denial of the Episcopate. In a word, the controversy about Episcopacy was neither the cause nor the occasion of the Reformation anywhere, but was taken up afterward to maintain a position which no reformed community had sought upon its own merits.

To sum up all, the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is indeed established by the plain sense of

Holy Scripture ; but the presumption derived from its history—as the doctrine drawn from Scripture by the verdict of all times, and rejected by no one purely upon its merits at any time, until these latter days—is singular and overwhelming. Even when men did come to deny it, their denial was no result of deeply felt objection to the doctrine itself, but was necessitated, or seemed to be so, by their position ; and so, gradually, they came to believe that to be right, in itself, which had at first been thrust upon them. And then, from denying Episcopacy, men have been led to deny orders altogether. The power of the Keys, and the real office of the Presbyter, have followed the first false step and vanished too from men's belief. And the general tendency at least of men's thoughts, in those bodies which reject the Succession, has been toward blotting out altogether the essential functions and office of the Christian ministry itself. Who does not see, that, with the ministry, unhappily all real meaning and life gradually fade also from the yet more fundamental doctrines of the Sacraments and of the Church ?

## LECTURE VI.

(Chapter VI. p. 138.)

### APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

- I. Statement of the doctrine. II. Evidence. 1. Articles. 2. Ritual forms. 3. Reformation documents. III. Allegations to the contrary. IV. Acts claimed to be authoritative. V. Individual opinion.

#### I. STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE.

ORDERS, in the view of this Church, are an Apostolical ordinance, necessary to the Church, origi-



nating in the Divine appointment, through the act of Christ Himself, and by the agency of the Holy Spirit, and transmissible only by Episcopal laying on of hands.

Transmission of office by the Episcopal imposition of hands is in this Church a palpable fact ; and the transmission also of the gift of the Holy Ghost appears on the face of the words of the Ordinal. But question is made as to the grounds of that practice and doctrine ; as to the consequent nature of the obligation imposed upon us ; and the estimate, consequent upon that, of their necessity, and of the effect produced by the want of them. Is this Apostolic ministry, in the judgment of the English Church, only a human or ecclesiastical arrangement ; or the mere following of a rule which, though Apostolic in date, is not in itself obligatory, but simply expedient : or is it of Divine institution ? It is true that even in the latter case a difference in the nature of the thing that is obligatory may involve a difference in the consequences flowing from the lack of it. An external ordinance of God is essential ; yet he who is without it, by no fault of his own, is not in the like kind or degree of defect with the man who lacks any inward grace or faith. For the very necessity may perhaps warrant the belief, that, lacking the outward ordinance involuntarily, he may still, of mercy, obtain its grace.

It is, nevertheless, to be affirmed that this ministry is, in the judgment of the English Church, of Divine institution, so as to be, speaking in the abstract, essential.

## II. EVIDENCE.

i. **Articles.**—Article XXIII. declares it to be *not lawful* to minister without being called and

sent by those that have public authority to call and send ministers. Article XXXVI. declares that those who are ordained by the form of the Ordinal, prescribed for Episcopal use, *are lawfully* consecrated and ordered.

It is matter of inference, to be sure, but of inevitable inference, that Episcopal ordination, as transmitted by this Church, is thus declared to be in accordance with God's law; and that this is the public authority without which it is not lawful to minister. Article XXXVI., it is true, is defensive against the Roman charge of the insufficiency of the English Ordinal; but Article XXIII. is a general affirmation of the unlawfulness of non-Episcopal ordination, because "public authority" at the time of its adoption involved, in England at least, Episcopal action, the Presbyterian claim being not yet matured.

It is sometimes said that the affirmation is intended merely of English orders, and leaves the question of non-Episcopal orders in general untouched: but the language could not well be more general than it is; and, besides, it certainly was not the business of the Church of England to judge others, but only to mind its own affairs—which it does by a general affirmation of the unlawfulness of ministering in the Congregation, which appears to be a term descriptive of the Church, without public authority; such public authority involving, as before said, Episcopal action.

2. **Ritual Forms.**—These furnish us, in the way of evidence, with (a) the first of the prayers for the Ember Days, wherein the Church prays: "Almighty God, . . . at this time so guide and govern the minds of thy servants the Bishops and Pastors of thy flock that they may lay hands," etc.; Bishops and Pastors being here one class of persons, not two—as the Shepherd and Bishop of

1 Pet. ii. 25, are one. (*b*) In the second Ember Day prayer the distinction of order is attributed to Divine institution: "Who of thy Divine providence hast appointed divers orders in thy Church." (*c*) The Collect for St. Peter's day refers the origin of spiritual gifts for the ministry, and their use of them for the benefit of the people, to God, saying, "who by thy Son Jesus Christ didst give to thy Apostle St. Peter many excellent gifts and commandedst him earnestly to feed thy flock; Make, we beseech thee, all Bishops and Pastors diligently to preach thy holy Word, and the people obediently to follow the same." (*a*) In the Ordinal, we have the appointment of divers orders attributed in the Collect for Deacons to the *Divine Providence*, as in the Ember Day prayer; in the Collect for Priests, by a still stronger expression, to the *Holy Spirit*; and, in another prayer in the same office, we find the sending of ministers of various degrees attributed to our Lord after His Ascension, and the ministry described as "appointed for the salvation of mankind;" and in the order for Bishops, the Collect refers to the many excellent gifts bestowed upon the Apostles and prays for correspondent grace for the Bishops, the Pastors of the Church; while the solemn words of the ordination itself, both of Priests and Bishops, distinctly express the gift of the Holy Ghost for the office conferred; and (*e*) the office for the Visitation of the Sick, providing for the absolution of the penitent, puts in the mouth of the Priest the declaration that he acts in the discharge of this power by the authority of our Lord committed to him.

These allusions intimate the Divine institution of the Orders designated, and the gifts of the Spirit attaching to Orders, in no obscure terms. But there is also (*f*) the plain statement in the Preface to the Ordinal, that "from the Apostles' time there

have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church ; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," and this not as a bare fact, but as a fact implying a law ; so that "no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the United Church of England and Ireland . . . except he be admitted thereunto according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration, or Ordination." In other words, THAT is not allowed in the Church of England which is not according to the order of CHRIST'S Church, from the Apostles' time.

3. **Reformation Documents.**—These are no longer of legal authority, but they show how continuous this doctrine was through that crisis of change and unsettlement. Their characteristic is the persistent assertion of the supernatural doctrine of Holy Orders. (*a*) "The Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests contained in the Institution of a Christian Man" (1537), sanctioned both by Church and State, tells us that Christ and His Apostles did ordain in the New Testament that there should be continually in the Church certain ministers or officers which should have power to confer the grace of the Holy Ghost by the Sacraments ; and—that the Church should not be destituted of such ministers—that it was also ordained by the Apostles that the Sacrament of Orders should be applied by Bishops with prayer and imposition of hands. (*b*) In 1538 the document of the "Order of Priests and Bishops" declares that Scripture plainly teaches that it was instituted not by human, but by Divine authority. (*c*) In 1543 appeared "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for a Christian Man," wherein is the same teaching. "Order is a gift or grace of ministration in Christ's Church, given of God to Christian men, by the consecration and imposition of the Bishop's hands upon

them ; and this sacrament was conferred and given by the Apostles." (*d*) In 1548 Cranmer's Catechism teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ hath both ordained and appointed ministers, etc. " He called and chose His twelve Apostles, . . . and upon Christ's ascension the Apostles gave authority to other godly and holy men. . . . They laid their hands on them and gave them the Holy Ghost, as they themselves received of Christ the same Holy Ghost to execute this office. . . . And so the ministration of God's Word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the Apostles unto others after them by the imposition of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, from the Apostles' time to our days. And this was the consecration, orders, and unction of the Apostles, whereby they at the beginning made Bishops and Priests, and this shall continue in the Church even to the world's end."

In these documents there is no want of proof of the assertion by the Church of England of the Divine authority of the ministry of Apostolic Succession. Whether that succession was of Priests only, or of Bishops and Priests both, is another part of the question. These documents appear to make but one order of Priests and Bishops ; but it must be remembered that this was the School doctrine of the day, and that it was not regarded as inconsistent with the reservation of especial power of ordination to the Bishops—as appears from the Anathema of the Council of Trent against those who denied the superiority of Bishops to Priests, or their possession of the power, not possessed by Priests, to confirm and ordain, and, which is more to the point, as appears from the Preface to the English Ordinal, and from the three separate forms of Ordination ministered alike by Bishops and not by Priests.

And, as before remarked, these documents were

concerned, not with the Presbyterian controversy, which had not yet emerged, but with the Roman controversy, wherein they sought to establish the Divine authority of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as distinguished from the human authority on which rested the distinctions of the hierarchy as maintained by the Romans—minor orders, etc.

And when, later, the Episcopal, as against Presbyterian, ordination becomes the point disputed, the Church never wavered, as a Church, in the matter of formally refusing Presbyterian, and maintaining Episcopal ordination. There is some evidence that a few not Episcopally ordained crept in unawares—though Archbishop Whitgift says, “I know none such.” And very shortly not the law, but the position of those who administered it was changed, and that became rigorously enforced once more which the Church had held as a law all through. In Travers’ case, the last in date, the Church principle was affirmed and acted on, and in the Archiepiscopal articles of 1585 we find that principle made the foundation of a systematic discipline. And thenceforth, although cases may be found of some notable foreigners who held preferment in England (seemingly) without re-ordination, yet their doing so was plainly contrary, not only, as always, to the formal principles, but now also to the actual discipline, intended to be in force, and as a rule actually enforced, of the English Church.

### III. ALLEGATIONS TO THE CONTRARY.

Against the evidence thus adduced there is nothing of the same kind to be set; *i.e.*, no formal expression of the judgment and will of the Church of England as such; but only some looseness and negligence on the part of individuals in the matter of strict adherence to admitted principle; and the

tendency manifest in some quarters toward sympathy with Continental reformers in the common struggle against Rome—against which it is equally fair to oppose the tendency in certain other quarters in the Roman direction, since neither such tendencies, nor any fluctuations of popular or individual belief in the doctrine, can affect the question of the formal teaching of the Church.

#### IV. ACTS CLAIMED TO BE AUTHORITATIVE.

1. **Allowance of Worship of Congregations of Foreign Reformed Bodies.**—This allowance, as in the case of the Dutch, Huguenots, etc., proves the contrary of that for which it is alleged; for, if we had been in communion with these bodies, what need of separate Churches with special ministers not recognized as Clergy of the Church? The very patents protecting those Churches recognize their diversity from the Church of England; and what possible inference can be drawn in any case from hospitable toleration to formal approval?

2. **Cases of Connivance,** at the ministrations of those not in English orders, which can have no weight as evidence except where attention was called to them; and these are few, and easily disposed of.

3. **The Jerusalem Bishopric,** although half forgotten, still exists, and by Eastern Churchmen is by no means forgotten; as to which it is well to note that, while the English Church took special pains, on one side, to keep clear of undue interference with the Churches of the East, there is, on the other, not one word in any English Church document relating to the subject, expressing any judgment at all respecting the Prussian Church or foreign reformed orders; nor does any Church act commit us to either. The Prussian document, indeed, of

November 14, 1841, naturally contemplates the proceeding from the point of view of "the Evangelical Church of Prussia." But our own Archbishop's commendatory letter of November 23, in the same year, states simply that he "has consecrated Alexander to be a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, . . . to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the clergy and congregations of our Church, which are now or hereafter may be established" in Syria and the countries adjacent. And Germans who are to minister there are to be ordained after the English manner, signing the Confession of Augsburg, but using a German Liturgy "agreeing in all points of doctrine with the Liturgy of the English Church."

#### V. INDIVIDUAL OPINION.

But besides these, to some extent, formal acts, it has been alleged, and is believed to be true, that the current opinion of English divines has throughout lain in the direction of refusing to condemn foreign reformed orders. That laymen have so held, is certain from Lord Bacon's *Advertisement Respecting the Controversies of the Church of England*, published about 1590. But it is only a part of the truth as regards English divines. Such refusal in the mouth of Bishop Burnet himself, one of its strongest ecclesiastical propounders, was based invariably on the assumption of an absolute necessity. And if the excuse is repudiated or ceases to hold good, then the defence founded upon it must needs fail also. A defence rested on such a principle is but temporary—during the necessity—and extends only to the persons themselves, and to orders in relation only to the people among whom they minister. It is a defence also which in principle condemns the thing defended, as being, of course, a thing wrong



in the abstract, if nothing but necessity can excuse it. [And in regard to this whole class of cases it is to be observed : (1) that the expressions of individuals, however eminent, are personal to them, and do not bind the Church ; (2) that they are balanced by expressions of other eminent men ; and (3) that there seems to be hardly any concession in this direction by any man known to have Church principles which cannot be balanced by his own statements to the contrary, as the author in his running comment (pp. 167-175) sufficiently shows.

That the American Church holds the same ground as the English Church, is shown : (1) by the fact that the formal evidence is substantially the same ; (2) by the distinction explicitly made by its Canons, which require no re-ordination of men already Episcopally ordained in other Communion, and do require ordination of those who have served as ministers in other bodies without Episcopal ordination. (*Digest of Canons of General Convention of 1892*, Title I., Canon 3, § vi ; Canons 14, 15, 17.)

The one difference, in the matter of formal evidence on this subject, between the English and American Prayer Books, appears to be the omission from the American Book of the indicative form of Absolution in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. This omission, however, regarded as evidence of the mind of the Church as to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, is much more than counter-balanced by the "Office of Institution," with which the American Prayer Book was enriched in the early part of its first century ; and which, on several accounts, is excellent reading for those who cherish the fancy that this doctrine is matter of individual opinion.]

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## PART II.

### THE FACT, AND THE CANONICAL VALIDITY, OF THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION IN ENGLAND.

#### LECTURE I.

(Chapter VII. p. 178.)

#### THE FACT OF PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

- I. Presumption in favour of possession with apparent regularity. II. Absence of evidence adequate to overthrow the presumption. III. Positive evidence of fact. 1. Allusions of contemporaneous writers: (a) Zurich letters. (b) Machyn's Diary. 2. Legal cavils of opposers. 3. Parker's testimony. 4. Public records.

#### I. PRESUMPTION IN FAVOUR OF POSSESSION WITH APPARENT REGULARITY.

THE fact of the continuity of the Apostolic Succession in England in the sixteenth century has been disputed by Roman controversialists. The objections are of so contemptible a character as to make them unworthy of notice, were it not true not only that they have been made, but also that in spite of their entire refutation, and their abandonment by the better class of our opponents, they are calmly and confidently revived whenever men are found simple enough to be deceived by them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question has sometimes been put to me in going over this part of the course—a good deal of the Seminary teaching being conducted, in my own experience at least, by a rather amusing inversion of the Socratic method—whether it was worth while to spend so much time upon it, and whether it

Questions of fact are raised, first, by the denial that Archbishop Parker was consecrated, he being the chief consecrator of those who first followed him ; and, secondly—supposing his formal consecration—by the denial that Barlow, who was chief in his consecration, was himself consecrated. The denial of a fact, ordinarily, throws the burden of proof on those who affirm it. In the present instance, however, there are presumptions in favour of the fact sufficient to throw the burden upon those who deny it. But, not to depend upon this, we are prepared to give sufficient evidence of the fact in both cases—Parker first, and Barlow afterwards. [At the same time—distinguishing between what is simply matter of fact, affecting actual validity, and what is matter of orderly, legal, and canonical propriety, affecting regularity—it is to be said, that the whole of this elaborate discussion of the fact of Parker's and Barlow's consecrations might be dispensed with, without in the least impairing the actual succession of the Bishops of the Church of England by transmission of Episcopal ordination through Bishops episcopally ordained. It narrows the issue and makes a convenient form of attack to assume that this succession depends in fact upon two successive individuals, and then to endeavor to disprove the fact of consecration in those particular cases. This assumption, however,

was not nowadays admitted by Roman controversialists that there was nothing in this objection to the fact of Parker's consecration contained in what is called the Nag's head fable. Generally answering as in the text, I said once in reply to the query : " Well, yes, I suppose it is true that the Romans do not press this story as they once did ; but you may depend upon it that there will always be some one to urge it upon any one who is fool enough to believe it." To which promptly responded an ingenuous youth, whose ears, in the language of the old Greek philosopher, were apt to run into his tongue : " Yes, Professor, I know that ; I've had it tried on me ! "

rests upon another assumption, which ought to be established before the inference can be justified; viz., that ordination is necessarily the act of one individual; and that, of the Bishops who participate in the act of perpetuating the succession, one only performs the act of ordination, while the other Bishops associated with him in that act contribute nothing to its efficacy. If this assumption could be established, we would still be ready, as hereafter shown, to meet the inference; but, until it can be established—and thereby both the reason of the Catholic rule of several consecrators in each case, and the evidence of Roman opinion apart from this case, be set aside—there is no real necessity, keeping strictly to the issue of fact, for so doing. To say that a valid consecration *may* be by one Bishop, is a different thing from saying that a valid consecration *must* be by one Bishop, and that the co-operation of all associated with that one counts for nothing. Yet this is what the controversy in regard to the *fact* of the consecrations of Parker and Barlow assumes. Whereas, upon the Catholic ground of the actual validity, in fact, of consecration by a single Bishop, and the canonical obligation of the uniting of several Bishops in the act of consecration for greater certainty, and better evidence of certainty, and as a warrant of the exercise of the office within the unity of the Church, it is manifest that the English line of succession in fact traces through those who were duly qualified to continue it, even if Parker and Barlow had never existed—as will appear from the inspection of such a tabulated statement of the succession as, for example, is given by Percival in his *Apology for the Apostolic Succession* (p. 102). However, as objections cannot always be sufficiently disposed of by showing that they ought not to be made, it is sometimes necessary, as in the present case, to show that

they are worthless when they are made ; and so we go on to consider the objections in the order designated.]

In Parker's case the presumption in favour of the fact results from his undoubted possession of the See of Canterbury, without question of the fact of his consecration, from 1559 to his death in 1575 ; nor was the fact disputed until 1604, *i.e.*, forty-five years after it took place, and twenty-nine years after his death.

The opposers, therefore, should show cause why this presumption should be disregarded.

## II. ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE ADEQUATE TO OVERTHROW THE PRESUMPTION.

The cause shown is wholly inadequate. It consists of an allegation made in 1604 by an exiled Anglo-Roman priest, Holywood, in a book printed at Antwerp, that Parker and some others were consecrated, so to call it, by Dr. Scory at the Nag's Head Tavern, in Cheapside, on a day unspecified, with a mock ceremony ; and that these, in turn, in the same way consecrated Scory. Holywood says that Thomas Neale, who was chaplain to Bonner, and Hebrew lecturer at Oxford in 1559, and who died in 1590, related this to the old confessors for religion—meaning, presumably, the adherents to the side of the Pope in the reign of Elizabeth—who related it to him. This is the origin of what is called the Nag's Head fable.

The story is absurd and improbable on the face of it : (1) *Because*, although bitter attacks were made by Roman controversialists from the time that Parker took his seat, they are all based upon questions of *right*, and not of *fact*. Many vehemently deny his right to the See, but none dispute the fact of his consecration. In truth, the objections to the right-

fulness of his consecration assume the fact that he was consecrated. . . . (2) *From its repetition*; being the hearsay of hearsays. Holywood says that the old confessors said that Neale said, is not very good evidence. (3) *From the time and place of its appearance*—forty-five years after the fact, twenty-nine years after the death of the man to whom it related, and fourteen years after the death of the man who is said to have related it; and in a distant foreign town. (4) *From the contradictory versions of it*. Prior to 1604 the story is unknown, but, during the twenty years following, every Anglo-Romanist writer, with hardly an exception, repeats it exultingly, though in varying and contradictory terms. (5) *From want of probability*. Why should there have been a mock consecration at a tavern, when every Cathedral and Church in the land was at the disposal of the persons authorized to consecrate; when there was a solemn and formal Ordinal suited to their views, in use in the time of Edward VI., and still ready to their hands; when such a profane farce would have been open to the comment of watchful enemies, eager to find a flaw in their proceedings, and, besides, would have given no legal title to Bishoprics, to their temporalities, or to seats either in the House of Lords or in Convocation—not to speak of penalties; and when, lastly, a queen like Elizabeth would not, especially at that critical period, have tolerated such folly for an instant? (6) *From a probable foundation for the story in an act distinct from, but connected with consecration*. When a story is improbable we disbelieve it, or suspend our assent to it. When there are circumstances which might have given rise to a false report, the knowledge of such circumstances makes the falsehood of the report the more certain. Parker was *confirmed*—not consecrated—at Bow Church, December 9, 1559, not in person, but by his proxy

Bullingham. Bow Church was close by the Nag's Head Tavern, in Cheapside. Bishop Bramhall suggests that the officials, this ceremony being completed, may, after the fashion of Englishmen, have dined at this tavern, and that this was the real hearsay which poor Mr. Neale innocently started.

### III. POSITIVE EVIDENCE.

But waiving the absurdity and improbability of the story, Parker's consecration is proved by positive evidence.

1. **Allusions of Contemporaneous Writers.**—Taking first the evidence, direct but of less formal character, reference is to be made to (*a*) *The Zurich Letters*. These are letters written by English Reformers in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, and at other times, giving account to their friends on the Continent of proceedings at home. These letters were not known in England until Bishop Burnet found them at Zurich in 1685, nor printed in full until about 1842. This evidence, therefore, was neither made nor collected to bear on this question; yet the letters prove in detail, with the conclusiveness of undesigned, private, and casual allusions, the consecrations of several Bishops, including Parker. (*b*) *Machyn's Diary* is an evidence of the same sort. A private citizen keeping a diary enters the fact of Parker's consecration December 17, 1559, as other facts are entered.

2. **Legal Cavils of Opposers.**—These (*a*) necessarily assume *the fact*, and (*b*) lead to further evidence of it. (*a*) Horne, Bishop of Winchester, tendered to Bishop Bonner the oath of the royal supremacy, and, upon his refusing it, proceeded legally against him. Bonner's plea was that Horne was no Bishop, because *inter alia* the statute required to an Episcopal consecration either an Archbishop and



two Bishops, or four Bishops, whereas Horne had been consecrated by Parker and two Bishops ; and Parker was no Archbishop, because of his four consecrators three had been deprived of their Sees, and the fourth deposed from his Suffragan Episcopate ; that is to say, because Parker had been, in fact, consecrated by the very Bishops named in the register of his consecration. (*b*) In consequence of such like legal cavils the statute of Elizabeth's Parliament of 1568 declares all these previous consecrations to have been duly and orderly done according to law ; and the Archbishops and Bishops in 1561 declare Edward's Ordinal, and ordinations under it, to be right, orderly, and lawful, both of which declarations would have been absurd unless the Archbishops and Bishops in question had been actually—in fact—consecrated.

3. **Archbishop Parker's Testimony.**—Parker enters his consecration in his own hand in his private diary, which, with a collection of MSS. made by him, containing letters and transcripts relating to the consecration of himself and others, was deposited in the library of his college—Corpus Christi—in Cambridge, where they still are :

“ 1559, 17.—Decmbr. Ann. 1559.—Consecratus sum in Archiepiscopum cantuarien. Heu ! Heu ! Domine Deus in quæ tempora servasti me ? Jam veni in profundam aquarum, et tempestas demersit me,” etc.

4. **Public Records.**—But the proper and conclusive evidence of the consecration is furnished by the Public Records. These are (*a*) Civil ; (*b*) Ecclesiastical.

(*a*) In the appointment of an English Bishop, a series of State Documents is interwoven with the Ecclesiastical Acts, *Congé d'estlire*, preceding the election ; Royal assent following, with commission to confirm and consecrate ; Restitution of Tempo-

ralities, etc. Each of these State Documents is duly copied, not only into the Ecclesiastical Register, but also, and previously, into the State Rolls; so that there are two sets of records, the keepers of which have no connection with each other. But (*b*) the Ecclesiastical Records are both complicated and of more than one kind—the Archiepiscopal Registers, chiefly at Lambeth, but partly at Canterbury; the Episcopal Registers at the several Cathedral towns; the Registers of Deans and Chapters; the Register of the Prerogative Court at London—all under different custodians. The multiplicity of these documents, and their complication with each other—by mention, for instance, in one, of what is recorded in others—make it absolutely impossible to manipulate them by interpolating forged entries; for one such entry would involve others innumerable.

An examination of these documents shows that, so far as Parker's consecration is concerned, they tally with each other, and with all the other less formal evidence in the case. The nicest scrutiny has failed to detect any flaw in them, or any other want of exactness than the inevitable slips that occur in all MSS., and which are self-evident when noticed.

## LECTURE II.

(Chapter VII. p. 202.)

## CONSECRATION OF BARLOW.

- I. Position of Barlow in the Succession. II. Evidence. III. Circumstances refuting presumption from want of record. 1. Lateness of objection. 2. Obligation to be consecrated. 3. Want of motive to act without consecration. 4. Carelessness of the Registrar. 5. Carelessness of other Registrars. 6. Comparison of evidences. IV. Worthlessness of the objection supposing it were true. V. The Consecrators of Parker duly represented the English Church.

## I. POSITION OF BARLOW IN THE SUCCESSION.

ON the 6th of December, 1559, Elizabeth issued a commission to seven Bishops (six English and one Irish—Bale of Oßsory) surviving from the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., authorizing them, or a majority of them, to consecrate Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury. Four Bishops acted under this commission; viz., Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin.

Barlow is thus one of the four consecrators of Parker. The Romans deny the fact of his consecration, as well as of that of Parker. The denial in both cases is trifling and vain : but in the case of Parker it rests upon a falsehood ; while in the case of Barlow it does rest upon one single fact, which, however, is quite insufficient to support it.

The inference from the denial is that the Succession in fact fails if Barlow was not consecrated. The answer is, 1st, that he was consecrated ; and, 2d, that, so far as Parker's consecration is concerned, it is immaterial whether he were or not.

## II. EVIDENCE.

The Roman denial of the fact of Barlow's consecration is supported by the fact of the absence from the Public Records relating to his ecclesiastical advancement, of the particular record certifying his consecration; that is to say, among the various papers pertaining to the constituting of a Bishop, this one is missing.

Barlow was one of Henry VIII.'s Ambassador Bishops. He was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph, January 7, 1536, and confirmed during his absence in Scotland, February 23. He was appointed to St. David's April 10, and confirmed in person April 21, being then in London. In June, 1536, he appears both in Parliament and in Convocation as Bishop. The restitution of temporalities dates April 26; the writ of summons to Parliament, as Bishop of St. David's, April 27. He is called Bishop of St. David's on and after April 25, and signs his letters Wm. Menevensis,<sup>1</sup> whereas in March, although confirmed to St. Asaph, he signs himself Wm. Barlo. April 25, when he was in London, was a Sunday. It is at least a possible supposition that he should have been consecrated on that day. The order of precedence, however, in the House of Lords, which though not absolutely unvarying, yet adheres to a nearly unvaried list, places Barlow *after* the Bishops of Chichester and Norwich, who were consecrated—the latter certainly, the former probably—upon June 11, 1536; and, on the strength of the presumption thence derived, the author conjectures June 11 as the probable date of Barlow's con-

<sup>1</sup> The Primate of Caerleon, in the early part of the sixth century, resigned his Archbishopric to St. David, who removed his archiepiscopal seat to *Menevia*, now called St. David's (BRAMHALL'S Works, II., 172).—A. C. L.

secration, although he notes the preference of an able and friendly American critic and writer, Dr. Hugh Davey Evans, for the date of April 25. Upon either supposition the possibility of Barlow's consecration is equally made out. The correct day must wait for certain determination, until the record, if it was ever made, is dragged out of some corner where the binder, on that hypothesis, must have left it when collecting the *dissecta membra* of Cranmer's Archiepiscopal records, in order to bind them into their present shape. The record missing is a short one, that namely of the consecration alone; the other steps in the process being recorded. And this short record, apparently either omitted in the copying or the binding, while it would be positively good evidence of the consecration, obviously does not afford negatively by its absence a sufficient evidence of the want of consecration.

### III. CIRCUMSTANCES REFUTING THE SLIGHT PRESUMPTION RESULTING FROM THE ABSENCE OF THIS RECORD.

1. **Lateness of the Objection.**—No one charged that Barlow was not consecrated until eighty years after the event, and forty-eight years after his death; and this silence was during a period of bitter feeling against Barlow, as well as against the Church—a period in which any charge, which could have been made, would not have been spared.

2. **Obligation to be Consecrated.**—The law of the Church and the law of the land required consecration—the latter under penalties. A strong force of public opinion required it. The House of Lords would not have admitted an unconsecrated Prelate; nor would the Upper House of Convocation. Bishops whom he joined in consecrating would have objected. Some of his clergy would

have demurred to his jurisdiction. It would have been denied in the legal proceedings in which he was largely implicated.

3. **Want of Motive to Act without Consecration.**—There was no reason why he alone should not be consecrated. To avoid consecration, were it possible, would have imperilled his whole worldly position ; and those who would aid him by refraining from their part in his consecration would themselves have incurred heavy penalties.

That in his view consecration was unnecessary, if it could be shown to be his serious and settled judgment, would not be sufficient to justify the risk of non-consecration. Yet, even here, his irreverent words witness to the fact of his consecration ; for that “A layman should be as good a Bishop as himself, or the best in England, if the King chose him to be a Bishop,” is a remark which would have been quite without point, if he had not been himself in fact a Bishop. His official acts, moreover, contradict such expressions ; Barlow, as well as Cranmer, having been a member of the committee that drew up the Institution of a Christian man.

4. **Carelessness of the Registrar.**—Cranmer’s Register seems to consist of a bundle of parchments of different sizes, almost certainly bound up after date—several documents being quite misplaced as to time. This Register omits in the matter of consecrations and translations about one-fourth of those which really occurred. Five out of eleven translations, and nine out of forty-five consecrations are missing. Of these nine, three are ignored ; five, of which Barlow’s is one, are entered as far as the confirmation ; and the ninth is broken off in the middle of a page and of a sentence. Yet no one doubts, and there is no

reason to doubt, the consecrations of the others in like case with Barlow.

5. **Carelessness of other Registrars.**—In Warham's Register, six out of twenty-six consecrations are omitted ; and two in Pole's Register. [It is curious to note, in this connection, that the *ostensible* validity of Pole's consecration rests on Hodgskin's—since the record of the consecration of his consecrators cannot be traced two steps back, except in Thirlby ; one of whose consecrators was Hodgskin, whose record alone is extant. So, if Parker's consecration must fail for want of this kind of evidence, Pole's also fails. But of course both are good. See Percival's *Apology for the Apostolic Succession*, p. 101.]

6. **Comparison of Evidences.**—The question is, then, whether a consecration which is established by such presumptive evidence—arising from notoriety ; from law ; from uniform custom ; from overwhelming motives to it, and absence of motive to the contrary ; from every possible source whence presumptive evidence can be drawn—can be set aside by inability to find, after a long interval, a record which ought to have been made by an official who has omitted one out of five of all entries of the kind, the consecration being disputed in none of the other cases.

#### IV. WORTHLESSNESS OF THE OBJECTION SUPPOSING IT WERE TRUE.

Barlow was only one out of four consecrators of Parker. Of the consecration of the other three, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin, there is the regular as well as the presumptive evidence.

The principle in regard to the value of the act of those joining in consecration is not that one consecrates, and the others merely witness his acts ;

but that all who join in the consecration are not merely witnesses, but also coöperators—a principle testified to by surely a most sufficient witness, Martene, who indeed speaks, as Haddan says, but common sense when he determines: “An vero omnes qui adsunt Episcopi co-operatores sint, an testes tantum consecrationis inquiri posset; verum non tantum testes, sed etiam co-operatores esse citra omnem dubitationis aleam asserendum est;” and who, in what follows, if he does not speak common sense, certainly speaks what shows him to be an unimpeachable Roman: “Solus enim Pontifex Romanus hoc gaudebat privilegio, ut solus episcopus consecraret,” etc.<sup>1</sup>

And, moreover, in this particular consecration of Parker, it is recorded that the four Bishops not only joined in the imposition of hands, but also in the recital of the words of ordination. (*Appendix*, p. 359.)

So that if it could be proved that Barlow was not consecrated, which is impossible; or if there could be reasonable doubt of his consecration, which there is not—we should still have the necessary proof of the fact of Parker's consecration by three validly consecrated Bishops.

## V. THE CONSECRATORS OF PARKER REPRESENTED THE EPISCOPATE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Questions as to legal and canonical objections to the succession are to be considered later; but in treating the fact of the continuity of the succession, it is to be noted here that the consecrators of Parker were the remaining Bishops of Edward's time, survivors of those who had been mostly exiled or slain under Mary; and so did, in fact, represent

<sup>1</sup> *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Lib. I., Cap. VIII., Art. X., Ord. XVI.



the Church as it existed prior to any objections made by Romans against the succession.

[All the consecrations under Mary were uncanonical, made by authority of the Bishop of Rome, renounced in England since 1534 by the legitimate Synodical Assemblies of the Church, both in Canterbury and York, whose canonical regulations duly made were never repealed by the same Synodical authority.

Without pretence of ecclesiastical law, and without the consent of the Metropolitan, Mary deprived thirteen Bishops and intruded others into their Sees.

At the accession of Elizabeth, the only Canonical Bishops were the survivors of those consecrated under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., of whom there were eight only. Of these eight, Bonner and Thirlby were incapacitated as concerned in the death of their Metropolitan, and as pertinacious adherents to the lawfully rejected Papal jurisdiction : the rest consented to the consecration of Parker, and four of them took part in it.

The Marian Bishops were deprived by Elizabeth, as they had been intruded by Mary, and they made no attempt to keep up their succession. So that line died out ; and the line that continued is derived from pre-Reformation sources, through those who were certainly lawfully and canonically settled during and after the Reformation, and who only suffered from the unlawful deprivation by Mary, which could not take away the right that they had possessed ; and which, when they exercised it, no one could lawfully dispute. Cf. Percival's *Apology for Apostolic Succession*, pp. 101, 102.]

## LECTURE III.

(Chapter VIII. p. 231.)

## THE CANONICAL VALIDITY OF ENGLISH ORDERS.

- I. The author's treatment of the subject. II. Objections sentimental and declamatory. I. Possibility of unbaptized Anglican Bishops. 2. Want of reverence in Anglican clergy. 3. Want of belief by Anglicans in Anglican Orders. 4. Alleged condemnation of Anglican Orders by Roman Church from the time of the discarding of Papal supremacy.

## I. THE AUTHOR'S TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT.

THE position of the English Church, and of that in this Country as well, unhappily involves much controversy, situated as it is between the two fires of Protestantism and Romanism. The treatment of the subject of Apostolic Succession is therefore, of necessity, very largely in the way of answers to objections. The first part of the author's work concerns chiefly those objections which relate to the need and authority of the ministry of Apostolic Succession ; the second part covers those objections which are made to the fact of our possession of that ministry, and to the rightfulness, under Catholic law, of that succession which we do possess. In other words, the Romans, from whom chiefly these latter objections proceed, sometimes deny the fact of the continuity of our succession, and sometimes deny that our succession, if we have one, is a lawful succession.

The proofs of the fact of the continuity of our succession, at those points in which it is on this score attacked by the Romans, having been suffi-

ciently stated, we come now to consider those objections which are made to the succession as we have it, and which are divided by the author into two classes ; those, viz., which are merely captious, and those which are of a more serious and argumentative character.

## II. OBJECTIONS SENTIMENTAL AND DECLAMATORY.

Objections of this class are, in themselves, unworthy of reply ; but when they are made they have a certain influence unless they are met.

1. **Possibility of Unbaptized Anglican Bishops.**—Quakers are the only noticeable sect without baptism, and it would be hard to find one English Bishop who began life as a Quaker. If schismatical Baptism be rejected, there are but four or five English Bishops who began life as dissenters of any sort, among several hundred. Cases of such rarity—even if they were proved—would not weigh against the general intention of the Church, which would certainly suffice to cure unconscious default or individual and unknown neglect ; and, moreover, it is impossible, even on the extreme ground that individual acts in a few cases were invalid, that the succession in general should be invalidated.

Romanists claim that, in the possible case of an unbaptized Pope, his *ex cathedra* declaration covers defects in his Christianity, and so in his Orders ; and, if it does not change the fact, suffices to reverse men's belief about it—the evidence all the while remaining the same. It does not become them to base an objection on the imaginary case of an occasional unbaptized Bishop, among others sufficient to carry on the succession.

2. **Want of Reverence in Anglican Clergy.**

—It is better, it has been said, to suppose English Clergymen no Priests, because, if they were, their Eucharists would be true Eucharists, which would be shocking, in view of their irreverence. Of course this is neither evidence nor argument against the succession. Romanists who use this insinuation appear to have some sympathy with the Protestant notion, repudiated by our Articles, that the unworthiness of the Minister hinders the grace of the Sacraments ; and, besides the folly of the supposition that Anglican Clergy have a monopoly of irreverence, they seem also to forget that instances of poison in the Eucharistic cup, in their own communion, are not solitary ; and that the character of many Popes has been as black as words could paint it.

3. **Want of Belief by Anglicans in Anglican Orders.**—It is fair to say that this faith is implicit if not explicit.

The clamorous assertion of special articles of faith is characteristic of sects and minorities. Churchmen who accept the faith and order of the Church as a whole are, as a rule, not particularly solicitous to defend them. Haply, in some cases, not so well informed of the arguments for them as they should be, they are nevertheless grieved with the disregard of them, and, except in some perverted cases, would be shocked to see a dissenting minister intruded into a priestly function.

[At the same time, with regard to these last three objections, *Fas est ab hoste doceri*. We ought to learn from them an increase of care in the ministration of Baptism, of reverence in the celebration of the Eucharist, and of diligence in the instruction of the Congregation in the order, as well as the faith of Christ's Church.]

4. **Alleged Condemnation of Anglican Orders by the Roman Church from the Time of**

**Discarding the Papal Supremacy.**—This allegation is false in fact—unimportant if true. The objection assumes the necessity of the Papal approval, which ought to be first established.

But in fact English Orders were not denied at first, nor was there any authoritative condemnation of them by the Court of Rome for one hundred and fifty years. Both Julius III. and Paul IV., and Cardinal Pole acting with their sanction, accepted English Orders under Mary's reign, by whatever Ordinal conferred, wherever the person so ordained submitted to the Pope.

Such persons were re-habilitated, not re-ordained. English Orders, under whatever condition accepted, were not regarded as null. They were not simply repeated, as they are to-day.

The first instance of formal condemnation was in 1704; and this upon a mere *ex parte* proceeding, in which Petitioner, Counsel, and Court were all on one side, and where there was no pretence of examination of evidence on the other side.

[In that year, John Clement Gordon, who had been Bishop of Galloway—the then Scottish orders having been derived from the English line—applied to Clement XI. at Rome, for re-ordination on the ground of the doubtfulness of what he had already received. The allegations are, want of sufficient form and intention; and, particularly, the failure of the succession in fact—in proof of which he specifically alleges the Nag's Head story. Whereupon the Pope pronounces Gordon's orders null, and directs him to be re-ordained.

(See Seabury's *Continuity of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 165–172. See also Elrington's *Validity of English Ordination*, pp. 140–152.)

In taking leave of this disgraceful slander, thus made the main ground of the formal condemnation

of our Orders, it is pleasing to note that there are instances of individual fairness among Roman writers who have witnessed to the truth. "We do not need their testimony, but we honour their candour." Most eminent among these was the Gallican divine Le Courayer, who wrote a dissertation in defence of Anglican Orders—and afterward a defence of his dissertation—containing perhaps the most thorough refutation of Roman attacks which has ever been made.

Dr. Lingard, too, the Roman Catholic historian of England, having stated the consecration of Parker, December 17, 1559, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin, adds (vol. vii., note 1) : "The ceremony was performed, though with a little variation, according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. Two of the Consecrators, Barlow and Hodgskin, had been ordained Bishops according to the Roman Pontifical, the other two according to the reformed Ordinal. Of this consecration on the 17th of December, there can be no doubt ; perhaps, in the interval between the refusal of the Catholic Prelates,<sup>1</sup> and the performance of the ceremony, some meeting may have taken place at the Nag's Head, which gave rise to the story." ] (*Ante*, p. 66.)

<sup>1</sup> By *refusal*, I presume Lingard means refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy.

LECTURE IV.

(Chapter VIII. p. 242.)

GENERAL VIEW OF ROMAN OBJECTIONS TO ANGLICAN ORDERS—*continued.*

- I. Characteristic of objections of a more argumentative kind.  
 II. Omission of certain words and ceremonies from Ordinal. 1. In ordination of Priests. 2. In Episcopal ordination. III. Failure of Intention. 1. True and false doctrine of Intention. 2. Evidence as to the Intention of the English Church.

I. CHARACTERISTIC OF OBJECTIONS OF A MORE ARGUMENTATIVE KIND.

THE objections, other than those which are merely declamatory, or which relate to the fact of succession, have, in general, the characteristic that they either are improperly applied to Orders, or are suicidal. They depend upon some previous question, or they apply to Roman Orders as well as to Anglican.

II. OMISSION OF CERTAIN WORDS AND CEREMONIES FROM ORDINAL.

1. **In Ordination of Priests.**—In the Roman Pontifical five steps appear in Priestly ordination.

(a) Laying on of hands by the Bishop and assisting Priests, followed by the prayer for celestial gifts upon those chosen to the Priesthood, "*Quos ad presbyterii munus elegit.*"

(b) Investiture with Stole and Chasuble.

(c) Anointing of the Priest's hands.

(d) Delivery of Paten and Chalice with the

words, "Accipe potestatem offerre Sacrificium Deo, missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis."

(e) Near the end of the service another imposition of hands, with the words, "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum : quorum remiseras peccata," etc.

The changes introduced into Edward's Ordinal were substantially : (1) the omission of *b* and *c*, investiture and unction ; (2) the use of the prayer for gifts for those chosen to the Priesthood, without this first imposition of hands ; (3) the combination of the second imposition of hands as in *e*—accompanied by that of the Priests—with the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," etc., and with the charge to be a faithful dispenser of the Word and Sacraments, and with the delivery of the Bible—and, in 1549, with delivery of Paten and Chalice, which was omitted in 1552.

The question is whether these changes invalidate ordination. Certainly the right of each Church to frame its own Liturgy, within the bounds of the common faith, cannot be disputed ; and as to what is essential in ordination, it is equally certain that from the beginning, the laying on of hands by an ordainer who was himself rightly ordained, accompanied by any words that sufficed to convey the formal intention of the Church, has been held sufficient both as to matter and form to a valid ordination.

With regard to the changes, they certainly are not of the essence of ordination. The investiture and anointing appear about A. D. 600, but were absent at Rome in the ninth century and in the East altogether. The delivery of paten and chalice with *Accipe Potestatem*, etc., was unknown, word or thing, in the Latin Pontifical before A. D. 1000, and to the Eastern altogether.

As to the substitution of the charge to dispense



and minister the Word and Sacraments for the words conferring the power to offer Sacrifice, it is only necessary to say at present, that in whatever sense the Eucharist is a Sacrifice, the authority to minister the Eucharist, expressly given, carries the power to offer that Sacrifice ; and that if no Priest can be constituted without the words *Accipe Potestatem*, etc., and the delivery of paten and chalice, then neither Greeks nor Romans had a Priest for nearly a thousand years.

Again, it is charged that prior to 1662 we omitted the word Priest, so that the purpose of ordination was indefinite. On the contrary, the express words, "these thy servants now called to the office of priesthood," occur in the Ordinals of 1549 and 1552 precisely as in the Roman form.

2. **In Episcopal Ordination.**—The case is similar or stronger with respect to Bishops. We have dropped certain ceremonies, *e. g.*, unction of head and hands. The Eastern Church never knew such custom ; nor the ancient African, nor Rome itself in Episcopal consecrations until about A. D. 500. We have dropped the custom of delivering the Ring, the Mitre, and, since 1552, the Pastoral staff. These may or may not be considered edifying, but certainly they are not essential ceremonies. We have retained the delivery of the Gospels—included in the delivery of the Bible—but, instead of having them laid on the neck or head, they are delivered into the hands, a change more rational, indeed, but certainly not material.

The omission of the word *Bishop*, prior to 1662, does not make the purpose of the ordination indefinite, when all the circumstances make the intention unmistakable. The same omission is chargeable to the Roman Pontifical, and is properly defended by Roman writers as non-essential. Vasquez says of the Roman Rite: "Although the word Bishop

is not in that form, yet the other circumstances accompanying the form sufficiently express it." If Vasquez is right as to the Roman use, as he certainly is, it is hard to see that the English use is wrong; a glass house is proverbially a bad place to throw stones from.

### III. FAILURE OF INTENTION.

Besides matter and form, there is also the further requisite of a sufficient intention in order to a valid ordination. It is to be inquired, therefore, what a sufficient intention is, and whether this attends the English ordinations.

1. **True and False Doctrine of Intention.**—The intention required is that of the Church as expressed in her formal acts, and not that of the minister who ordains.

Private opinions or purposes of the individual ordainer cannot affect the validity of an act which does not depend upon his power or will, but on the promise of Christ. Popes like Alexander VIII. may tell us that a minister invalidates an act by withdrawing from it his interior intention; but common sense, and the mere mischief of such a doctrine, put it aside as preposterous. No contract in the ordinary business of life would be worth a straw if the reserved intention of the parties could be alleged to abrogate their expressed intention.

The soberer schoolmen, and the Council of Trent itself, limit the required intention to the virtual intention to do as the Church does. Even this goes beyond the mark, unless the outward acts be taken as evidence of the inward intention. This, indeed, is the true principle—that the intention of the ordainer is to be presumed to be the intention of the Church as expressed by the words and acts authoritatively ordered.

This brings us to the only serious question involved in the objection, whether the intention of the Church of England as expressed in her formularies is to confer the order of the Priesthood according to the will of Christ and the Church Catholic.

2. **Evidence as to the Intention of the English Church.**—It is charged on the Roman side, and to some extent on the Eastern side also, that we have substituted preaching ministers for sacrificing Priests.

Speaking of tendencies and popular belief, it may be true to say that before the Reformation the idea of Sacrifice outweighed the idea of Sacrament; and that since the Reformation, the idea of Sacrament has to some extent, in the Anglican Communion, overbalanced the idea of Sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> But the question here is neither of tendencies nor of popular beliefs, but of the intention of the Church as such; *i.e.*, speaking authoritatively. And the evidence that the Church of England has laid aside the Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice, and that she has no intention of ordaining Priests duly qualified to offer such Sacrifice as Catholic doctrine calls for, is quite insufficient. The Church of England con-

<sup>1</sup> Owing, no doubt, largely to the unfortunate, though perhaps natural, confusion of mind which led many to associate the idea of Sacrifice with that of Transubstantiation; whereas the doctrine of Sacrifice is entirely independent on that of Transubstantiation, as is pointed out by Le Courayer with his usual clearness of demonstration. (*Defence of Dissertation on Anglican Ordination*, II., p. 101, *et seq.*) But, as Scandret remarks in his *Sacrifice the Divine Service* (p. 44): "The just violence of some men against the error of transubstantiation made them jealous of any notion of a Sacrifice, and transported them, as it were, out of their sense and understanding." So that it was no wonder that many forgot what Leslie, in his introduction to that admirable little book, bids them remember, that the Eucharist only becomes a Sacrament by being first a Sacrifice. (*Ib.*, 8, 9.)

fers the office of the Priesthood by name, and, in conferring it, specifies the functions of absolving from sin, of preaching the Word, and of dispensing and ministering the Sacraments.

At the same time there are omitted the words which confer authority to offer Sacrifice in the sense in which the mediæval doctrine taught it ; and the grounds on which that omission is made are very clearly expressed in the Thirty-first Article of Religion ; viz., that the Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual ; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, wherein it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits. Plainly, then, that doctrine of Sacrifice which was laid aside was the doctrine that the Mass was a Sacrifice wherein Christ was immolated <sup>1</sup> and offered as a propitiation for sins ;

<sup>1</sup> That this word does not lack authoritative sanction in the Roman use at least since the Council of Trent, which may be presumed to have expressed what was current in that use when the Church of England is claimed to have abandoned the idea of Sacrifice, appears from the following teaching.

“ He then, as the Holy Synod has defined, ordained them Priests, and commanded them, and their successors in the Ministry, to *immolate* and offer in sacrifice His precious body and blood.”

“ If therefore with pure hearts, etc., we *immolate* and offer in sacrifice this most holy victim we shall,” etc.—*Catechism of the Council of Trent* (pp. 174, 175).

“ If the sacrifices of the old law . . . were so acceptable, . . . what may we not hope from the efficacy of a sacrifice in which is *immolated* and offered no less a victim than He of whom a voice from heaven twice proclaimed, ‘ This is my beloved Son,’ ” etc.—*Ib.* (p. 173).

Bellarmino also (*De Missa*, Lib. I. cap. xii.) thus urges the necessity of this immolation: “ Christi corpus, ut in cœna re ipsa adest, victima quædam est ; ergo aliqua præcedente

and by virtue whereof was procured not only pardon for the living, but also relief for the dead from the penalties of sin committed during life.

[If the doctrine of the Roman Church is not that to which, at the time of the Reformation, and subsequently, so much exception has been taken, then it may perhaps be considered that the English Church has been over cautious in the measures taken to guard against a wrong conception of the idea of Sacrifice. But in estimating her intention we have to take into account not merely the authoritative statements of the Council of Trent—which, indeed, were formulated after the ground of the Church of England was taken in this matter by the change in the Ordinal—but also the teaching of the day, and the prevalence of errors, which had great need to be corrected by the emphatic and unmistakeable assertion of the all-sufficiency of the Sacrifice of Christ.

One of the difficulties in Roman controversy is that words which may have been authoritatively formulated in one sense are in common use and understanding accepted, and apparently allowed to be practically accepted, in another sense—a remark which seems to be justified by the example of such words as *immolation* and *victim*, as well as *sacrifice* itself. It is easily intelligible to the candid and charitable mind, well informed in regard to the

*immolatione victima factum est. Quæro, quæ fuerit illa immolatio? Dices; Immolatio crucis. At cum primum Apostoli participarunt ista victimam, nondum Christus in cruce fuerat immolatus. Præterea neque nunc victima, quæ est in altari potest dici facta per immolationem crucis: nam illa immolatio semel tantum facta est, et victima per eam facta paulo post desiit esse victima. . . . Cum igitur victima per immolationem crucis facta, desierit esse victima, si iterum Christi corpus incipit esse victima, debet alia immolatione id fieri. Sed immolatio crucis non potest repeti; alia igitur nova requiritur immolatio. Quare aut immolatio, quæ victimam ponit in altari, seu in sacra cœna, est ipsa actio, celebratioque mysterii Eucharistiæ: aut non est in sacra cœna ulla victima.”*

proper sense of words, and the history of their use, that certain terms may have a harmless and even justifiable meaning ; but it is not so obvious to the ordinary mind, especially when excited by controversy, or inflamed either by enthusiasm or hostility, that words are not intended to mean what they are commonly understood to mean. Nor has it been unheard of, that our opponents in this and other controversies on that side, when pressed with the evil of the practical understanding of their doctrine, should take refuge in such an exposition of their standards as leaves little to be desired from a Catholic point of view. If only words could be always used in their proper sense, the opportunity of erroneous understanding would of course be reduced to a minimum ; but when evils of dangerous importance prevail in consequence of such erroneous understanding, and of the improper use of proper words, it may be necessary sometimes even to reject the words in order to cure the evil, though there is at the same time no intention to reject the truth which those words in their proper sense contain. Courayer, who has dealt with the controversies in this matter with a charity and largeness of mind which are truly admirable, calls attention to the fact that the English divines, while they are cautious about the use of the word Sacrifice—even to the extent, sometimes, of reprobation—yet distinctly teach the very substance of all that is involved in the Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> And the reason is plain ; because the true Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice has been so obscured, perverted, and misrepresented, that in view of such associations it seemed to derogate from the sufficiency of the Sacrifice of Christ. And this is exactly the position of the Church of England itself, as teaching the substance

<sup>1</sup> *Defence of Dissertation on Anglican Ordination*, Williams translation, II., pp. 146-161.

of the Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice and rejecting those errors which had arisen from a misconception of it. Taking the current teaching of the day in regard to Sacrifice, in connection with the doctrine of transubstantiation, with its apparent implication of the necessity of a real slaying of the victim in order to the procurement of the real body and blood thereof ; seeing the danger, and the actual misconceptions resulting from the understanding of immolation, not so much in its proper and original sense of an accompaniment to sacrifice, as in the common acceptation of actual killing ; and dreading the evil of that system which prostituted the Mass to the ends of covetousness by making it a propitiation for the dead as well as the living—it is not surprising that it should have been thought necessary to guard thoroughly against what certainly seemed to contradict the fundamental principle of the Gospel ; viz., the completeness of the one, only true Sacrifice of Christ as a satisfaction or propitiation for the sins of the whole world.] At a period, too, when Doctors were found who taught that our Lord had died upon the Cross only to atone for *original* sin, and that it was the Church that offered the Sacrifice of Christ for the *actual* sins of men, there was certainly good reason for such a wording of the services as should effectually shut out so monstrous a doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Our divines, indeed,” says Courayer, “have always denied these accusations. But without maintaining the errors they are charged with, they have given sufficient reason for the imputation by the inaccuracy of their expressions, the confusion of their ideas, several ridiculous questions, and the figurative and hyperbolic ways of speaking with which they have perplexed the matter. For what can one think to see *Catharin* draw a sort of parallel between the Sacrifice of the Cross and that of the Mass, and attributing to the one the remission of sins committed before Baptism, and to the other of those committed after it ? What can any one imagine to

And, on the other hand, the memory of Christ's sacrifice, as the prayer of consecration speaks ; and that this memory is no untrue figure of a thing absent, as the Homily speaks, are words which cannot be confined to mere subjective recollection ; especially when taken in connection with the well-known theological meaning of the word memory, as signifying the offering or presentation to the Father of that which is mystically, though truly, the Body and Blood of Christ, as a memorial of that one past Sacrifice now effectively pleaded by His institution on earth, as it is meritoriously and authoritatively pleaded in Heaven by Him Who ever liveth to make intercession for us.

In short, if by the word Sacrifice is intended the effectual representation of the one Sacrifice, the Priesthood of the Anglican Church are, by the formularies of that Church, authorized to offer it. They are not authorized to offer it in the sense

see *Conink* seriously propose the question whether by consecrating the Eucharist between the Death and Resurrection of Christ, he would really have died in the Eucharist ; and to hear *Harding* say that Christ really shed His Blood twice, at the last Supper and upon the Cross? What can one say when Soto and Pigbius tell us that the fruit of Christ's Passion being refused us on account of the sins we every day commit, He left us a new Sacrifice for the expiation of those sins? What can one judge of those that by attributing particular virtues to this action would make us believe that they look upon this Sacrifice as in itself meritorious? . . . Lastly, how can we excuse those that, confounding the Reality with the Representation, the remembrance of a thing with the thing itself, seem to say with *Harding*, either that Christ is sacrificed afresh, as often as His Death is offered, or that this Sacrifice is a supplement and reiteration of that of the Cross? What is the tendency of all these questions, and of many others equally ridiculous, but to make people believe that Christ was really and actually sacrificed afresh in the Eucharist, and that this Sacrifice had as proper a merit as that of the Cross?"—COURAYER, *Defence of Dissertation (ut supr., II. 145, 146.)*



of an iteration or repetition ; in the sense of being as such a propitiation or satisfaction for sin ; as in mitigation of the pains of Purgatory ; or as an atonement for actual sin, as distinguished from the Sacrifice of Christ for original sin. And, so far as the evidence goes, it seems plainly to show that the intention of the English Church at the Reformation, as exhibited by Ordinal, Articles, and Eucharistic Office, was to repudiate a notion of Sacrifice which involved these errors, and not to reject that Catholic doctrine of Sacrifice which was inconsistent with them.

The Fathers speak plainly of the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and of the Eucharist as a Sacrifice ; yet, surely, not in the corrupt mediæval sense, but in the mystical sense, as commemorative and representative—a memory of a Sacrifice, as from Cyprian onwards the Fathers call it. [This remark, however, is not to be interpreted as meaning that the idea of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist originated with Cyprian or his time, and received no sanction from even earlier Fathers. It is a favourite notion of some modern critics of Church doctrine and order, that from the beginning these were not so, but that they are the result of a certain Ecclesiasticism which first flowered forth in Cyprian. The *Historic Episcopate*, indeed, may be graciously conceded as a harmless fact ; but we are not to imagine that the fact involved the idea of Divine institution and authority until Cyprian discovered such significance. So with regard to the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, we are gravely advised that this results from a departure from the original righteousness of the purest ages of the Church, for which Cyprian is chiefly to be held responsible ; whereas, in fact, Cyprian did but formulate what he had received.

Nor can we think that this sacrificial aspect of

the Eucharist was new in his time, when Origen tells us that "we eat the Bread that was offered unto God with prayer and thanksgiving for His gifts, and then made a kind of holy Body by prayer;" when Irenæus tells us that Christ "took that Bread which was made of His creature, and gave thanks, saying, This is my Body, . . . and thus taught the new Oblation of the New Testament, which the Church, receiving from the Apostles, offers throughout the world unto God;" when Justin Martyr tells us that Christians are taught that they should perform their sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving to God "in that thankful remembrance of their food, both dry and liquid, wherein also is commemorated the Passion which the Son of God suffered by himself;" and when this Oblation of Bread and Wine is implied in St. Paul's parallel of the Lord's Supper and the Sacrifices of the Gentiles; the table of Devils being so called by reason of viands offered to Devils, and the table of the Lord indicating in like manner the viands offered to God—such offering being not separable in our imagination from that institution whereby we do show the Lord's death. (See Joseph Mede, *Works*, Book II., chapter viii.) So that the mystical Offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, through the symbolic or sacramental means of the material oblations of the Church in the Eucharist—or, as Mede expresses it (chapter vi.), the offering, in the Christian Sacrifice, of the thanksgiving of the Church, through Christ commemorated in the symbols of Bread and Wine, as by a medium whereby to find acceptance—is an idea not evolved out of the inner consciousness of Cyprian, but one which harmonizes with the language of the earlier Fathers to whom reference has been made, and even of St. Paul himself, as well as with that of those who followed; as of Chrysostom, for example, who says that

the Eucharist is a Sacrifice indeed, but rather a memorial of the Sacrifice. Nor does it appear, either, that the idea of Sacrifice has ever been until later times dissociated from the Eucharist, or that the Sacrifice which has been recognized during the earlier ages has been other than memorial or representative in its character.] Even so late a schoolman as Peter Lombard says that the Eucharist is indeed "called a Sacrifice," but that it is so called "because it is a memory and representation of the true Sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> And English divines have consistently taught in the same line.

Bishop Bramhall, for instance, declares the terms of ordination to "give sufficient power to sacrifice, so far as an Evangelical Priest doth or can sacrifice; that is a commemorative Sacrifice; or a representative Sacrifice; or to apply the Sacrifice of Christ by such means as God has appointed."

Bishop Beveridge affirms that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may as properly be called a Sacrifice as any that ever was offered, except that which was offered by Christ Himself; for this, indeed, was the only true expiatory Sacrifice: those under the Law were only typical, and this is a commemorative Sacrifice."

<sup>1</sup> Bellarmine's comment upon Peter Lombard's calling the Sacrifice a representation of the true Sacrifice and holy immolation, is that Lombard uses the word *immolation* in the sense of *killing*, in which sense, indeed, "Christ was only once immolated." So with regard to the Fathers who call the Eucharist a Sacrifice in the sense of a Memorial, or Sacramental, or Representative Sacrifice, affirming the one only immolation of Christ upon the Cross, he says they speak of the immolation of Christ in his own kind or species—"in propria specie"—and refer to a bloody immolation which was "once only;" but now it is done, not properly, but by representation—"Non proprie sed per representationem." (*De Missa*, Lib. I., cap. xv.) Upon which it seems obvious to remark, that if Bellarmine and others had been content to make the language of the Fathers their own, they would not have been obliged to make so many explanations.

Bishop Ridley says : " It is well said, if it be rightly understood, that the Priest doth offer an unbloody Sacrifice of the Body of Christ ; . . . it is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, as a representation of that Bloody Sacrifice."

And in the recent words of even the late Dean Goode, who might be considered an unwilling witness : " It is strictly true, in a sense, that the real Sacrifice of the Cross, the true Body and Blood of Christ, are offered up in the Eucharist, not by iteration, but in the prayers of the faithful ; nay, more, remission of sins can only be obtained by the offering up of the true Sacrifice of the Cross." And again : " The Fathers, as a body, speak (and justly) of the offering up of the real Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and attribute the impetration of remission of sins to such a Sacrifice alone."

[Impetration is the act of obtaining by prayer. And so the Eucharist appears to be neither in itself a propitiation, nor merely equivalent to our own prayers, but to be, by Divine appointment, an act or means by which we obtain the benefits of that Sacrifice, which by It we commemorate and represent ; and if this teaching be consistent with the formularies of the English Church, as it plainly is, the intention of the Church of England to authorize its Priesthood to offer Sacrifice should be sufficiently shown.

In view of the restoration in the American Book of Common Prayer of the Oblation in the Eucharistic Service, it would seem evident that the intention of the American Church in the matter of Priesthood and Sacrifice is even less open to cavil than that of the English Church. Certainly, had the English Church retained this bulwark, no weapon formed against her intention in this regard could have prospered. That cavils should be want-

ing entirely, is, of course, more than could be expected ; but, whether they come from without or from within, the Prayer of Consecration, as we have it, is sufficient to neutralize them ; and its use has been, and is, a continuing education to those whose former associations may have predisposed them to such cavils. Nor can the consideration of this part of our subject be better closed than with a brief quotation from one, who by the singular Grace and Providence of God was the chief instrument in the accomplishment of this restoration, and whose *Discourse upon the Holy Eucharist* contains the best possible comment upon the true significance of the restoration.

“ It appears, therefore, that the Eucharist is not only a Sacrament, . . . but also a true and proper Sacrifice, commemorative of the original Sacrifice and Death of Christ, . . . a memorial made before God, to put Him in mind. . . . From this account, the Priesthood of the Christian Church evidently appears. As a Priest, Christ offered Himself a Sacrifice to God, in the mystery of the Eucharist—that is, under the symbols of bread and wine—and He commanded His Apostles to do as He had done. If His offering were a Sacrifice, theirs was also. His Sacrifice was original, theirs commemorative. His was meritorious through His merit who offered it ; theirs drew all its merit from the relation it had to His Sacrifice and appointment. His, from the excellency of its own nature, was a true and sufficient propitiation for the sins of the whole world ; theirs procures remission of sins only through the reference it has to His Atonement.

“ When Christ commanded His Apostles to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, in remembrance of Him, He with the command gave them power to do so ; that is, He communicated His own Priesthood to

them in such measure and degree as He saw necessary for His Church ; to qualify them to be His representatives ; to offer the Christian Sacrifice of bread and wine as a memorial before God the Father of His offering Himself once for all, of His passion and of His death ; to render the Almighty propitious to us for His sake ; and as a means of obtaining, through faith in Him, all the blessings and benefits of His redemption.”—BISHOP SEABURY’S *Discourses* (1795, I., pp. 177, 178.)]

## LECTURE V.

(Chapter VIII p. 277.)

### GENERAL VIEW OF ROMAN OBJECTIONS TO ANGLICAN ORDERS—*continued.*

- I. Want of Jurisdiction. I. As not being derived from the Pope. 2. As being derived from the Crown. II. Invalidated by heresy or schism. 1. Irrelevance of the objection. 2. Actual state of the case in regard to schism. III. Want of infallibility. 1. Meaning of the objection. 2. Eastern version of the objection. 3. Assumption involved in these objections. 4. The grounds of the sufficient authority of the message committed to the Anglican Clergy.

#### I. WANT OF JURISDICTION.

BUT supposing the fact of valid Orders in the English Church, we are further attacked by the Romans in respect to the jurisdiction or mission pertaining to Orders. In other words, it is said, granting that you have valid Orders, you have no lawful or canonical right to exercise the power of order. Order is the power to perform the sacred functions of the Ministry ; Jurisdiction is the lawful right of exercising that power. It is involved in the nature of the Church as a spiritual kingdom,

that spiritual jurisdiction over this or that part of Christ's flock should emanate from the spiritual authorities of the Church herself; and any exercise of the power of Order in defiance of the laws of the Church, even though it may be in some sense valid, is essentially schismatical and irregular. To charge us, therefore, with want of Jurisdiction, is little less serious than to charge us with want of Orders. But the charge is brought against us on two grounds.

**I. That we do not Derive our Jurisdiction from the Pope.**—With regard to this it is to be said, that the claim to universal jurisdiction on the part of the Pope is simply a branch of those usurpations which depend on the question of the Papal supremacy. Jurisdiction of Bishops over Clergy is matter of Divine right. Jurisdiction of Bishops over Bishops is entirely dependent on human regulation, and therefore is in itself alterable. As far as concerns the official authority of their Order, Bishops are by Divine Constitution equal. Jurisdiction of Metropolitans over Bishops; of Patriarchs over Metropolitans; of one Bishop, as of Rome, over all Patriarchs and other Bishops, might, if confined within rightful limits, be agreed to for the sake of expediency if thought expedient, but can rest on no higher ground. The claim to the jurisdiction of the Pope over English Bishops, was in some sense, yet never wholly, acquiesced in by the English Church and nation; and when at length pushed to an exorbitant degree, and made the source of intolerable oppression and evil, it was rejected.

The claim of jurisdiction on the part of the Bishop of Rome, as by Divine right, so that no Bishop or Priest can act as such rightfully and validly without deriving mission from him, rests even with such a writer as Bellarmine, on grounds so ingeniously imaginary, that really to state them is to refute them; *e. g.*, that while all the Apostles received

their mission immediately from our Lord, that mission was personal to all the others, and transmissible to the future Church and ministry only through St. Peter. And to turn from Divine to human right—without even discussing whether or not we were justified in rejecting what were really mediæval usurpations, it is certain that the present ultramontane conception of the Papacy in all points, the matter of Episcopal mission included, has been so transformed as to constitute a perfectly new and distinct claim, which means nothing less than the conversion of what is really matter of Ecclesiastical, and even partly of State arrangement, into a fundamental dogma of a Divinely appointed centre of all valid Orders and all true faith—of a single earthly source, in fact, of grace and truth to the whole Church. And if this be the real nature of these claims, we are bound to reject them in the very name of the Christian faith itself.

What theory of corporate unity for the whole Church will work in fact, is of course another question. But the question of the practical working of a single corporate Church throughout the world, in combination with independent and educated Nationalities, on the basis of a union upon the primitive principle of the unity of the Episcopate, has never yet been fairly before the Nations of modern European and American civilization, nor even before the Eastern Church. The first approach to realizing, under modern circumstances, the faint beginning of the revival of that Primitive and Scriptural idea, was in the Lambeth Conference of 1867.

[It is worth while to observe the difference between the Monarchical and the Republican ideas involved in the Papal and in the Anglican systems. The Papacy is an absolute monarchy. The Primitive principle of an Episcopate of equal authority, on which the Anglican system is based, involves—



not a democracy, but—a Republic of Monarchies ; an universal federation of co-ordinate Sovereignties, wherein the individual Bishop, subordinate to the College, on the basis of the common faith and order of the original constitution of the Church of Christ, rules his own Diocese. Thus the Episcopate, as an Order, instead of a single despot, fulfils its proper function as the Divinely appointed centre of unity—the Bishops demonstrating their communion with Christ, the one Head of the Kingdom as a whole, by their communion with each other in the Faith and Sacraments of His appointment; and the members of the Church demonstrating their communion with Christ, by their communion with their respective Bishops. The distribution of the Episcopate into Provincial or Patriarchal arrangements, is by no means contrary to this system ; but has been used as the best practical substitute for the full accomplishment of the system, and is properly tributary to it.]

Meanwhile, as respects our own Orders, our Clergy derive their jurisdiction from their own Bishops ; and these from the Bishops who went before them, back to the beginning ; as every Christian Church whatever derived theirs, without one thought of the Bishop of Rome, for some twelve hundred years, and as the whole Eastern Church derives hers to this day. If the Bishop of Rome owns Eastern Orders without demur in the matter of jurisdiction—as he did by inviting the Eastern Bishops to the Vatican Council of 1869—he ought by parity of reason to own our Orders also. In respect to the refusal to recognize the Pope as the source of jurisdiction, the position of the two is identical.

But it is further objected to our jurisdiction, that

2. **It is Derived from the Crown.**—In con-

sidering this objection, observe, *first*, the distinction between spiritual and coercive jurisdiction; the former being from Christ alone, and belonging to Bishops as His officers; the latter being derived from the State, and belonging to Bishops, in so far as they have it, as a gift from the State, as officers of the State, for State purposes; a gift quite distinct from and additional to their spiritual jurisdiction, and not necessarily inconsistent with it; though sometimes, perhaps, it has led to confusion in the minds of those who did not understand or appreciate the distinction.

Observe, *secondly*, the distinction between the exercise of State authority dictating the faith and spiritual discipline of the Church—which would be usurpation; and such exercise of authority on the part of the State, as may be directed (*a*) to the oversight of the Clergy considered as men who are responsible for such discharge of the functions of their office as shall conduce to the benefit of the people, or (*b*) to the conservation of the temporal interests of the Church, and the safety of the trusts involved in it.

[(*a*) The exercise of State authority for the enforcement of the performance of the duties belonging to the ministry as such, when they may through negligence or unfaithfulness fail to discharge them, proceeds not upon the principle that the State has jurisdiction in spiritual matters, but upon the principle that the officers of the Church are subjects of the State, and that it is incumbent upon the State to see that all of its members, each in his several vocation, fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by their position. There is in this attitude neither any claim whatever to spiritual jurisdiction as such, nor yet anything at all peculiar to the Church of England. In fact, ever since the Roman Emperors embraced Christianity, civil rulers in all countries

have regarded themselves as under obligation of conscience in this respect ; thereby involving themselves and the Church in perpetually recurring troubles, until the founders of the American civil system cut the knot of the difficulties by assuming the positive independence of the civil and religious jurisdictions.

Neither (*b*) is there the slightest assumption of spiritual jurisdiction as such in the exercise of State authority as to the temporalities of the Church, which, being property, must be held by the Church, as all property is held, whether by societies or individuals, subject to the law of the State ; and, although there is included in the exercise of this authority the incidental right to pass upon questions in regard to the faith or order of the Church, as these questions may result from the tenure of benefices or endowments, yet it is obvious that the State does not here assume to determine as a guide to the conscience of its members, what faith or order the Church *ought* to hold or administer, but what faith and order the Church *does, as a matter of fact*, hold and require ; so that it may be ascertained whether those who have been given certain rights for the maintenance of this faith and order are or are not using their rights for that purpose.]

It appears from these observations, *first*, that there is a certain kind of jurisdiction which English Bishops derive from the Crown, which is properly derived from it, and which is not inconsistent with the spiritual jurisdiction ; and, *secondly*, that the Church of England is not peculiar in its subjection to the civil authority in regard to its temporalities, and in regard to the decision of questions involving a determination as to matters of faith and order ; inasmuch as the belief of non-conformists is dealt with as freely, and in effect on the same principles, wherever endowments or other like circum-

stances give a temporal side to their faith or discipline.

Bearing these things in mind, and remembering also the impossibility of discussing in detail so voluminous a subject in so short a compass, it is to be noted, 1st, that the extreme State claims of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were provoked, although not justified, by previous usurpations, quite as indefensible, of the Church upon the State; 2d, that even the extremest claims of these two Princes, however monstrous, were qualified by restrictions and admissions large enough to cover a position defensible in principle, although the practical results of them or even their intention may have been indefensible; and, 3d, that every one of these untenable claims has been since Elizabeth's time renounced and abolished.

The first of these facts, too notorious to need proof, may be said to be only an excuse for the individual actors in the case; yet it shows the character of transactions of that period, as the result of a violent and temporary reaction from opposite extremes, and evils intolerable. [More than this, it throws light upon the meaning of the claim to supreme headship when we consider that this claim was made against the Papal claim that the Clergy of England were to be judged, not by the civil laws and courts, but by the spiritual power; *i. e.*, they were amenable to the Pope, but not amenable to the Crown; so that there was a very definite meaning in, and a very sufficient cause for, the claim that the Crown was supreme over all persons and causes within the realm, and that no one should be permitted, on the plea of responsibility to the Pope, to escape his responsibility to the civil authority at home.]

The second fact shows that principles were preserved for the future, whatever usurpations were

suffered in the present. The claim of the Crown, construed in the light of contemporaneous restrictions and admissions, is, after all, equivalent to the formula, "All spiritual authority belongs to me except so far as by Divine law it does not."

(a) The title Supreme Head of the Church was conceded by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, qualified with the clause, "Quantum per Christi legem licet."

(b) When the Convocation of York scrupled to grant this title, Henry VIII. addressed to that body a letter (printed in full by Haddan, App. K., p. 374) in which he explains that he meant not by the title a headship over the Church, "of which, and of the faith and religion of the same, Christ only is Head;" but only over "all the people of England, ecclesiastical as well as temporal." He says further, "It were too absurd for us to be called Head of the Church representing the Mystical Body of Christ, and therefore, although *Ecclesia* is spoken of in those words touched in the proeme, yet there is added *et cleri Anglicani*, which words conjoined restrain, by way of interpretation, the word *Ecclesiam*, and is as much as to say, *the Church, i.e., the clergy of England.*"

(c) So, too, the primary Reformation Statute of Henry *restraining appeals to the Pope*, claims "plenary whole and entire power," etc., and "*jurisdiction* to render and yield justice and final determination to all manner of folks, etc., within this realm, in all causes"—yet this is directed to the exclusion, not of the English Church, but of the Pope; and is coupled with the assertion that for "any cause of the law Divine . . . or of spiritual learning, it was (always) declared, interpreted, and showed, by that part of the body politic called the Spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which . . . hath always been thought, and is also at

this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain." (24 Henry VIII., c. 12.)

(d) The very commissions which Henry issued to the Bishops, licensing them among other things to ordain, which are perhaps the extremest of his assumptions on this subject; and those issued to Edward VI. contain an exception of all Divinely given jurisdiction. And while these commissions are now a mere thing of the past, not concerning us, they were even at the time an act of the State, affecting only the individuals receiving them, not an act of the Church.

(e) The contemporaneous acts of the Church, ratified too by the State, make the case still plainer. In 1537, *The Institution of a Christian Man* declares in terms, that whereas the "whole power of Priests and Bishops is divided into the power of Orders and the power of jurisdiction," the latter, "about which alone any question had arisen," is "committed unto Priests and Bishops by the authority of God's law;" or, as in a later passage, "by Christ and His Apostles;" and that the sole power of Christian Princes is to be "as the chief heads and overlookers over the said Priests and Bishops, to cause them to administer their office and power committed unto them purely and sincerely;" adding also that Christian Princes had at various times given them further power and civil jurisdiction in certain temporal and civil matters, which they might, if they would, revoke.

This document, ratified by the King's authority, necessarily limits the vague claims of the commissions by the precise statements of authorized explanation put forth solemnly by both Church and State. The Parliamentary statements of 1 Edward

VI., c. 2, must in fairness share the same explanation, and are further limited by the Injunctions of that King, which assert the office of Priests and Ministers of the Church to be appointed of God.

The third fact affecting the controversy is that these extravagant claims have, since the time of Elizabeth, been laid aside.

The title Head of the Church, assumed by Henry, and retained by Edward and also by Mary, was exchanged for that of Supreme Governor by Elizabeth. The statutes of the First and Fifth Elizabeth, the Queen's Injunctions of 1559, the Thirty-seventh Article, referring to these Injunctions, limit the claim to jurisdiction to an external power to see justice done, and exclude expressly "the ministering of the Word and Sacraments." And Elizabeth affirms that "the Royal Supremacy in things spiritual means no more than this, that she, being by lawful succession Queen of England, all persons born in the realm were subjects to her and to no other earthly ruler."

The Canons of 1603, in the time of James I., base the matter on substantially the same ground.

"In sum," says Bishop Bramhall, "we hold our benefices from the King, but our offices from Christ; the King doth nominate us, but Bishops do ordain us."

These facts suffice to dispose of the allegation that English Orders have their jurisdiction from the Crown, and show their mission to be derived from Christ through Episcopal Ordination. And grave as are some of the complications of the present day, they result not so much from the exercise of State jurisdiction over the members of the Church—in which, with the observance of the limitations above indicated, there would be little danger—as they do from the fact that the membership of the Church and State is no longer identical, and conse-

quently that laws and judicial decisions in regard to the Church may proceed in some cases from those who are not in communion with the Church ; and the danger is in the temptation to use power to mould the Church into such form as may be acceptable to the people, instead of desiring to mould the people into the form of the Church. Yet whatever the danger, it has not yet been realized ; and, certainly, it is a most extravagant assumption that the relation of the Church to the State, either historically or in apprehension, in any way affects the mission of its Clergy.

## II. INVALIDITY BY REASON OF HERESY OR SCHISM.

**1. Irrelevance of the Objection.**—That our Orders are invalid because given in heresy or schism, or both, is, of course, primarily a question not about the Orders themselves, but about the prior assumption that we really are in heresy or schism—which is first to be proved before it can be objected.

It is worth while, however, to point out that the invalidity of even heretical Orders, a valid form being presupposed, is far from being a ruled question in the early Church—the actual practice of the Church, for nine or ten centuries, varying in the matter to such an extent that no principle can be laid down which would account for these variations. In respect to Schismatical Orders, also, there has been much the same variation.

Besides which, the Roman Church has precluded herself from absolutely condemning either schismatical or heretical Orders, by admitting Eastern Orders, which she must necessarily consider to be both.

[2. **Actual State of the Case in Regard to**



**the Schism between Anglican and Roman Churches.**—Superfluous as it is to argue the question of heresy or schism as affecting the validity of Anglican Orders, yet as in the case of the objection of want of Jurisdiction, the charge of being in schism, whether by reason of heresy or for other cause, affects the regularity if not the validity of our Orders ; and the charge is to be met by showing that the schism was made not by the Anglican but by the Roman Church, and therefore affects the regularity of the Orders of the Papal emissaries into England, but not that of the Anglican Succession.

The claim that Anglicans are schismatically separated from the Roman See rests, apart from the claim of the Papacy to universal jurisdiction *jure divino*, mainly on three allegations : 1st, that England is within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome as Patriarch ; 2d, that England owes its Christianity as well as its Orders to Papal missions ; 3d, that the English Church separated from the Roman at the period of the Reformation.

With regard to the first point, it is to be observed that Patriarchal power, being not of Divine right but of human custom or institution, may even after its lawful establishment be lost, either as being voluntarily abandoned or forfeited. And certainly the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, wherever it might have existed, has been abandoned *ipso facto* by the contradictory assertion of his universal Pastorship and Episcopate. For these two claims are quite inconsistent with each other—the one being a claim to a limited jurisdiction over a certain province, the other pretending to an unlimited jurisdiction over the whole world ; the one being professedly exercised in subjection to the Canons, the other challenging an absolute sovereignty above the Canons, to make, abrogate, suspend, and dispense with them at will : and not only have

the Bishops of Rome lost their Patriarchal claim by this voluntary abandonment, but they have, moreover, forfeited it by their notorious rebellion against General Councils, the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal to which Patriarchal power was always subordinate ; and by their rapine, extortions, and exorbitant abuses. (See Bramhall's *Just Vindication*, Works, I., 259-268, *Anglo-Catholic Library*.)

But in point of fact the proper Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome extends to the regions included in the Ancient Roman sub-urbicarian provinces in Southern Italy, with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, etc., and does not include the northern provinces of Italy, much less France, Spain, England, etc. (See this claim explained and refuted by Palmer, *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, Part VII., chapter vii.)

With regard to the second point, it assumes that conversion confers and perpetuates jurisdiction ; whereas, Bishops, once lawfully settled over those converted to Christianity, become by virtue of their consecration officially the equals of those by whom they were consecrated, and owe them no subjection. A nation converted to Christianity through the charity of a foreign Bishop doubtless owes to him personally great gratitude ; but that such a nation when formed into Churches, and governed by its own Bishops, comes *under the jurisdiction* of this benefactor and his successors, hardly follows. Gratitude is one thing : obedience is quite another thing. He who claims that the consecration of Bishops necessarily involves the reservation of obedience to the consecrators, and the continuance of the same relation between their successors, confuses, as Bishop Bramhall says, " the key of Order with the key of Jurisdiction. If he do thus mistake one key for another, he will never be able to open the right door."

(See *The Apostolical Jurisdiction and Succession of the Episcopacy of the British Churches vindicated against the Objections of Dr. Wiseman*, by Rev. William Palmer, M. A., *passim*.)

With regard to the third point, that the English Church separated from the Communion of the Roman Church, it is simply untrue. The Church of England at the time of the Reformation "separated from no other body or society of Christians. She simply affirmed that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in England was founded on no Divine warrant; that it had been the result of encroachments on the one side, and concessions on the other; that it had been proved, after a long and full trial, to be burdensome to the people and operative of manifold evils; that it had been endured long enough, and ought to be at once and forever declined. The separation, if such it were, was from the Court of Rome, in respect to its claim of jurisdiction in England, and not from the Church of Rome in respect to any points of faith or order that had been ruled by the Catholic Church." The imposition of the Creed of Pius IV., and the elevation by Papal authority of the "heap of opinions" which it contains to the level of the ancient symbol of the Catholic Faith, and as equally with it to be received as necessary to salvation, would indeed justify and demand the refusal to accept or admit the right of the Papacy to impose such new articles as terms of communion. Such refusal, however, is not the cause of any separation which may follow it, but the cause is to be found in the tyrannical imposition making the refusal necessary; and the guilt of a consequent separation belongs on Catholic principles to the party which gives the cause of separation. Yet—whatever may be said abstractly upon the question whether this imposition does not vitiate the claim of the Bishop of Rome to jurisdic-

tion *everywhere*—not to speak, in this order of time, of the later developments of Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility—certainly, as matter of fact, it does not appear that the Church of England forsook the Communion of those Churches which still deemed it for their benefit to continue subject to that jurisdiction ; but only that she resumed the responsibility, which rightly belonged to her, of governing herself and her own members agreeably to the Word of God and Catholic tradition. It was not her intention, as declared at a later period—Canon 30, of 1603—to forsake the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, but only to depart from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolic Churches which were their first founders.

And, in accordance with this temper and principle, no bar to the admission to her own Communion was raised against those who were willing to conform to the rules of her lawful enactment ; nor was it at first deemed a part of the duty of those who could not concur in the need and mode of the current reformation to refrain from that Communion. On the contrary, even those who were opposed to the changes made continued after the accession of Elizabeth, for ten or eleven years, to resort to their parish Churches, and to join in the prayers and Sacraments of the Church administered under the Reformed Order ; nor was this state of things changed until Pope Pius V. excommunicated the Queen, and absolved her subjects from allegiance to her ; after which, fearing the anathemas of the Pope, his adherents began to withdraw themselves from the Communion of the English Church and to set up opposing Altars under the care of Papal emissaries.

Thus this unnecessary, wilful, and malicious separation created the schism in the English Church ; a schism in which the Pope and his adherents are the guilty parties—both as having given just cause of separation to others, while they themselves were actually the separating ones ; and as having ever since maintained that schismatical attitude. So that, as to this point, it appears that it is the regularity of the Roman Orders in England which is affected by schism and not that of the English Orders—a disease not curable by a voyage across the Atlantic, and the transfer (cf. *Palmer on the Church*, I., 305) of Orders schismatical in England, to this Country, to subserve the purpose of perpetuating here the separation begun there. See the *Continuity of the Church of England in the 16th Century*, by Dr. Samuel Seabury, pp. 17-26 ; and see the whole book on the whole controversy. Cf., also, Bishop Bramhall's *Just Vindication of the Church of England*, Works, Vol. I., *Anglo-Catholic Library*.]

### III. WANT OF INFALLIBILITY.

1. **Meaning of this Objection.**—The objection that the Anglican Church delivers no infallible message to her Clergy would seem to be directed rather against what is preached, than against the authority to preach ; but what is intended by this objection appears to be that a ministry which is commissioned by a Church which has no infallible authority has no claim upon the faith and allegiance of those to whom it preaches. English Clergy, it is said, cannot teach the Word of God as such, and so as to be matter of religious faith, because they teach it as private opinion, and not as the infallible doctrine propounded by a present infallible Church.

2. **Eastern Version of this Objection.**—This

objection, on the Papal side lodging the infallibility of the Church in the Pope, is urged by some on the part of the Eastern Church lodging infallibility in Œcumenical Councils. Admitting the Apostolical Succession of our Bishops, it is argued, on this side, that such succession carries with it in truth this idea of infallibility, and that the denial of this idea takes all real value and meaning out of the succession; but that the Church of England in the Thirty-nine Articles denies various points ruled by the seven Œcumenical Councils, and in one Article denies the infallibility of General Councils; and holding thus, must admit that her Apostolical Succession is futile.

**3. Assumption Involved in these Objections.**—Both of these arguments, Papal and Eastern, rest upon the assumption that a rightful ministry of the Word carries with it, and requires to its own existence, the possession not merely of infallible truth originally revealed, but of a continuous and formal infallibility in the application of that truth to all times and persons.

But upon this assumption, the argument would apply to our opponents as well as to ourselves; for there is no conceivable infallibility in the communication by human means of that which in its original revelation may be admitted to have been infallibly true. The believer in Papal infallibility can have no infallible proof of Papal infallibility; and, if he could, the belief that such and such is the Papal utterance must come to all but the very smallest fraction of Roman Catholics upon the evidence of informants or Priests whom no one dreams to be infallible. And even if the utterance be in writing, who shall warrant the infallibility of human understanding which shall infallibly receive infallible words in the sense in which they were uttered? And the same reasoning applies in its degree to a

Council also. So that, supposing infallibility to be lodged somewhere in the Church which commissions a ministry, the truth which that ministry is to propound must somewhere in its transmission to the ultimate recipient, pass through fallible mediators; and thus no ministry could escape the objection of a want of infallible certainty in the message delivered.

4. **The Grounds of the Sufficient Authority of the Message Committed to the Anglican Clergy.**—Religious faith, on its external and logical side, with which alone we are here concerned, must undoubtedly rest upon some infallible word of God, although human reasoning and testimony are necessarily also mixed up even with the original proof. The issue here raised, however, does not relate to the original foundation of the faith, but to its transmission to individual Christians as time goes on. And considering the actual conditions of human life in all practical questions, it is preposterous to say that religious truth must be propounded by an immediate infallible proponent. A message of God is not less a message of God to us, because he to whom it was first delivered told it to other men, and they to others, so that at length it reaches us through many links not infallible. It is obviously sufficient that we have moral certainty that the message as it comes to us is the same in all essentials as that which Christ gave to His Apostles when He bade them disciple all nations.

Putting aside, then, this gratuitous *à priori* condition of a necessary formal infallibility in each several propounder of the faith, we inquire what actually is the nature of those links whereby it is transmitted to ourselves.

First, there is the testimony of the Church considered simply as a body of men whose numbers and position in time and place, and the universality

of their testimony, and all the other circumstances that conspire to give weight to human evidence, make up when combined an overwhelming proof that certain books, a certain doctrine, and a certain discipline did actually come from Christ through His Apostles.

Secondly, this doctrine and this discipline are guaranteed to us by the contents of those books themselves ; and,

Thirdly, beyond this testimony there come the promises of the Saviour to be ever with His Church ; that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ; that the Spirit shall lead the Apostles into all truth, etc.

In view of these assurances no Christian can believe that the whole Church can deliberately commit itself, absolutely and continuously, to fundamental error in the faith ; or, in a less sphere, that the grace of God will not be proportionably with His ministers in accordance with their use of that grace. And, by the nature of the case, the free and deliberate determination of the whole Church, speaking, after full discussion, by the voice of its Bishops, and that voice finally and deliberately accepted by the Church as a whole, must needs supply the ultimate decision of controversies, because we can reach to no other. Doubtless Almighty God will not suffer such a determination to err in essentials. The decisions of the first and great Councils of the Church, limited as they were to the testimony as to what the Church had always held, and what the Scriptures showed that the Apostles also had held, and accepted as they were by the universal voice of the Church, possess so overwhelming a force of conviction, as to make it morally impossible that they should in these fundamentals be erroneous. And in proportion to the universality and moral weight of such declarations, does

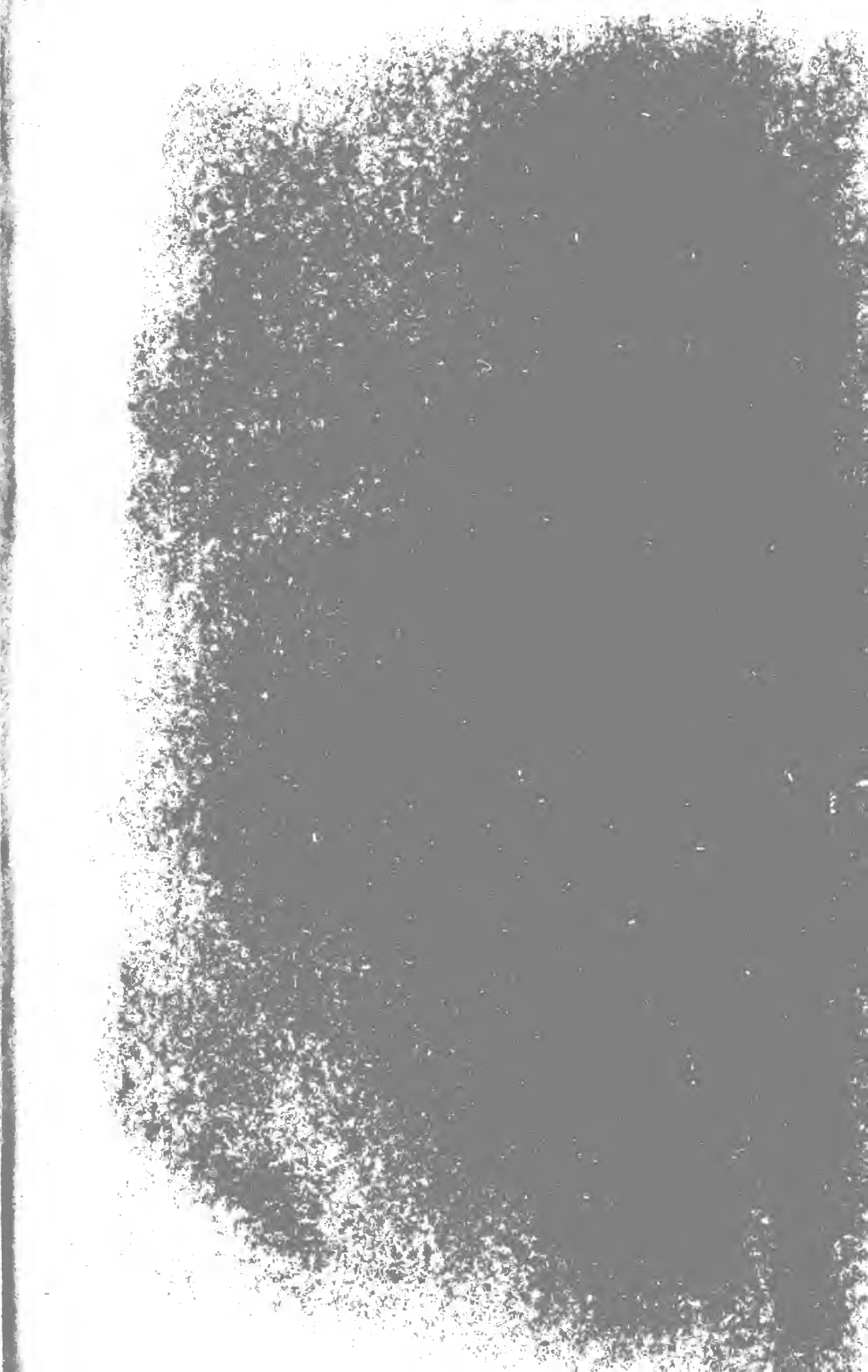


it become presumptuous for a particular part of the Church to suppose itself wiser than the whole Church, always, everywhere, and from the beginning.

If, then, a Clergyman of this Church have no formally infallible and living oracle to consult on every emergent doubt ; and if this Church hold the Bishops of some particular time and place to have erred, even when in Council, because she sees that their determinations were against Scripture, how does this affect either the validity of the orders or the Divine nature of the message ? As regards fundamentals the proclamation is that of a message of Christ, and therefore a message infallibly true. Nor is that message less infallible because the preacher bids the disciples find it for themselves in Holy Scripture ; telling them, the while, first what it is, and next that the whole Church from the beginning has found it there ; and that if they study the Scriptures with humble use of the right means of understanding them, and with a readiness to acknowledge that the faith of God's people from the beginning cannot have been other than fundamentally right, they will certainly find it there for themselves.

FINIS.













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