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A REVIEW

*Dr Whitney.
Providence, May 13th*

OF THE

LETTERS

OF THE

LATE REV. JOHN BOWDEN, D. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND LOGIC, AND OF BELLES LETTRES IN
COLUMBIA COLLEGE,

TO THE REV. DR. MILLER,

One of the Pastors of the United Presbyterian Churches in the city of
New-York.

OR,

EPISCOPAL CLAIMS

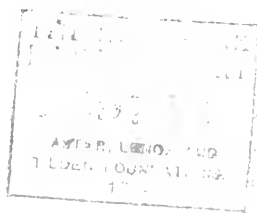
CALMLY CONSIDERED.

BY JAMES WILSON, A. M.

Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Providence (R. I.)

PROVIDENCE:

BROWN & DANFORTH, PRINTERS:
1822.



RHODE-ISLAND DISTRICT.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on this 21st day of March, 1822, and in [L. S.] the forty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, **JAMES WILSON**, of said District, deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, whereof he claims as author, in the following words, viz. "A Review of the Letters of the late Rev. John Bowden, D. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic, and of Belles Lettres in Columbia College, to the Rev. Dr. Miller, one of the Pastors of the United Presbyterian Churches in the city of New York. Or, Episcopal Claims calmly considered. By James Wilson, A. M. Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Providence, (R. I.)"

In conformity to an act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned, and also to an Act, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned, and extending the benefit thereof to the art of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

Witness : **BENJAMIN COWELL**,
Clerk of the Rhode-Island District.

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INTRODUCTION.



It is by Christ himself expressly enjoined on his disciples, to *have peace one with another*. St. Paul extends this injunction still further: *follow*, says he, *peace with all men*. This, however, he elsewhere thus qualifies—*If it be possible, as much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men*. It was not unknown, either to the Saviour or to his Apostles, that *offences must needs come*; consequently they knew that peaceful intercourse, without interruption, was impossible, either with mankind in general, or with professed Christians of whatever name. For, harmony in all intercourse, without interruption, is attainable *only* where *perfection* in knowledge and holiness have an abiding and permanent residence. The controversy here impending, is not concerning the abstruse doctrines of the creed of any sect, but refers simply and exclusively to ecclesiastical regimen. It is a contest between Diocesan, or Canonical Episcopalians, and Dissenters from such Episcopacy. It is not, on either side, a strife for superiority. But on the Episcopalian side, it avowedly, is a conflict for extermination; and, on the part of Dissenters, simply, a warfare of self-defence. It is however to be observed, that all Episcopalians are not alike assuming and rigid. For some among them do not wholly unchurch all dissenting communities of Christians. They admit them to be churches of Christ, but in a censurable and irregular state. Nor, do they wholly deny the validity of their ordinations, and other administrations, although they regard them as in some degree *doubtful*. But the higher toned among them, and who take the lead in this controversy, give no quarter to dissenters of any name or sect. It matters not whether they be Presbyterians or Congregationalists, Baptists or Methodists, or whatever else, without ceremony and without exception, they unchurch the whole as schismatics, condemn their ordinations as destitute of authority, and brand their Ministers and administrations, with the opprobrium of being the one a *lay* ministry, and the other *lay* administrations. And hence they regard dissenting Churches as being only voluntary societies, and as constituting no part of the visible body or Church of Christ. And hence also it is, that, as recently instructed by a Bishop, they studiously shun all intercourse with dissenters “in objects purely

religious." But notwithstanding these lofty pretensions, still, these *devout* prelates do not exclude from salvation, any among dissenters, "who have unwarily been involved in honest error."

While in England, these arrogant assumptions of Episcopacy were *nobly* resisted, by numerous writers among the puritans and non-conformists of distinguished piety and talents, although sustained by the authority of the Throne, and by the no less able pens of British Prelates; yet, at the same time, in this country, these questions seem in a considerable degree to have lain dormant. But after these *then* colonies had become settled and comparatively populous, Episcopal domination seems to have given rise to ecclesiastical discussions in reference to Episcopal ordinations, "which subject was warmly discussed near a century ago, by a Mahew, who then put it much at rest;" and although President Stiles, in his own peculiar way and manner, sometimes glanced on this controversy, still it assumed no very imposing appearance until about the year 1804, when a series of publications made their appearance, disseminating the following doctrines, viz. "That the power of ordination to the Christian ministry, is, by divine appointment, vested exclusively in Diocesan Bishops; that where these Bishops are wanting, there is no authorized ministry, no true church, no valid ordinances; that of course, Presbyterian, and all other Non-Episcopal churches and ministers, are not only unauthorized, and perfectly destitute of validity, but are to be viewed as institutions founded in rebellion and schism." These books were put into the hands of Non-Episcopalians. And to explain fully the designs of these measures, "they were accompanied with declarations, that a state of warfare with the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of Episcopacy, was earnestly wished for, and considered as one of the most probable means of promoting the Episcopal cause." MILLER.

It was under these circumstances, that Dr. Miller commenced his well-timed and learned defence of the institutions of that numerous and highly respectable denomination, to which he belonged, or as thus expressed by himself: "Under these circumstances, when we were virtually denounced and excommunicated; when the name of a Christian Church was denied us; when our people were warned to abandon the ministry of their Pastors, under the penalty of being regarded as rebels and schismatics, both by God and man; when some on our communion were perplexed, others, more discerning and better informed, rendered indignant, and when all

appeared to feel the propriety of vindicating the abused ordinances of Christ. Impressed with this conviction, I addressed to you a series of *Letters on the Christian Ministry.*" Dr. Miller having thus from the press addressed his people, was in like manner replied to by Dr. Bowden, in twenty one Letters, contained in two volumes, and occupying 662 pages. To these the former replied in another series, contained in one volume of 434 pages. But this controversy did not terminate here, as Dr. Bowden again replied in a third volume, containing 414 pages, and constituting in the whole 1076 pages.

As to the respective merits of the Letters of these distinguished champions of Presbytery and Episcopacy, they are doubtless viewed differently, as the prejudices, the tastes, or the interests of readers may tend to dispose their understandings and judgments. But however the opinions of some readers may be thus influenced, there are unquestionably others, whose judgments are guided only by truth and evidence. And while it is certain that Dr. Miller's discerning friends must highly appreciate his learned and able vindication of their system: still it is *no less* certain, that Dr. Bowden's Letters are *generally* looked up to, and relied on, by Episcopalians in these States, as the *Pole Star of Polemick Episcopacy.*

Nor is it to be expected that Episcopalians will surrender their assumed positions, in consequence of any reasonings or arguments predicated on the elevation of *lay* Elders above ordained Deacons, nor on the denial that the *seven Apocalypse* stars and angels were the *seven* Pastors of these Churches; nor yet again, on the reduction in *all cases of Apostolick Bishops*, to mere parochial superintendents. Nor will it be possible to reconcile Presbyterians and Episcopalians together, until such time as each shall become willing to take that middle ground which restores to the *brethren* in full assembly, on all important occasions, the just rights and unalienable prerogatives which were conferred on them by Christ and by his apostles. But although it is designed in the following Review to endeavour to take this middle ground as far as warranted by Scripture, and by the legitimate usages of antiquity, still, it will be deemed by Episcopalians as approximating too nearly to Presbytery, to become ever a centre, to which Episcopacy can gravitate. It is devoutly to be wished for, and ardently to be desired, that this controversy betwixt Episcopalians and Dissenters, may terminate in that unity of peace and friendship, which cemented by *truth* and *love*,

constitutes the indubitable character of being truly Christ's disciples. But how is this to be effected, while the exclusive claims of Episcopalians continue to be dogmatically asserted, and which extend to the exclusion of all others from being true churches? And while Dissenters therefrom continue to consider their churches to be true churches, their Ministers to constitute a true ministry, and their administrations to be valid? While each of these denominations take and keep the ground which they have hitherto occupied, an *impassable gulph* will be found ever to separate them, even to the latest periods of the duration of time. But let some superior *mind* arise, capable of grasping this whole subject, of developing all its mysteries, of unfolding and making plain all its intricacies, and of shedding on it such a light of evidence and argument as shall satisfy the candid, confirm the wavering, and convince even the obstinate, and this schism will become healed. For, should this person be an Episcopalian, he will, if truth be on his side, place his exclusive claims on such high ground, in respect to evidence and argument, that Dissenters, unable to reply or to withstand, will penitentially return to the forgiving bosom of the *mother church*. But, should these powers of research, of discernment and of reasoning occur in some Dissenter, and truth prove to be on his side, the consequence will be, the inevitable reduction of the exclusive claims of *Canonical Episcopacy* to a *level* with the indubitable claims of pious and consistent Dissenters of all denominations; for in this case, Episcopalians who shall be truly candid and sincerely pious, will become endued with such sentiments and feelings, as harmoniously to unite in deeds of charity, and in acts of divine worship, when occasions may require, with Christians whom before they unhappily had despised, and unbecomingly had slighted and shunned. But while the author of this Review cannot in the slightest degree entertain the hope of conducting this controversy to a conclusion, auspicious as that which is above anticipated to become the reward of some future more able writer on this deeply interesting subject, yet he deems it his duty thus to cast his mite into the treasury of a polemick vindication of that numerous and highly respectable denomination of Dissenters, with which it has become his happiness to have united. And although he is compelled to differ in some few respects from the *opinions* of Dr. Miller, and still more widely to dissent from *those* of the late Dr. Bowden, still he considers it due to both, to acknowledge, his being indebted to

each, for much important information, derived from their Letters, but more especially through the medium of the numerous and interesting translations made by the former, from the writings of the *Fathers*, who flourished during the second, third and fourth centuries.

Nor will it be improper now to remark, that although the term Dissenters is here, and will occasionally hereafter be applied, to Christian denominations in these States, which are Non-Episcopal, yet, that when thus applied, it will be so used merely as an explicative, that is, to distinguish betwixt modern Diocesan Episcopalians, and all other Protestant churches within these States: For, as here, there is no national ecclesiastical establishment, incorporating church and state together, consequently no Dissenters can here exist. But in England and Ireland it is otherwise; *actual* ecclesiastical establishments there exist, and, of course, *real* Dissenters are there to be found.

A REVIEW
OF THE LETTERS, &c. &c.

SECTION I.

DOCTOR BOWDEN in his first Letter to Doctor Miller, thus remarks: "In the prosecution of this important controversy, I shall not observe the course which you have taken, but shall nearly reverse it. And his twenty-first and last Letter of his second volume he thus closes: "I shall now, Sir, take my leave of you, at least for a time; whether I shall ever address you again, will entirely depend on yourself. Should you be disposed for any further discussion of this subject, you will not find me unwilling to meet your wishes. When the church to which I have the happiness to belong is attacked, irksome as writing is at my time of life, I feel no backwardness to exert the little ability I possess in her defence; and it affords me no little pleasure to think, that I am at the same time defending the cause of *almost* every Christian church upon the earth." Following Dr. B.'s example, in reversing the order of discussion, I shall here commence by just glancing on this last clause of his last Letter then written. He had then toiled through two volumes, containing together 662 pages, composed and written in vindication of "that church to which he belonged." Although in an advanced time of life, he was still willing to defend Episcopacy, if attacked. But he was amply rewarded for his toils, by the *generous* consideration, that, "while defending his *own church*, he was at the same time defending *almost* every Christian church upon earth." Without detaining the reader's attention, to enquire what churches there were upon earth, which, although Christian churches, he had *neglected* to defend; it may be convenient here to enquire, once for all, what significations are usually attached by Episcopals, to the terms *church* and *churches*. For fre-

quently we hear among them of St. Paul's Church, St. Peter's Church, St. John's Church, St. James' Church, St. Luke's, St. Patrick's, St. Muncheon's, and sometimes even of St. Mary's, and St. Catharine's Church, &c. &c. even to the exhausting the names of no small portion of the saints on the Popish callendar. And these names of the buildings are frequently transferred to the worshippers who assemble within their walls. But the great absurdity of this transfer becomes distinctly obvious, when we sometimes hear or read, in the same manner, of Christ's Church, and of Trinity Church, as if some of those churches, both buildings and people, belonged to the Lord, while the others belonged *only* to the saints. This misapplication of the term church, to buildings, and which originated during the dark ages of *gross* superstition, seems to have become at length, fashionable, and is sometimes practised by others, besides Episcopalians. But, a more appropriate use of this scriptural appellation, is, by the common consent of all Christians, made when applied to a whole body of Christians, adhering to one particular form of government and worship; as the Latin Church and the Greek Church, the Church of England, of Ireland, and the Episcopal Church in Scotland; also, the Church of Denmark, of Sweden, and the Syrian and Moravian Church, all of which are of Episcopal order. And in this sense of the term, as embracing a multitude of churches, we read and hear of the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church, the Baptist Church, and the Methodist Church. Although the Episcopal Church in these States has not been mentioned with Episcopal Churches first mentioned, it is not from any disrespect to them, but from other reasons. The other Episcopal Churches are for the most part, identified in a great degree, with the civil authorities of the nations, to which they belong. In these States it is far otherwise, and from this circumstance, the Episcopal Church here, if we except the Moravian Church, is perhaps, of all other *canonical* and *diocesan* Churches, the most to be approved, of any in the whole world. In these States it appears there are nine Bishops, and consequently the same number of diocesses. And here the *term* diocess leads to another signification of the term *church*, because it is so

used, as to condense into *one* church, the whole number of churches under one Bishop, in one diocess. As the geographical extent of one diocess is different, in respect to the extent of another, so the number of churches in one, serves as no rule for the number contained in another diocess. Bishop Griswold's diocess, which is co-extensive with Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont and Maine, contains only "forty-six churches and twenty-nine clergymen." While Bishop Brownell's, although limited to the State of Connecticut, counts therein no fewer than eighty churches, or, as expressed by himself, "eighty regularly organized congregations." And still diverse from these is Bishop Chace's diocess in Ohio State, comprehending an extent, "greater than all the inhabited part of New-England," but having at the same time, fewer Ministers, and more feeble and smaller churches, than *perhaps* any other diocess in these States. But the diocess of Maryland, having fifty-one clergymen, and that of New-York, seventy-seven, they make in some degree amend, for the destitute condition, in respect to Ministers, of other diocesses. It appears from the Rhode-Island Religious Intelligencer of September 15, 1821, that under these nine Bishops in these nine diocesses, there are "two hundred Presbyters and forty-eight Deacons;" but the precise number of churches is not therein mentioned. From these correct views of diocesan Episcopacy, as existing in these States, and which exists here, in its least offensive form, how evident is it to the well informed reader, that scarcely a shadow of resemblance exists, except in the name, between this form of Episcopacy, and that which was instituted by the apostles, and which existed in the first and second centuries. During those early times of primitive Episcopal order, each church truly apostolick, had *one Bishop, several Presbyters, and a plurality of Deacons.* But at this time *forty-six, or four score or more* churches, have but one Bishop among them all, several churches have not a single Presbyter, others have no Deacon, and no small number among them can call either a single Presbyter or Deacon their own Minister: and yet, one of their Bishops has recently in his charge to his clergy, assumed it as exclusively

belonging to themselves, that they possess “the true principle of *church unity*, by the essential bond of a regularly constituted ministry.” But it is not the *great defect* of a regularly constituted ministry, which alone constitutes them Dissenters from original Episcopacy. The enormous extent of each diocess equally proclaims their departure from the correct regimen of early antiquity. Episcopal oversight was then in its largest extent restricted to an individual church, circumscribed within a single city and its immediate suburbs.

But the great extent, and tens of thousands of people, in the cities of New-York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, are not sufficient to engross the laborious and zealous attention of modern Bishops; they must take charge of the whole State, too, as well as of the chief cities. And where there are not cities sufficient, either in number or in population, to employ their wakeful attention, the happy expedient of combining State with State, even to such an extent as would admit of a population of millions, affords them ultimately a sufficient sphere in which to employ their talents in the discharge of their Episcopal mission.

A primitive Bishop, even in the largest cities, might, if in health, have walked in an hour or two from the centre to the extremity of his diocess. But a modern Bishop, with all the facilities of stages and turnpike roads, would sometimes require, it may be, a week or more to visit a single extremity of his far distant diocess. Even in the third century, when Episcopal ambition had made great efforts, and taken large strides in extending the dominion of the Bishops; still constant residence among the flock was deemed an indispensable duty in a Bishop; even so much so, that “non-residence was considered a most heinous transgression; insomuch that Cyprian, enumerating the sins that brought the wrath of God upon the church in the bloody persecution of Decius, mentions non-residence of Bishops as one.”—(Bower’s Hist. vol. 1, p. 106.) Were another Cyprian to rise up, in our days, it probably would perplex him much, so to fix the residence of one of these nine Bishops in his diocess, as that *residence* in *one* church should *not* prove *non-residence* in all the other churches of his extensive jurisdic-

tion. But under this view of such manifest discordancy between modern and primitive Episcopacy, the admirers of Dr. Bowden's theory must feel consoled in the belief, that in his Letters to Dr. Miller, he has proved that diocesan Bishops are truly apostles, being clothed with the same authority, and invested with the same commission, which was conferred on Paul, and on the twelve.

This assumption of conferred apostleship on Bishops will be tested in the next section.

SECTION II.

Dr. Bowden in his Tenth Letter to Dr. Miller thus observes : " It has always, Sir, appeared to me an unwarrantable liberty in our opponents, to assert, directly in the face of Scripture evidence, that the apostolick office was not designed for perpetuity. In what did that office consist? It consisted in preaching the Gospel, administering the sacraments, ordaining Ministers, and exercising *supreme authority* in the church. This was the *whole* of their commission as we have it in Scripture; although, no doubt, afterwards, they had much instruction given them upon that head." (Vol. 1. p. 290.)

This representation of the apostles' commission and office is at once *exaggerated* and *defective*. It is exaggerated, in respect to investment with "*supreme authority* in the church." It is defective through a designed omission of a cardinal and indispensable part of the commission and official duty of apostles, which was to perform miracles when occasion required them, in proof of their commission, in evidence of their doctrines, for the healing and relief of diseased and distressed persons; and, for the infliction of just punishments on obstinate opposers of the Gospel, and on disturbers of the peace and purity of the church. Each of these, viz. the *exaggeration* and the *omission*, requires a distinct discussion. The exaggeration of the apostles' authority is here great beyond measure. It never was Christ's design to institute a *lordship* over his church, in the office and persons of his apostles. *Supreme authority* he thus reserved to himself. "Ye call

me Lord and Master, and ye say well, for so I am.”— But on them he strictly enjoined humility; for when “there was a strife among them, which of them should be the greatest, he said unto them, The Kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors, but ye shall not be so” “Neither be ye called masters; for *one* is your *Master*, even *Christ*, and all ye are brethren.” As the church was Christ’s peculiar treasure, and the object of his most tender care, so he cautiously guarded against the infringement of its rights, by assuming to himself alone, the exercise of *supreme authority* over it. As its Head and Lawgiver, he prescribed in his sermon on the mount, and in his other public discourses, the laws which should govern the lives and conversation of all his disciples. Designing in due time, for the advancement of the best interests of his church, to subdivide it into numerous distinct churches, he instituted as the *bulwark* of the rights of all, by a sovereign decree, a popular *supreme* tribunal of final decision in each church, composed, not of the rulers alone, nor of the brethren only, but of them conjointly, as constituting the body in its collective capacity. This divine charter of ecclesiastical judicial rights, stands thus recorded in Matt. xviii. 15 to 18, inclusive. “Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.”

But while Christ thus as the great Shepherd of his sheep, sedulously provided secure folds for his flocks, so he also raised up for their aid and direction, under shepherds, to whose care and ingathering he committed his sheep in *trust*. For “He gave some *apostles*, and some *prophets*, and some *evangelists*; and some *pastors*

and *teachers*: For the perfecting of the saints ; for the work of the ministry ; for the edifying of the body of Christ." For the perpetuity of the two latter orders, viz. of *pastors* and *teachers*, or, of *Bishops* and *Deacons*, distinct and explicit provision was made, in the epistles to Timothy and Titus ; but, for the continuance of the *three* former orders, no special provision whatsoever, appears anywhere in the New Testament. To the apostles, under the forementioned restrictions, Christ committed, as to his chief Ministers, the authoritative exposition of the predictions of the Old Testament, in reference to himself and to his kingdom. To them also was confided, to teach *unerringly* the doctrines of the Gospel, as essential to salvation. And also to them, the alteration of the sabbath, from the seventh to the first day of the week. And to them, together, with the evangelists, Luke and Mark, it was entrusted to record canonically the ministry of John the *Baptist*, the birth, and baptism, the discourses, prophecies, and miracles, and finally, the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, of the Lord of *life* and *glory*. But to Luke alone, the task was assigned to record, the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, as well as also to record, much of the miracles, labours and success of several of the apostles and evangelists, during some considerable part of their ministry in the Gospel. And under the forementioned restrictions, it was given to the apostles, as guided and taught, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, to devise in addition to what Christ had himself instituted, such further arrangements in the government, discipline and organization of the Christian churches, as should be expedient for the right government of each church, in succeeding generations. The *designed omission* by the Doctor, of miraculous performances, as involved in the commission and office of the apostles, here demands strict attention. This glaring omission the Doctor endeavours thus to justify : " Here lies the fallacy. The miraculous powers of the apostles, are confounded with their authority, when they are as different things, as qualifications for an office, and the office itself. These extraordinary powers were then the means, vouchsafed to the apostles, to insure success to their ministry ; but they made no part of the commis-

sion, with which the apostles were entrusted." (Vol. 1, p. 190, 191.) The Doctor must here be exonerated from *all* intentional misrepresentation, although, *not* from designed omission, while at the same time, *actual* misrepresentation inadvertently fallen into, lies close at his door. For while he positively excludes miraculous powers from the apostles' commission, the evangelist Mark as *positively* includes them therein, thus: "And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils." (iii. 14, 15.) But while the Doctor stands thus acquitted of intentional misrepresentation, could the twelve have escaped severest censure, if, when commissioned to *heal* sicknesses, by miraculous power, they had refused so to heal them? Or, if when thus commissioned to cast out devils, they had refused so to cast them out? And if it entered not into the commission and office, of both Peter and Paul, miraculously to inflict severe punishments on great offenders; the former could not have been cleared from the crime of murder, in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, nor the latter from great cruelty, when he inflicted blindness on Elymas at Paphos. The Doctor's motives for thus endeavouring so unscripturally, to dis sever the performance of miracles from the commission and office of the apostles, were *ostensibly*, for the purpose of transmitting this office to a succession of Bishops, wholly destitute of this inseparable concomitant of real apostleship. And, in order to effect in the apprehension of his readers, this *disruption* of miraculous duties and performances, from the office and commission of apostles, he resorts to the ill digested and feeble artifice of asserting that "miraculous powers and apostolick authority, are as different *things*, as qualifications for an office and the office itself." In order effectually to expose both the futility and fallacy of this mode of representation, we need only to attend to what Christ has said concerning himself and his mission, viz. "I have greater witness than that of John, for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me." "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not sinned." As Christ

here expressly includes his miraculous works, in the commission received from his Father, so the miracles which the apostles wrought, were equally involved in the commission which Christ gave them. And as the Lord Christ, had he neglected to have wrought miracles, would thereby have disobeyed his Father, and have rendered his whole mission abortive ; even so would it have been with the apostles. The neglect of performing miracles would not only have utterly frustrated the gracious designs of Christ in his Gospel, but also, have involved those wicked and slothful servants in the greatest guilt imaginable. Nor will it avail to reply, that although miraculous powers were requisite for apostles in the infancy of the church, yet that in its adult state, such powers might well be dispensed with, and consequently that apostles in succeeding ages needed no miraculous powers : For the answer to this is short and conclusive, viz. Neither are apostles requisite in an adult state of the church, for if they were, miracles would not have ceased in any generation of the church.

But the Doctor proceeds, “ This sacerdotal commission was to be conveyed by the apostles to others, and so on to the end of the world ; for Christ assured his apostles, that he would be with them, that is, with the *authority* he had just given them, to the end of the world. This secures the apostolick office (more properly their authority) in the church, as long as there shall be a church upon the earth. One would suppose that there could be no dispute among Christians, upon this point.” (ibid. 290.) Had the Doctor been consistent with his own comment, by continuing to substitute apostolick “ *authority*” for “ *apostolick office*,” he would have greatly diminished all cause of “ *dispute among Christians on this point ;*” because no well informed Christians doubt or deny the perpetual continuance of apostolick authority in the Christian church, even to the end of the world. On every Lord’s day this authority is recognized, by all the churches assembling for divine worship, on the *first* day of the week, and *not* on the *seventh*. The addition of the New Testament to the Old, proclaims, and will proclaim the continuance of apostolick authority, to the latest period of future times. And while consistent

Christians shall acknowledge the authority of Christ, by a due observance of his ordinances, they will at the same time confess the *authority* of that commission which he gave his apostles to *teach*, to *enjoin*, and to *record* these ordinances; and which commission *thus* to teach, to *enjoin* and to *record* these ordinances, they will ever perceive to have been ratified, by the indubitable evidence of miracles. But *consistent* Christians, who can discover no evidence of any succession of existing miracles, must be compelled to reject every claim and pretence to a succession of existing apostles, by whomsoever made. Had Dr. Bowden but duly adverted to the mission and institutions of Moses, he would not have fallen into the glaring error, of confounding the *authority* of an office, with the *office* itself. The office divinely conferred on Moses constituted him *lawgiver* to Israel. But that office expired with himself, while the laws he enacted, and the institutions he appointed, perpetuated his authority thro' many generations, even until superceded by the institutions of the Gospel. Joshua and a succession of Judges were indeed raised up in Israel, as rulers, after Moses; but his office was conferred on none of them. They ruled indeed under the sanction of his laws, but no *lawgiver* appeared after him, in any wise like unto him, until Christ came, whose superior authority as a *faithful Son*, abolished the inferior authority of a *faithful servant*.

As therefore the successors of Moses, although rulers over Israel, after his time and under his laws, were *not* themselves like him lawgivers; so in like manner the apostles had successors as rulers in the church, after their time; but these successors were not themselves apostles, but approved Presbyters, elected by the churches; even *one* chosen by each church respectively, to the special oversight of itself. And for proof of this, the reader is here referred to the fifth Section, where he will find this pledge redeemed.

But before this subject of apostolick succession is here dismissed, it becomes proper to follow this strange principle to its final result of inevitable consequences. And for this purpose, we are to suppose every canonical Bishop, or one constituted a Bishop by a third ordination, to be truly an apostle, having the same commission and

authority which Paul and the twelve had. This principle being thus once admitted, it inevitably will follow : That every doctrine offered for belief, and each injunction for the regulation of life and manners, delivered by such Bishops, whether of Greece or Rome, of Syria, or of Great-Britain, or of the United States, or elsewhere, or however repugnant to each other, or inconsistent with the scriptures such injunctions or doctrines may be, still, they are all, where made known, as indispensably obligatory, as the precepts and doctrines are which were delivered by Paul and the twelve—and for this short and plain reason, because precisely the same *authority* has enacted in each case. Nor can Episcopalians, until this point is given up, extricate their system from a confusion great as that which took place in the land of Shinar, when the language of the whole earth was confounded by dialects judicially inflicted on them at the tower of Babel.

But as the Doctor has endeavoured to maintain this apostolick *succession* through the medium of Timothy, Titus and other Evangelists ; and, as in order the better to effect this purpose, he has despoiled the churches of their *elective rights*, therefore the *next* section will be devoted to a vindication of these unalienable rights of each church ; and the section next succeeding be reserved for an illustration of the true office of Timothy, Titus, and of others, of like distinguished order.



SECTION III.

In the sixth chapter of Acts we have a circumstantial account of the *election* of seven Deacons in the church of Jerusalem. This *election* was confided by the *twelve* apostles, wholly to the brethren met together in full assembly.

Of this fundamental and most authoritative precedent for all future elections, Dr. Bowden appears to have taken no manner of notice. Nor can this omission be reasonably accounted for, on any other principle, but that of his uniform hostility to popular elections of every kind. For winking out of sight the glaring evidence of

argumentative analogy between this election of Deacons by the people, and the like election of Bishops or Presbyters, called elders in the Acts, he thus abruptly and warmly addresses Dr. Miller: "What evidence is there that in the first century, Bishops, or Presbyters, were elected by the people? None at all; on the contrary, it is evident from the New Testament, that they were elected by the apostles, and that the people had no voice in the business. There is not a single instance that can be produced in opposition to this assertion." (Vol. 2, p. 150.)

So entirely and utterly destitute are these assertions, of every thing in affinity with reasoning, that in order to their refutation, they need only to be *retorted*. Thus, "What evidence is there that in the first century Bishops or Presbyters were elected by the apostles? None at all. On the contrary, it is evident from analogy in the *election* of Deacons, as recorded in the New Testament, that they were elected by the multitude, and that the apostles had no *vote* in the business. There is not a single instance that can be produced in opposition to this assertion." (Retort.) Of a very different opinion from Dr. B. in respect to popular elections, was his confidential and favourite friend and father, Cyprian, of Carthage, who flourished about the middle of the third century. For this distinguished Bishop, writing "Not in his own name only, but in that of an African Synod, to some people in Spain, who wished advice in a case in which the right of the *people* to choose their own Bishop was immediately concerned; writes thus: "A *people* who would obey the rules of the Gospel, should separate themselves from a sinful Bishop, and should not partake with a profane priest in his sacrifices; especially since the *chief power* of choosing worthy priests, and of rejecting unworthy ones, is lodged in them: Nor do we find the apostles observing this rule *only*, in the case of Bishops and priests, but even in the ordination of Deacons; concerning which it is recorded in Acts vi. 2, 3, &c. *Then the twelve called the multitude of disciples unto them, and said, Look ye out seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom; and the saying pleased the whole multitude; and they chose Stephen, &c. &c.* Wherefore the rule which we have

handed down to us from God himself and from the apostles, should be observed with all exactness." (Miller.)

But Dr. Bowden, notwithstanding the implications contained in these *extracts* from Cyprian's Epistle to some people in Spain, asking his opinion as before stated, and notwithstanding Dr. Miller's conclusive reasonings therefrom, in favour of popular election, Dr. B. in his third vol. p. 119, thus replies: "In my second volume, I there showed that there is not a single instance in the whole New Testament, of the people's electing their Bishops; and I challenge you to give me one. I also showed that there is not the least *shadow* of evidence for it in the second century. This *irrefragably* proves, that there was no apostolick precept or example for any particular mode of electing; and consequently, that it was left entirely to the direction of the church."

It is here much to be regretted, that the Doctor did not perceive, that his *mere* assertions in his second volume, required nothing more to refute them, than barely to *re-tort* them, in the manner as done above. Had he but duly adverted to correct rules of evidence, reasoning and deduction, he would not have thus involved his argument in the gross inconsistency of attempting to derive an *irrefragable* conclusion, from unproved premises. But it was doubtless the warmth of his zeal, misleading his better judgment, which induced him to write, "I there showed," "I also showed," instead of *I there asserted, I also asserted, &c.* But on a question of that importance and magnitude, which involves the inalienable rights of every church to elect its own ministers and pastors, slight proofs and probabilities should not satisfy any enquirer, where stronger and more conclusive evidence can be obtained. We therefore, in seeking proof in opposition to the Doctor's assertions, that in "the whole New Testament, there is not a single instance of the people's electing their Bishops, nor the least shadow of evidence for it in the second century;" will not rest satisfied barely with analogy in the popular election of Deacons in the mother church at Jerusalem, however strong that evidence may be; nor will we content ourselves with the opinions and usages of Cyprian and of his *age*, founded in part, on the authority of this apostolick in-

stitution, nor yet will we repose on the detection and refutation of the Doctor's erroneous and feeble opposition thereto: but will resort to still further and more direct authorities. Aided by the criticisms of the *learned*, we will in the first place appeal to the testimony of St. Luke, as recorded in Acts xiv. 23. In this verse we have information concerning ordinations performed by St. Paul, and his colleague Barnabas, during their joint mission among the Gentiles.

This verse has indeed been the subject of disputation, and has required the efforts of learned ingenuity, in order to overcome its difficulties. Its present translation reads thus: "And when they had ordained them Elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they believed." The *old English* translation reads after this manner: "And when they had ordained them Elders by election," &c. Harrington's translation reads, "Ordained them Elders by the votes of the people," &c. Doddridge's translation and Paraphrase read after this form of words, and signification of terms: "And when they had with the concurrent *suffrage* of the *people*, constituted Presbyters for them in every church," &c. &c. Doddridge however observes, that Hammond shews a few instances, wherein the *disputed word*, rendered *ordained*, was used where no voting was implied; but further observes he could discover no reason, why it should be so used, or understood in this case. We will now consult other authorities, and advert to other criticisms on this verse.

Dr. Adam Clarke, in his Commentary thereon, thus enquires and remarks: "But what is the meaning of the word χειροτονουσαντες, which we translate *ordained*? The word *ordain* we use in an ecclesiastical sense, and signify by it the appointment of a person to an office in the church, by the imposition of the hands of those who are rulers in that church. But χειροτονια signifies the *holding up*, or *stretching out the hand*, as *approving* of the choice of any person to a particular work: whereas χειροθεσια (cheirothesia) signifies the *imposition of hands*. "Zonaras gives the proper meaning of the word in the text, in his Scholia upon the first canon of the apostles, Νυν μιν χειροτονουσα λειται, κ. τ. λ. "Nowadays, a course of prayers and in-

vocation on the Holy Spirit, when one is initiated into the priesthood and receives consecration, is called χειροτονία *cheirotonia*, so termed because the Bishop *extends his hand* over him whom he blesses, when he is chosen into holy orders. Anciently, the *choice* or suffrage was called *cheirotonia*; for, when it was lawful for the multitude in their cities to choose their priests or Bishops, they met together, and some chose one man, some another: but that it might appear whose suffrage won; they say the electors did use ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, *to stretch forth their hands*, and by their hands so *stretched forth*, or *up*, they were numbered who chose the one, and who the other: and him who was *elected* by the most suffrages, they placed in the high priesthood. And from hence was the name *cheirotonia* taken, which the fathers of the councils are found to have used, calling their suffrage *cheirotonia*. St. Paul II. Cor. viii. 19, intimates that St. Luke was thus appointed to travel with him, χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπο τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *who was chosen of the churches*. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Philadelphians, uses the same term ἀρεστον ἔστιν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον, *ye ought as a church of God to choose your Bishop.*" Much more on this subject may be seen in Sir Norton Knatchbull, who contends that *cheirotonia* implies simply appointment or *election*, but not what he calls *ordination* by the *imposition* of hands. I believe the simple truth to be this, that in ancient times the people chose by the *cheirotonia* (*lifting up of hands*) their spiritual pastor; and the rulers of the church, whether *apostles* or *others*, appointed that person to his office, by the *cheirothesia*, or *imposition of hands*: and perhaps each of these was thought to be equally necessary, the church agreeing in the *election* of the person; and the rulers of the church appointing by *imposition of hands*, the person thus *elect- ed.*"

(A. Clarke.)

In the preceding important criticisms, on this disputed text, we behold the embodied authority of the *Old English Translation*, *Harrington's Translation*, and *Doddridge's Translation and Paraphrase*. And to these we perceive added the ingenious and deep researches, and candid and harmonising opinions of Zouaras, Knatchbull and Clarke.

Leaving these able and united criticisms on *this text*, to bear their own weight, and as proving, in opposition to Dr. Bowden's assertion to the contrary, that there is in the New Testament ample evidence of numerous elections by the people, even wherever Paul and Barnabas ordained Elders in the churches among the Gentiles; we will now advert to his very positive denial of popular elections during the *second* century, for on the election of a Bishop during this century, he says, in opposition to Dr. M. "The people had no voice in the business. There is not a single instance that can be produced in opposition to this assertion." "No testimony ever *has* been or *can* be produced to this purpose. Here then are two centuries, from which not a tittle can be drawn to countenance your assertions. But perhaps the third century will furnish you with sufficient evidence of this fact. But what, Sir, if it should? That would not prove, that the people elected their Bishops in the first and second centuries. In the first, as we have seen, there is positive evidence *against* it: and in the second, *there is no evidence for it.*" (Vol. 2, p. 151.) It is truly matter of surprise, as well as of just regret, that a writer of so much ability as the Doctor must have been, should thus, have suffered his zeal to betray him into such incoherent effusions as he has here permitted to escape from his pen. The examination of his attempts to reason in support of these effusions of his fancy, will be deferred, until his rash assertions here made, shall have first been duly attended to. As to his assertions in denial of popular elections in the first century, they have been already duly disposed of, as unfounded, and as contrary to substantial evidence against them. In respect to such elections in the second century, he asserts above, "*there is no evidence for it.*" In the foregoing extract from Clarke's Commentary, we are informed that, "Ignatius in his epistle to the Philadelphians, writes, "*You ought us a church of God to choose your Bishop.*" The question therefore here is, which is most to be credited; Dr. Bowden writing in the nineteenth century, of what was done in the second century? Or, Ignatius, who had lived in portions of the first and second century, writing in the latter to a church, and instructing them to choose their Bishop? It is not necessary here to

expatiate on Ignatius' superior advantages of knowledge on this point, as, that he was conversant with the apostles and their institutions ; that he knew the manner of his own election to be Bishop of the church of Antioch ; that he knew how Polycarp had been elected Bishop at Smyrna, and Clemon at Rome, and that he was well acquainted with all the elections in his own time. But we are inevitably led to conclude, that this single testimony of Ignatius on this *point* utterly overthrows every mere assertion and cavil against *it*, made by Dr. Bowden in the 1076 pages of his whole three volumes. From his *assertions* we will now proceed to hear his manner of reasoning on this point, viz. " Does Clemens Romanus intimate that the people elected Bishops ? Quite the contrary, as you very well know. He expressly asserts, that Bishops and Deacons were designated by the Holy Spirit for their respective offices. Does Barnabas countenance your assertion ? He has not a syllable upon the subject. Does Hermas ? He also is silent. Does Ignatius ? Very far from it. Does Justin Martyr, or Ireneus, or Tertullian, or Clemens of Alexandria ? No testimony ever *has* been, or *can* be produced to this purpose." (Vol. 2, p. 251.) Here we perceive *eight* of the fathers of the second century, summoned by the Doctor to testify against the election of Bishops by the people in that age ; but most unhappily for his cause, by his own voluntary confession, *six* of them prove to be perfect mutes, viz. Barnabas, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Ireneus Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria. He might, therefore, had he not designed to make an idle flourish with their venerable names, have suffered them to repose undisturbed, amid the obscure shades of antiquity. But his citation of Clemens Romanus and of Ignatius in this cause, was an *act* ill judged, and rash in the very last degree. In respect to the former, his very appearance in the Doctor's court, without a single word uttered, was *ominous* in the case, for which cited. For, according to Bower's History of the Bishops of Rome, which is justly esteemed for its critical accuracy, Clemens himself was " unanimously *chosen* by the *people* and *clergy* of Rome." (Vol. 1, p. 15.) In respect to what Clemens has said in reference to " designation to office by the Holy Spirit," it is totally *irrele-*

cant to the question concerning election, and implies only, the specified scripture qualifications, befitting Deacons and Bishops to be elected. But if Clemens proved inauspicious as a witness, surely Ignatius proved *tenfold* more so, for, as already noted, it laid the *axe* to the *root* of the Doctor's ill conceived, ill judged, and ill conducted opposition to popular elections during the first and second centuries. But the Dr. having by some means discovered that popular elections had actually existed within the second century, his ingenuity was directed to discover means of accounting for this circumstance, without having recourse to any authority therefor, as derived from the institutions and usages of the apostles; and therefore with great adroitness ascribes it thus to usurpation by the people. "In the *next* age, after Christianity was established, I allow, that the *people* in *some* places, *assumed* the power of *electing* the Bishop. But the effects of it became so *dreadful*, particularly at Rome, that the Emperor found it absolutely necessary to deprive them of the power." (Vol. 1, p. 222.)

Dr. B. being hard pressed by Dr. M. on this point, endeavours to sustain his theory, and calls in Stillingfleet to his assistance, who with a better grace, but no less deceptive, observes, "The main ground of the people's interest was founded upon the apostle's canon (or rule) *a Bishop must be blameless and of good report*; and, therefore, the people's share, and concern, in elections, even in Cyprian's time, was not to give their votes, but only their testimony concerning the good or ill behaviour of the person. That yet upon this the people *assumed* the power of *elections*, and thereby caused great disturbances and disorders in the church. That to prevent these, many Bishops were appointed without their choice, and *canons* made for the better regulating of them. And, that when there were Christian magistrates, they interposed as they thought fit, notwithstanding the popular claim in a matter of so great consequence to church and state." (Vol. 3, p. 118, 119.)

Much error, with some shades of truth, are here together artfully blended. For it is quite incorrect, that, the *main* ground of the people's *interest* in elections, was founded on the *rule* of *Bishops being blameless and*

of good report, for it was no less founded on the rule that a Bishop should be apt to teach, and able by sound doctrine, both to exhort, and convince the gainsayers. As the latter qualifications, without the former, would have been defective, so the former without the latter, could never have rendered any man an edifying Bishop. The particular church, therefore, over which the Bishop was to be placed, was in its collective capacity, according to all just and true principles, the only proper and competent elective body, assembled, not indeed, merely, to give testimony of character, but, as in the days of Paul and Barnabas, to choose their own Bishop by the *cheirotonia*, the holding up, or stretching out the hand. So that so far were the people from assuming the power of election, whether in the second, or in any other century, that it was always their right, even from the beginning. That the Bishops leagued together, whether in councils or synods, enacted canons, or formed rules, whereby in many cases they usurped the power of elections, by fraudulently and unjustly transferring it from the people to themselves, is neither to be questioned nor denied: for in the third century, and even in the age of Cyprian, which was about the middle of that century, they did many such, and worse things, as we learn from Mosheim, thus treating of these very times, viz. "The face of things began now to change in the Christian church. The ancient method of ecclesiastical government seemed, in general, still to subsist, while at the same time, by imperceptible steps, it varied from the original rule, or degenerated toward the form of a religious monarchy. For the Bishops aspired to higher degrees of power and authority than they had possessed; and not only violated the rights of the people, but also made gradual encroachments upon the privileges of the Presbyters. And, that they might cover these usurpations with an air of justice, and an appearance of reason, they published new doctrines concerning the nature of the church, and of the Episcopal dignity. One of the principal authors in this change of the government of the church, was Cyprian, who pleaded for the power of the Bishops with more zeal and vehemence than had ever been hitherto employed in that cause. This change in the form of ecclesiastical

government, was soon followed by a train of vices, which dishonoured the character and authority of those to whom the administration of the church was committed. This is testified in such an ample manner by the repeated complaints of many of the most respectable writers of *this age*, that truth will not permit us to spread the veil, which we should otherwise be desirous to cast over such enormities among an order so sacred." (Vol. 1, p. 258, 259.) In respect to Stillingfleet's fore-mentioned statement of "great disturbances and disorders in the church," having resulted from popular elections, and as requiring the interference of Christian magistrates to suppress such elections; it is, to say the best of it, an uncandid misrepresentation. But Dr. Bowden never once suspecting its correctness, as being the production of a Bishop's pen, not only adopted it as his own belief, but also, in an aggravated form, gave it as extensive a circulation as that wherein his Letters were read. And as appears from page 153 of volume 2, viz. "About the close of this (the third) century, I believe, the people of Rome *acquired* great influence in the election of their Bishops; but they exercised it in such a tumultuous and scandalous manner, that Constantine, after he became a Christian, found it necessary to prevent them from interfering in elections." This statement is most egregiously incorrect, and that in almost every particular. It is so in reference to Constantine, who never did obstruct the election of Bishops by the Roman people. It is equally incorrect in ascribing the suppression of popular election at Rome to any Christian magistracy, as it was retained by that people until A. D. 1181, when it was subverted by the intrigues of their own Bishops. Nor is it less incorrect in branding election by the people with the epithet of *interfering*, because election by them was but the exercise of a constitutional prerogative, *exclusively their own*. But to gratify the curiosity of the reader, as well as to illustrate this mysterious affair of magisterial *interference*, it may be proper to state two historical events, which probably, in a confused manner, may have impressed the minds of Stillingfleet and Bowden. The former occurred at Rome, in the reign of Constantius, A. D. 356; and the latter took place in about ten years after, in the same city, dur-

ing the reign of Valentinian. The former of these events was occasioned by the injustice and tyranny of the Emperor himself, in banishing Liberius, the lawful Bishop, because of his opposition to the Arians; and in forcing Felix unlawfully on the Roman people, as their Bishop. These transactions Bower thus records. "His fate was no sooner known at Rome, than the *clergy* assembling the *people*, bound themselves by a solemn oath, in their presence, not to acknowledge any other for their Bishop, so long as Liberius lived. Liberius being thus driven from his see, another was placed on it, in his room: the person whom the Emperor and the Arian faction pitched upon was one Felix; but the clergy could not proceed to a new election, without an open violation of the oath they had taken. The people began to mutiny, and assembling in crowds, would suffer none of the Arian faction to enter their churches. The imperial palace, therefore, served instead of a church; three of the Emperor's eunuchs represented the people; and three Bishops, slaves of the court, viz. Eupictetus of Centemucelle, Acacius of Casarea, and Basilius of Ancyra, ordained the new elected Bishop. Thus was Felix chosen and thus ordained. As Liberius was greatly beloved by the people, the *intrusion* of Felix occasioned a great *sedition*, in which *many lives were lost.*" (Vol. 1, p. 133, 134.)

The second occurrence is detailed both by Mosheim and Bower. The former thus relates it, viz. "The see of Rome became in this century a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened, that when a new Pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the *Presbyters* and *people*, the city of Rome was generally agitated with dissensions, tumults and cabals, whose consequences were often deplorable and fatal. The intrigues and disturbances that prevailed in that city in 366, when upon the death of Liberius, another Pontiff was to be chosen in his place, are a sufficient proof of what we have now advanced. Upon this occasion one faction elected Damasus to that high dignity, while the other party chose Ursicinus, a Deacon of the vacant church, to succeed Liberius. This double election gave rise to a dangerous schism, and to a sort of civil war within the city of Rome, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity

and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations. This inhuman contest ended indeed in the victory of Damasus; but whether his cause was more just than that of Ursicinus, is a question not so easy to determine. Neither of the two, indeed, seem to have been possessed of such principles as constitute a good Christian, much less of that exemplary virtue that should distinguish a Christian Bishop." (Vol. 1, p. 342, 343.)

Bower abundantly corroborates this narrative by Moshiem, but is much more full and circumstantial. But on a subject so humiliating to the Christian name, all that I shall add from his account is, that "This riot began October 25, at eight in the morning, A. D. 366."

But it should here be noted and observed, that these last recorded disturbances, which happened in Valentinian's reign, like the former, under Constantius, are events which furnish melancholly evidence of the deplorable degeneracy of Bishops, Presbyters and people, in the fourth century. This degeneracy different writers have ascribed to a variety of causes. Some to the innovations made in the government and discipline of the churches, by means of the substitution of the canons and decrees of Councils and Synods, for the better rules and instructions of the Holy Scriptures. Others have imputed it to the pride and ambition of the Bishops, and to the bitter and persecuting contentions of both the Orthodox and the Arians. But others again have considered it as chiefly resulting from that overwhelming tide of honours and emoluments, which inundated the church, after the conversion of Constantine to Christianity. Nor can it reasonably be doubted, by any versed in ecclesiastical history, that each of these causes contributed, conjointly with the others, its full portion of demoralizing influence, in effecting this degeneracy, so extensive in its progress, and so destructive in its effects. But Rome, being imperial, and more populous than the other cities of that age, the church in that metropolis became more readily and deeply tainted, with the spreading corruptions of those times, than the churches in the other cities of the empire. And from hence the foundation it appears was even then laid, in that church, to become at length, *the mother of harlots*.

Nor can the fore-mentioned *riots* in that church and

city, alluded to by Stillingfleet and Bowden, afford matter for any well grounded objection to ecclesiastical popular elections, in any church worthy of the *Christian* name: Nor yet, in any, *bad* as even that in Rome then was; until, it can be proved, that the "*Christian magistrate*," Constantius, was not the real author of the outrages of the first riot; and that, in the second, Damasus and Ursicinus, were *not* the actual instigators and ring-leaders, in all the acts of cruelty then so disgracefully committed.

The *order* and *office* of Timothy and Titus, will occupy the next Section.

SECTION IV.

Of all the sources to which Docter Bowden and other Episcopal writers have resorted, for materials, wherewith to erect the fabrick of their claims of an exclusive nature, in behalf of diocesan Bishops, there is none, perhaps, on which they have placed greater dependence, than on the order and office of Timothy and Titus. These distinguished Ministers of Christ needed no investment with office, but what they received from their divine Master and from his apostles; and which are best learned from the New Testament. But different writers, for special purposes, have constituted them both apostles and Bishops. And thence, as a matter of convenience, have transmitted all this honour and authority to immediate successors; and so on through a series of Bishops, down even to our own times. The glaring absurdity, however, of all such pretensions, to a succession of apostleship, has been the subject of special discussion in the second section, and therefore, shall not be here repeated. Nor is it necessary to attempt formally to disprove the alleged apostleship of these burning and shining lights of the Christian church. To vindicate their evangelical mission, will be alone sufficient. That they were evangelists, and neither apostles nor Bishops, would never have been disputed, were it not for the purpose of magnifying the episcopal office. With this view, not only the

office of apostles and evangelists has been invaded, but also the High Priesthood of the Jews, has been grasped at; never once considering, that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, and, that such pretensions “only *mocked* whom they were meant to honour.”

Respecting the orders of Ministers placed by Christ himself in his church, St. Paul thus writes: “He gave some apostles. and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers.” The two latter orders he designed to be permanent and stationary, and therefore gave express directions for their constitution: The three former being extraordinary, and of superior rank and order, were constituted such by Christ himself, while the pastors and teachers, although instituted by divine appointment; yet were elected and consecrated to office by men. *Evangelists*.—Of this order, Hooker (whose ecclesiastical polity is by Exon styled “The great and impregnable shield of the church of England”) thus writes: “Evangelists were Presbyters of principal sufficiency, whom the apostles sent abroad, and used as agents in ecclesiastical affairs, wheresoever they saw need. They whom we find to have been named in scripture evangelists, are, Amnias, Apollos, Timothy; and others were thus employed.” (iicc. Polity, p. 282.) Among these others here alluded to, we may discover Titus, Philip, Tycheus, Artimas, Crescens, Epaphroditas, and Silas: nor should Barnabas, Mark or Luke be omitted, who each stand in the first rank of evangelists. Candour in a controversialist, is in a high degree honourable; it evinces a greater regard to truth, than even to the cause which he endeavours to maintain. In this respect, Hooker just mentioned, excelled Bowden; for while the former frankly acknowledges Timothy to have been an evangelist, and consequently Titus to have been one also, the latter obstinately denies it of both; and acting more like a lawyer, whose profession is to wrangle, than like his venerable coadjutor just named, contends without any adequate proof, that Timothy and Titus were *not* evangelists, but were Bishops. His own words and reasonings shall now plead his cause: “What proves to a certainty that they were fixed Bishops, at least as much so as the exigencies of

the church in that day would admit, is the circumstance of their having successors in the very same authority, which they exercised at Ephesus and Crete : and for the proof of this, numerous testimonies have been adduced from the *fathers*." (Vol. 1, p. 273.) The Doctor here referred to ten persons before named, and whom he in this quotation styles *fathers*. But certainly they could not have been *fathers* of an early date, for Whitby commenting on the Epistle to Titus, writes thus : " The great controversy concerning *this* and the Epistle to Timothy, is, whether Timothy and Titus were indeed made Bishops, the one of Ephesus and the proconsular of Asia ; the other of Crete. Now, of this matter, I confess I can find nothing in any writer of the first three centuries, nor any *intimation* that they bore that name." But Dr. Whitby being an Episcopalian, was not difficult as to testimony on this point, and therefore adds, " But this defect is *abundantly* supplied by the concurrent suffrage of the fourth and fifth centuries." (ibid. 274.) Testimonies of the fourth and fifth centuries on this point, must be powerful indeed, that can invalidate on this question, the profound silence of the first three centuries ; and set aside the very strong evidence of the New Testament, hostile to the Episcopal claims in behalf of Titus and Timothy. From Whitby's list of these writers, Dr. B. names the following, viz. Eusebius, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Leontius, Primasius, Theophylact, and Occumerius. And before all these he prefixes Polycrates, whom the vigilant Whitby was unable to discover ; and no wonder, for no more is known of his writings, than that " a fragment is preserved in Photius Bibotheca, and quoted by Usher, in his discourse on Episcopacy. In that fragment it is said that Timothy was ordained Bishop of Ephesus, by the great Paul." (ibid. 257, 258.)

As to any credibility of evidence contained in this alleged fragment of Polycrates, it is of so uncertain and frivolous a nature, as to afford ground of suspicion, that the cause in which it is adduced was deemed desperate. And in respect to Eusebius, if he had this testimony of Polycrates in view, when he said, without giving any proof, " It is recorded in history, that Timothy was the

first Bishop of Ephesus," certainly in this case, the latter historian is as undeserving of credit, as the former is, to whom he alludes. And as Polycrates lived about the close of the second century, whatever he may have written, was probably accessible to Eusebius. But evidence on this point, is so obscure and uncertain from each of these writers, that their united testimony amounts to nearly nothing in this controversy. Of the remaining eight, called *fathers* by Dr. B. one was Theophylact, of the eleventh century, and another Occumenius, supposed to have belonged to the preceding century, consequently neither should have been ranked with the *fathers*, as they belonged to more modern times. Nor, is their testimony of any higher authority, than merely that of their own comments on the Epistles in question. Five others, were Ambrose, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, and Primasius, who wrote in different centuries, from the *fourth* to the *sixth*. But as the authority of their several testimonies, even according to Bowden himself, reposed chiefly on their own comments on the Epistles last alluded to, they only instruct us to follow their example, and seek the decision of this question, in the New Testament alone. The remaining *father* is a *late* one indeed, as he did not flourish until about and after the middle of the *fifth* century. This was Leontius, of Magnesia, who declared in the council of Chalcedon, "that from Timothy to their time, there had been twenty-six Bishops, of the church of Ephesus." This testimony may be *true* in the strictest sense of the terms here used, and yet Timothy not have been one of the twenty-six; for the number here mentioned does not include the time of Timothy's residence in Ephesus, but only the time which had then elapsed from Timothy's departure from that city to the year 451, when the Council had assembled at Chalcedon. And certainly, if these expressions have any other signification than as here explained, we are left to conjecture what that signification may be. Nor is it necessary, even if he meant to include Timothy among these twenty-six, to reply here more particularly, as it will shortly be made to appear that Timothy was never Bishop of Ephesus, notwithstanding all that may have been asserted to the contrary by the Doctor's *ten fathers*. That these *fath-*

ers, as well as more ancient and primitive ones, were not implicitly, in all relations of facts, to be relied on, is most clearly evident from this consideration, that they but too often suffered vague and uncertain traditions to supply the place of accurate records: and which is undeniable from the following contradictions discovered in their relations of facts, with which they ought to have been better acquainted, viz. In respect to the first Bishop of the church of Rome, "Tertullian says that Peter was;" while Iraenus, with much greater probability, calls "Linus the first Bishop of Rome." Again, Peter is made by Eusebius, the first Bishop of Antioch; but in the twenty-second chapter of the same book, he *contradicts himself*, by making Eodius and *not* Peter, the first Bishop of that church. Nor is Jerome less contradictory to himself, by placing Peter both in the *sec* of Rome, and in that of Antioch. (See Macknight's Commentary, vol. 4, p. 171.) But it appears to have been Whitby that induced Bowden to place an undue reliance on the vague testimonies of inaccurate writers, who often only conjectured, when they should have enquired and reasoned: For the former being determined to ascertain the truth, of "the great controversy concerning Timothy and Titus, wisely repaired to the New Testament; but unable even by the Epistles to these highly distinguished Ministers of Christ, to establish their *Episcopacy*, he next toils through the works of the Christian writers of the first three centuries, but unable to discover therein "any intimation that *they* bore even the *name* of Bishops; instead of then wisely abandoning the ignis fatuus pursuit, he continues the headlong chase even to the *eleventh* century. And how great must have been his triumph, when he obtained the prize of being assured, that Titus was actually made Bishop of all Crete and its hundred cities, and Timothy, not of Ephesus only, but also of "*proconsular Asia*," that is, of Asia Minor, so that not only the whole *seven* Revelation churches, but many others also, were made subject to him, being all comprehended within his *sec*. But Dr. B. proceeds, "It has also been shewn, that it was not as Evangelists they acted at Ephesus and Crete; for an Evangelist was one who carried the good news of salvation to the heathen; but

the people of Ephesus and Crete had been converted in great numbers to the faith of Christ, before the appointment of Timothy and Titus. The result of the whole, then is, that these officers were Bishops, in the appropriate, ecclesiastical sense of the word." (ibid. 273.)

In order to invalidate the evangelical *order* and commission of Timothy, the Doctor endeavours to restrict the term Evangelists to the simple signification of a *bearer of good news*, and especially of the *news of salvation to the heathen*. And this verbal criticism he endeavours to strengthen by an appeal in his third volume, p. 224, to Dr. Campbell, who among other particulars, states, that this term, "in the Acts is frequently used for expressing the first publication of the *Gospel*, in a city or a village, or among a particular people." But without calling these significations of this term in question, may we not reasonably doubt these meanings to be all that the scriptures design in the use of this term? When we consult Ephesians iv. 11, perhaps it may tend to a correct conclusion on this point. And he gave some *apostles*; and some *prophets*; and some *evangelists*; and some *pastors* and *teachers*." As it is manifestly certain that St. Paul has placed *apostles* and *prophets* in the Christian church, before those others mentioned which succeed, not inadvertently, but designedly, because they were of higher order and authority than the others; so in like manner he has placed *pastors* above teachers, and unquestionably for the same reason. Nor can either of these conclusions be denied, without infringing on the reputation of the apostle as a correct writer, and without exposing the objector's own reputation to the just censure of deviating from a candid construction of the apostle's intention.

That apostles were above Christian prophets, both in rank and authority, appears further from I. Cor. xii. 28: "God hath set some in the church, *first* apostles, *secondarily* prophets, *thirdly* teachers," &c. Under the appellation *teachers*, the apostle appears here to comprise all three, Evangelists, pastors, and teachers or Deacons; nor will any consistent Episcopalian reject this construction, that pastors mean elders or Presbyters, and that in this connexion teachers mean Deacons, as inferior in order to Presbyters or Bishops, so named in the New

Testament. But the remaining and chief question, to be yet decided, in view of the preceding apostolick arrangement is, to what order do Evangelists belong? They are evidently *below* apostles and prophets; and in this train, as evidently *above* pastors and teachers, or Presbyters and Deacons. For a continuance in the church no provision was made in respect to apostles and prophets, nor for the appointment and ordination of Evangelists. It was otherwise in respect to pastors under the title of Bishops, and with teachers, under that of Deacons. But we have seen above, that in I. Cor. Evangelists were probably included with pastors and Deacons, under the common title of *teachers*. Are we from hence, to infer, that Evangelists were a connecting link between ordinary and extraordinary Ministers of Christ? And, that in some respects like apostles and prophets, they were to be discontinued; but, that in other respects, they were (at least occasionally) to be continued as the exigencies of the church might require? As Dr. B. consulted Campbell on the signification of the term *Evangelist*, as used in the Acts, so we will consult Macknight on its meaning in Ephesians, as above quoted, and which in his third note he thus explains: "Their office was to preach the Gospel to the different Gentile nations. To fit them for this, Christ gave them the gift of *tongues*, whereby they were enabled to preach to every nation in its own language: also the gift of *miracles*, for the confirmation of their doctrine, and the gift of *faith*, to enable them to encounter dangers." Here it should be observed, that while Macknight harmonizes with Campbell, in respect to *Evangelists* preaching "the first good news of salvation to the heathen;" so he also, is in harmony with the concurrent implications of the New Testament, by justly elevating an Evangelist above a Bishop or pastor; not merely in respect to higher ecclesiastical authority, but as having been endowed with greater and higher qualifications of the Holy Spirit, for the performance of the more arduous labours to which they were called, in the fulfilment of their perilous missions. An Evangelist of this high character was Barnabas. Such also were Luke, Mark, Silas, Apollos and others. And such, also, beyond all reasonable doubt, were Timothy and Titus. The extraordinary

qualifications and endowments communicated to the former by prophecy, and by the laying on of Paul's hands, need not here be dwelt on. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the proofs, that might be adduced, to establish the fact, that the *latter* was evidently of the same order, as high in authority, and as much in the confidence of Paul, as Timothy was. But, in addition to the usual labours of Evangelists, in fulfilling their ministry by preaching the gospel to the heathen, they also were called occasionally to travel and labour with the apostles, as their sons in the gospel, and that not only in preaching to the heathen, but also in visiting and watering the churches already planted, as Mark did with Paul and Barnabas, and as Silas did with the *former* in many churches, and as Apollos did at Corinth, as well as Timothy, Titus, Luke and others in divers churches newly planted: but all these itinerant labours, although performed not in new places, but in churches already planted, were nevertheless the labours of the Evangelists. And besides all this, the apostles commissioned Evangelists when occasion required, to visit, to excite to liberality, and even authoritatively to *inspect*, as well as to teach apostolick *usages* to organized churches, in things wherein they were unfaithful or defective. For Titus with another *Evangelist* was sent to Corinth, to obtain contributions for the poor in Judea, 2d Epistle viii. 18. And to the same church, both Timothy and Apollos were sent, the former especially, being invested with particular authority by St. Paul, and as thus expressed and implied in I. Cor. iv. 17, and xvi. 10, 11, 12, viz. "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of *my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church*. Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear; for *he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do, let no man therefore despise him*; as touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren; but his will was not at all to come at this time, but he will come when he shall have convenient time." From the whole therefore, it will here conclusively follow: First, that Evangelists in the primary sense of *extraordinary divine endowments*,

as essential qualifications, *ceased* with the age of miracles. Secondly, that Evangelists labouring with the apostles as their sons in the Gospel, and specially commissioned by them became extinct with the apostolick age. But that Evangelists in the *lowest* true sense of the term, even, as being destitute of all miraculous endowment, as well as of any commission from an apostle, yet sent out by the churches to preach to the heathen, are designed to be perpetuated, as *missionaries*, until such time, as that the Gospel shall have been preached, throughout *every nation* in *all the world*.

That Timothy and Titus when at Corinth, as well as when fulfilling apostolick commissions in other churches, were Evangelists, is so obviously certain, that no candid and well informed person, can for a moment, either doubt or deny it. But the question here is, when the one was stationed for a time at Ephesus, and the other at Crete, were they still Evangelists, or did they then become (as Dr. B. terms it) Bishops ecclesiastically such? If they became then Bishops, it must have been through means of a popular election to that office, that they were constituted such. For, as has been established by indubitable proofs, in the preceding *section*, no person was or could, according to true apostolick usages have become a lawful Bishop, without such an election. But is there in the New Testament or elsewhere, the slightest evidence to be found, that they were so elected? In answer to this question, it can with perfect safety, most confidently be affirmed, that the slightest proof for such an election, cannot anywhere be discovered. A consciousness of this was probably the cause why Dr. B. so obstinately denied the right of the churches to elect their Bishops. And as neither of these Evangelists was ever elected by the churches over which they respectively presided, so there is positive evidence, presidency was not permanent but transitory. For says St. Paul, "I besought thee to abide *still* at Ephesus, while I went into Macedonia." I besought thee, not I ordained thee, as say the fathers. Timothy's stay in Ephesus, was a voluntary act, but had he been elected Bishop, and had accepted it, he would have been bound to stay: for the apostles never besought Bishops, but commanded them to abide with the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made

them overseers. And, it was upon this principle of Timothy's being *not* a stationary Bishop, but an itinerant, or an Evangelist, that the apostle adds. "Do the work of an *Evangelist*, make full proof of thy ministry. Do thy diligence to come shortly to me. *Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus. Do thy diligence to come before winter.*" (II. Tim. iv. 5, 9, 12, 21.) Here every thing proves to demonstration that the apostle regarded Timothy not as a Bishop, but as he ever had been, an *Evangelist*: and as such calls him away to Rome, sending at the same time, a *successor* to him in the person of Tychicus, another Evangelist. Nor is there any well authenticated account to be found any where upon record, that Timothy ever again returned to Ephesus. And of this Dr. B. was well apprized, for he candidly remarks, "After this event we hear no more of Timothy. (Vol. 1, p. 259.) This decision of the case of Timothy decides also that of Titus. For, if the former's residence for a season in one city, and superintendence during that time over a single church, did not divest him of his commission as an Evangelist of the highest order, and constitute him a located Bishop; much less could the latter's itinerant residence in Crete, and oversight of the churches in the *hundred* cities of that extensive island, reduce him to the rank and station of a Bishop, unless it was to the rank and prerogatives of an *Arch-Bishop*. If further evidence be deemed requisite on this point, we find it furnished abundantly by St. Paul himself, in his instructions to Titus: "For this cause I left thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and *ordain elders* in every city. When I shall send Artimas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis."—So plain is it here that Titus was left at Crete only until such time as he should be able to set the churches in order, and that he was then called away and a successor sent in his room, that no person can be mistaken on these points, unless he is determined he will not understand. And it is here plain, that as Tychicus, as before seen, became Timothy's successor, so it is equally plain that Artimas, as an Evangelist, became at Crete the successor of Titus. And as there is no good evidence that Timothy ever returned to Ephesus, so neither is there any that

Titus ever returned to Crete, for St. Paul thus again writes: "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me, for Demas hath forsaken me, and is departed unto Thessalonica, Cresens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia." From the whole we discover in reference to Titus, that when he left Crete and met Paul at Nicopolis, he proceeded with this apostle to Rome, and from thence journeyed, not to Crete, but to Dalmatia. But this discussion thus resulting inevitably, in the utter subversion of all pretensions, designed to invest Timothy and Titus with Episcopal commissions; and in fully vindicating their claims to the highest authority of divinely endowed and duly commissioned *Evangelists*; how far is it from Dr. Bowden's *triumphant* conclusion! "We have thus produced abundant evidence that Timothy and Titus were the first Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, and that they had their successors. This is the point we *wish* to establish, and I think it is completely established." (Vol. 1, p. 264.) The intelligent and candid reader will please to examine, and judge for himself.

Ordination is reserved for the discussions of the next Section.

SECTION V.

Ordination by imposition of hands with prayer, as practised among Episcopalians, and as zealously asserted by Dr. Bowden, is threefold, and in its fullest extent, necessarily successive. First, thereby, a candidate for the ministry is constituted a Deacon. By its second administration, the Deacon is raised to the *Priesthood*. But a third ordination is indispensable, in order to elevate a *Priest* into a Bishop. But before we proceed to investigate the origin and authority of this system of a threefold ordination, it becomes important to enquire from whence this idea of a Christian Priesthood derived its birth. In the New Testament, no other Christian Priesthood is recognized, but that of Christ himself, and who, in his own person, is at once *High Priest, Altar and Sacrifice*. But while the New Testament affords neither warrant

for this belief, nor information of its origin, the ecclesiastical historian distinctly traces it to its proper source ; for Mosheim thus informs : “ The Christian Doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people, that the Ministers of the Christian church succeeded to the character, rights and privileges of the Jewish Priesthood ; and this persuasion was a new source, both of honours and profit, to the sacred order. This *notion* was propagated with great industry some time after the reign of Adrian, when the second destruction of Jerusalem had extinguished among the Jews all hopes of seeing their government restored to its former lustre, and of their country arising out of ruins. Accordingly, the *Bishops* considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the *High Priest* among the Jews, while the *Presbyters* represented the *Priests*, and the *Deacons* the *Levites*. It is indeed highly probable, that this *absurd* comparison of offices so entirely distinct, arose rather through ignorance and error, than through artifice or design. The *notion*, however, once introduced, produced its natural effects : for the errors to which it gave rise were many. And one of its immediate consequences was, the establishing a greater difference between the Christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit. (Vol. 1, p. 176.) As to the ordination of *Deacons* and *Presbyters*, ample authority therefor, unquestionably is found in Acts and in other parts of the New Testament. And although, it does not from thence appear necessary, that one should precede the other, yet, this practice where pursued, affords no serious ground of controversy between Christian denominations, of whatever name. But the *third act*, or, a re-ordination of a *Presbyter*, in order to constitute him a *Bishop*. is a species of re-ordination, as unwarrantable, and reprehensible, as *re-baptizing* would be, where its first administration had been in strict conformity with Christ’s express laws, enjoining its due performance. Some less discerning, than zealously tenacious of this *third* ordaining act, have surmised and imagined, that this species of re-ordination may be implied in these texts, viz. “ Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*.” “ Wherefore I put thee

in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee by the *putting on of my hands.*" But assuredly, there is nothing in these texts, to prove two ordinations, and consequently less, *if possible*, to prove a *third*. For the laying on of the *hands* of the *Presbytery*, and the *putting* of the apostles' hands, appears to have been all done at one time: and probably at Lystra. (Acts xvi. 1, 2, 3.) On that occasion, it is highly probable that Timothy by Paul's hands became qualified by miraculous endowment, for the office of an Evangelist, and that through both Paul and the Presbytery, he became consecrated from laical to clerical order. But, as both Bishop Hoadly and Dr. Bowden appeared unwilling, or at least reluctant, to admit any act of ordination as implied in the above texts,* we may with safety conclude, that it is equally as absurd, to attempt to lay these texts as a foundation for a threefold ordination, as it would be to endeavour to erect a *castle* upon a *cobweb*. Although neither Hoadly nor Bowden have attempted to prove either a second or third ordination of Timothy from the epistles directed to himself, yet others have supposed it to be at once, both implied and commanded to be perpetuated through a continued succession, in II. Tim. xi. 2: "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." But certainly the things which were heard among many witnesses, could not have been an *office*, but must have been the *hallowed doctrines* of the gospel, in which Paul had instructed Timothy probably, at Lystra, as above adverted to, and which *doctrines* Timothy is here commanded to commit to faithful men, *able to teach others also*. And doubtless in the order of Divine Providence, these doctrines have been preserved pure and uncorrupt in the New Testament, and from thence, have been *ably* taught, by a *succession of faithful Ministers of various denominations*. Had it been possible ever to have discovered in any part of the New Testament, or *even* in any of the authentick writings of the *fathers* of the first or second century, any evidence of this species of ordination, the sharp-sighted Cyprian would have discovered it, and

* See vol. I, p. 304, 305.

quickly have trumpeted its fame, in his numerous writings, throughout all the churches of his age. And from that period down to the reformation, it would have occupied many pages, in books of successive writers, and without all doubt, have finally prevented a *secession* from Episcopacy, under the renovating labours of Luther, Calvin and their associates. But as Dr. Bowden appears to have obtained an *intimate* acquaintance with the apostolick fathers, and as *there is a peculiar ingenuity in his methods of enquiry, and in his chains of reasoning*, we therefore in pursuing our enquiries in reference to the constitution of Bishops by re-ordinations, will *borrow a leaf from his book*, where he had treated of the election of Bishops and Presbyters in vol. 2, p. 250, 251, viz. thus: "What evidence is there that in the first century Bishops were constituted such by a threefold ordination? None at all. Do the epistles to Timothy or Titus mention it? There is no intimation of it, neither in them, nor in any other part of the New Testament. Does Clemens Romanus intimate that Bishops were consecrated to that office by a *third* ordination? Quite the contrary, as you very well know. He expressly asserts that Bishops were designated by the Holy Spirit to this office. Does Hermas? He also is silent. Does Ignatius? Very far from it. Does Barnabas countenance your assertion? He has not a syllable upon the subject. Does Justin Martyr, or Ireneus, or Tertullian, or Clemens of Alexandria? No testimony ever *has* been, or *can* be produced to this purpose. Here then are two centuries from which not a tittle can be drawn in proof of a *third* ordination, or of the *re-ordination* of a Presbyter, to constitute him a Bishop. But perhaps the third century will furnish sufficient evidence of this fact. But what if it should? That would not prove that Bishops were so ordained in the first or second centuries. In the first, we have seen, that the texts in the epistles to Timothy, commonly relied on for this purpose, have no such meaning; and that nothing to this effect appears any where in the New Testament. And we have discovered, that in the second century, the apostolick fathers knew nothing at all about such ordinations. Well, then if this practice began in the *third* century, and had its rise in the Cyprianick age, although

it may have continued without interruption from that period down to the time of the reformation; yet as its commencement was *not* until about the middle of the third century, it can lay no just claim to the character of being apostolick; but, must be regarded only, as an *unauthoriz'd innovation*, devised by the craft of men, which the lapse of years has sanctified into veneration, in the minds of millions, who believe in, and teach as a doctrine of divine authority, this *invented practice and tradition of men*” But although this imitation of the Doctor’s ingenious method of reasoning thus terminates in the manifest subversion of the *re-ordination* of Presbyters, yet to obviate objections, and to remove all doubts of this subversion from the minds of the most wavering, we will here dismiss the apostolick fathers, and turn our attention to other *worthies* of note and fame; even to the Doctor’s distinguished coadjutors of modern times, and of whose learned and laborious researches, he has diligently availed himself, in his polemick correspondence with i. r. Miller. For in his Letters we recognize the names of numerous Bishops, and of higher dignitaries, as well as of eminent laymen, no less zealous than ecclesiasticks, in the cause of modern Episcopacy. Nor should this be deemed surprising, when it is recollected that Kings and Queens are the avowed patrons of this hierarchy. From among the names above alluded to, we select the following, viz. Whitgift, Bancroft, Hall, Usher, Leighton, Pearson, Tillotson, Sage, Dodwell, Burnet, Bingham, Wake, Potter, Chandler, Slater, Hobart, Hoadly, White. And to these, others also highly respectable might be added. During two centuries, these zealous advocates for modern Episcopacy have patiently examined in succession the remaining works and archives of Christian antiquity, for information on the objects of their pursuit. And their high attainments in necessary literature, in conjunction with their easy access to competent libraries, facilitated their united and vigilant researches. Their gleanings thus acquired from the recognized usages of antiquity, so far as deemed favourable to modern Episcopacy, were poured with profuse hands into the treasury of the churches of their own persuasion, thereby, if possible, to establish Episcopal *predominancy*. But although by

these means, thus furnished with all these stores of evidence, and of arguments, what has Dr. Bowden accomplished in this controversy? He endeavoured to constitute Bishops into apostles, but has been unable to effect it, as the *second Section* of this Review demonstrates. He denied the popular election of Presbyters and Bishops; but the *third Section disproves* the truth and correctness of these *denials*. He attempted to transform Timothy and Titus, from being Evangelists, into Bishops, but was unable, as the *fourth Section* amply proves: and as already particularly noticed, he has without adequate means to effect his purpose, rashly undertaken to vindicate the *re-ordination* of presbyters, or the modern Episcopal system of a *threefold* ordination. For surely, a practice on which the whole *exclusive* claims of Episcopalians altogether depend, for support, requires evidence no less powerful and explicit, than that, which justifies the substitution of the *first* day of the week, for the *seventh*, as the hallowed day for *rest*, and for the solemnities of public worship. For these exclusive claims amount to no less, than an absolute unchurching of all denominations, whose ministerial administrations are not derived from the imposition of the hands of *re-ordained* Presbyters. And therefore, the very existence of the Christian church, according to these principles, has depended in every age and place, and must continue so to depend, on these *re-ordinations*. The substitution by Christians of the *first* day for the *seventh* day of the week, as holy time, was surely not more important to the interests of religion and of mankind, than the *existence* of the *visible* church is; and yet the former required explicit intimations and apostolick injunction and example, contained in the New Testament; corroborated by the uniform practice of immediate and succeeding ages, to render it obligatory on Christian posterity: But, without one solitary *text* from scripture, or, the testimony of a single apostolick father of the first or second century, or of any well authenticated example of such re-ordination, previous to the *invention* of the apostolick canons; the Doctor has attempted to impose on all Dissenters, under the penalty of excommunication, the *belief* in and *submission* to his asserted authority of such re-ordinations.

But an important and interesting question here presents itself to view, viz. If Dr. B. was in this manner destitute of all competent means of evidence, to sustain by fair argument, this Episcopal system of re-ordinations, on what foundation did he attempt to erect it? The direct answer to this fair question, is found thus, in the Doct. r's own words, in the 145th page of his third volume, viz. "With respect to the first age, I flatter myself that I have sufficiently proved, that *ordination* was confined to the apostles, and to that order who took their place, such as Timothy and Titus, and that there is no instance in the scriptures, of Presbyters ordaining. And with respect to the second century, there is not a single instance on record among the orthodox, of any ordination at all; so that a fanatick might with truth say, neither of us can prove that the rite of ordination was in use in the second century. But the answer is easy. It can be proved that ordination was in use in the first century, and in the third; there cannot, therefore, be any reason to doubt that it was in use in the second. If, then, it was confined by St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, it would, of course, be confined to that order of men in the second century, as we know in *fact* it was, in the third, and subsequent centuries." But to what does all this amount? To just nothing, as respects the point in question. For, as respects the apostles, it has been proved, that their order became wholly extinct at their death. And as to Timothy and Titus being of an order which succeeded the apostles, and which was perpetuated through the second, third and succeeding centuries, it is utterly incorrect, for it has been amply proved that their order was that of *Evangelists* of the *highest rank*, and *not* that of Bishops; and likewise, that they were the apostles' *contemporaries*, and *not* their successors, and that like the former, their high office of Evangelists expired with themselves, and consequently was not perpetuated through succeeding centuries. This method of proof adopted by the Doctor was vague and indirect, and at best but a rope of sand, which could not adhere together. And as to his more direct attempt here, to prove re-ordination, it is as utterly inconclusive as the former was. He says, "It can be proved that ordination was in use in the first cen-

tury, and in the third; there cannot therefore be any reason to doubt that it was in use in the second." But what has all this to do with re-ordinations? If he who should call in question, "the use of the rite of ordination in the second century," might be deemed (as the Doctor expresses it) a *fanatick*; how should the person be considered, who should confound the *simple ordinations* of the first and second centuries, with the *compound re-ordination* of the third and succeeding centuries? But although unable to recognize even a single *re-ordination* in the first age, or ordination of any kind, as recorded by the *orthodox* in the second; yet, in the third, *re-ordinations* started up into frequent and common use: For the Doctor thus proceeds, in reference to the customs of the Cyprianick age, or middle of the third century, viz. "When a see was *canonically* vacant, an election was made, differently indeed as to the mode, in different churches. The Bishops of the province, at least a number of them, met for the purpose of ordaining the Bishop elect. His *orders* as a *Presbyter* were not sufficient; he received a *new* ordination. Thus Cyprian was first a *Presbyter*, and afterwards ordained Bishop of Carthage. Thus Cyprian tells us that Cornelius had advanced gradually through all the inferior stations, and consequently had been a *Presbyter* before he was a Bishop. Yet we find when he was promoted to the see of Rome, he was ordained by *sixteen* Bishops. Thus we find also in the promotion of Sabinus to the Bishoprick from which Basilides had fallen, that he was ordained by the imposition of the hands of the Bishops present. Thus Fortunatus, Achimnius, Optatus, Privatianus, Donatulus and Felix, six Bishops, ordained a Bishop at Capsis. Nay, says Sage, this necessity of a *new* ordination for raising one to the Episcopal power, was *so notorious then*, that the schysmaticks believed it indispensable; and therefore Novatianus, though formerly a *Presbyter*, when he contended with Cornelius for the chair of Rome, that he might have had the shew at least of a *canonical* ordination, got three inconsiderate Bishops to come to the city, and then forced them to give him the Episcopal mission." (Vol. i, p. 96, 97.) Here it is expedient to advert to the phrase *canonical ordination*, as used in the above

quotation. The literal signification of the term *canon* is *rule*. Its ecclesiastical import is, a *rule* for the government of the church. The term *apostolical* was usually added, to increase its importance and authority. The first canon respected the re-ordination of a **Presbyter**, to constitute him a **Bishop**. It reads thus: "Let a **Bishop** be consecrated by two or three **Bishops**." But there were several such canons relating to different regulations of ecclesiastical concerns. As to their origin and history, we thus learn it from the Doctor himself: "They are the decrees of synods, in the second and third centuries, published at the lowest in the third century, and collected at different times by different persons. The year 280, fixed by Blondel, is too late; but even then, they will bear complete testimony to the practice of the church in the third century." Giving here then to the Doctor all the latitude he claimed as to these canons, what a *wretched* condition in respect to authority and antiquity, are the re-ordinations of **Presbyters** brought to! They originate not from the apostles themselves, but, from *rules* or *canons* importing by their title, to have been enacted by the apostles, who never saw or heard of one of them. Their real authors are supposed to have been **Bishops**, assembled in synods, but nobody can tell by whom, or where, or when, they were enacted; nor can any person tell by whom collected, or exactly, when first made publick, unless some time in the third century, and not quite so late, perhaps, as the year 280. But however that may have been, certain it is, that about the year 244, Cyprian of Carthage submitted to a *canonical re-ordination*, and at Rome Cornelius, the second re-ordained **Presbyter** on certain record, obtained an overrunning canonical ordination; for not two or three **Bishops** only, aided in the administration, but *sixteen*. And at Capsis, another *Presbyter* received a double portion of canonical benediction, for *six* **Bishops** performed the canonical ceremony of consecration. But on such authority as this, no persons, if in their sober senses, would regard the claims of the first day of the week, to be kept as holy time. Assuredly, were it but once ascertained, that the decree ordaining such observance, was not by Christ himself, nor by his apostles, as directed by him, but, by some

unknown Bishops, in some unknown synod, and likewise unknown in respect to time and place, and this observance so enjoined, not certainly known to have taken place in the churches, until in the third century; such a discovery as this, would without long delay, compel all true Christians to abandon the observance of the *first*, for that of the *seventh day*. And shall such an assumed and *impotent* authority, as that which gave obscure birth to the *misnamed* apostolical canons, unchurch all Christian denominations who refuse homage to such unauthorized mandates? It matters not, that Cyprian, Cornelius, or a thousand others, may have paid obeisance to innovators, or have bowed at the shrine of usurpers. The example of the multitude gliding softly with the current of opinions and practices, had then become popular through the artifices of the great, and the ignorance of the little, although it may have continued through many ages, is no more a justification for *wrong* and *errour*, than when it first commenced. Re-ordinations of Presbyters were *wrong* in the third century, alike *wrong* in succeeding centuries, and are still so wherever practised: and for this short and plain reason, because they were never authorized either by Christ or by his apostles. And in this light it was, that they were viewed in the sixteenth century, when by *millions* wisely rejected at the reformation. That the re-ordinations of Presbyters were unpracticed during the second century, is virtually taught by even Bowden himself, where he asserts that, “There is not in the second century, a *single instance on record among the orthodox*, of any ordination at all.” (Vol. 3, p. 145.) For had there been re-ordinations of this description, it would have been next to impossible, not to have recorded them anywhere among the *orthodox*. And if there were any such records among the schismaticks of that age, the Doctor very justly treated them with contempt, by disregarding them. Had there been canonical re-ordinations during any part of the second century, would Bishop Sage, in his vigilant researches after them, have been put to the mortifying necessity of stopping short at the Cyprianick age? For, beyond that period, a portentous silence existed amid the churches, writings and records of the *orthodox*. Not even a lisp or whisper

is to be heard, of apostolick canons, of the whole or greater part of the Bishops of a province repairing to sees canonically vacant. No mention anywhere is made of three, six or sixteen Bishops re-ordaining a Presbyter. What! were they all “Nag’s head re-ordinations, performed in private rooms, and robbing their friends of their boasting?” as the Doctor has *tauntingly* expressed himself. (Vol. 2. p. 76.) But although a syllable could not be found in the two first centuries, to afford the slightest warrant for this practice, yet, says Sage, “the necessity of a *new* ordination, for raising one to the Episcopal power, was *so notorious then* (in the third century) that the schismaticks believed it indispensable.” Certainly this amounts to an humble confession made by even Sage himself, that this practice of *new* ordinations was but of recent date in the Cyprianick age; for had it been derived from the apostles, and been the accustomed usage of the churches during the second century, it would have been both *notorious* and *popular* a century before either Cyprian or Cornelius, or their cotemporaries, were born. And yet, Sage appears to exult, because such *new* ordinations were thus *notorious* and *popular* after the middle of the third century. But the Doctor, who sometimes excelled in producing arguments irrelevant to the point intended, observes, that “Ignatius, according to the ancients, was ordained by St. Peter, Bishop of Antioch.” Although the expression *ancients* here used, is too vague to be deserving of any just authority, yet, admitting what they are said to have asserted, to be strictly true, still nothing to the purpose is proved thereby; because, *ordination* by St. Peter, was *not re-ordination* by that apostle. And precisely to the same abortive effect, is what he thus says in his third volume, of Polycarp: “We are assured by Ireneus, who was Polycarp’s disciple, that he (Polycarp) was ordained Bishop of Smyrna by the apostle John. Eusebius also bears testimony to this fact.” (p. 277, 278) Much more, thus vague and inconclusive, abounds in various parts of the Doctor’s three volumes, which is generally undeserving of more particular notice. But the following observations, copied by the Doctor from *Slater’s Original Drought*, deserve attention: “According to Tertullian, St. John placed Pol-

ycarp in the church of Smyrna, and St. Peter ordained Clemmens in the church of Rome; and Tertullian adds, that the rest of the churches could prove their Bishops to be derived from the apostles, in the same manner: and calls these Episcopal sees the *apostles' chairs*; as Ireneus also tells us that the apostles delivered the church to these single Bishops, and their *locus magisterii*, or *place of government* with them." (Vol. 3, p. 97.) And to all this, Ireneus still adds, "The apostolick *tradition* is present in every church. We can enumerate those who were *constituted* Bishops by the apostles in the churches, and their successors even to us. By showing the *tradition* and *declared faith* of the *greatest* and *most ancient church of Rome*, which she received from the apostles, and which is come to us, through the *succession*." (Vol. 1, p. 162, 163.) Although in the *second Section* it has been clearly proved, that the *office* of the apostles, in respect to their exclusive powers, and which were many and diversified, expired with themselves; and in the *third*, that the *office* of Timothy and Titus as Evangelists, and as sons in the gospel with the apostles, also terminated with the apostolick age; yet it has nowhere in this Review been either denied or intimated, that special powers to *lead* in ordinations, were not transmitted to the angels or pastors of the churches; but, on the contrary, such transmission of power was insinuated in the Introduction. And it is now, here, expressly admitted, and designed to be maintained, as an indubitable fact, that *one* pastor, angel or Bishop, in each church, had a special power of superintendence over it, and of taking the lead with the other Presbyters therein, in the ordination of other Presbyters and Deacons, when required by the church. And herein is evidence of no inconsiderable harmony, between these views of *pastoral* authority, and those above expressed by Slater, in these his appeals to the testimonies of Tertullian and Ireneus. And with these views and principles, even Presbyterians harmonize so far as to say, "The *Bishops* of our church are the successors of the apostles, and succeed to as much of their *authority* or *mastership* as was intended to be perpetuated in the church." (Miller's second series, p. 175.)

But notwithstanding this visible accordance between Episcopals on the one hand, and, of Presbyterians and Congregationalists on the other; still, on a point vitally important in this controversy, opinions exist, as wide apart, as any two cardinal points in the heavens are from each other. And this *point* is this *asserted* and *denied* legitimacy, of the *re-ordination* of *Presbyters*. But to what does all that Tertullian and Ireneus have above testified, amount? On the *point* of re-ordination it amounts to just nothing. For it avails nothing to say, that Ignatius, or Clemens, or Polycarp, were ordained by apostles, when no mention whatever is made, that they were previously Presbyters and that their ordinations were re-ordinations. Of Polycarp it is said by Gambold, an Episcopal writer, that “as taken from authentick accounts, he received his Christianity from Buculos, Bishop of Smyrna, by whom he was made Deacon and catechist of that church; and having discharged those offices with universal approbation, he was, after the decease of Buculos, made Bishop by St. John, whose disciple he had been with Ignatius.” That Polycarp, a Deacon, when elected by the church to the place of Buculos, should be ordained, was unavoidable, because none but *elected* Presbyters were qualified as *ecclesiastical* Bishops; *election* by the church being the *ecclesiastical* act, which constituted a Presbyter a *Bishop* of that description, as will hereafter, be made more fully to appear. The election of Polycarp to the office of an ecclesiastical Bishop, was by no means a singular instance; for Eleutherius, a native of Nicopolis, but a Deacon in the church of Rome, was likewise so elected, A. D. 170, or as some say, in 176. And even Fabianus, a layman, was in like manner elected at Rome, in 236. Nor is it at all improbable, that similar elections occasionally took place in those early times, in other churches besides those of Smyrna and Rome; consequently, in all such cases, ordination after election was indispensable, because as *Deacons* or *laicks*, they were destitute of the true *clerical* or sacerdotal character. And it is an important *fact*, which should neither be forgotten nor overlooked, that the first *re-ordination* at Rome, upon *certain record*, was that of Cornelius, the *twentieth* Bishop of that church, and the immediate suc-

cessor of Fabianus, *the lay pastor elect*. And to this fact, another nearly allied, no less certain, and equally important, should be added, viz. the re-ordination of Cyprian at Carthage, about seven years before that of Cornelius, and during the life of Fabianus, above mentioned; and which re-ordination, according to Lord King, was probably the first of that kind, on indubitable record, in any church, until that late period. It is true, however, that Dr. B. in vol. 3, p. 27, asserts, that “Sabinus a Presbyter” was thus ordained: But this, *if true*, must have been towards the latter part of the second century, after the fall of Basilides. And that it was otherwise, we again learn from the Doctor, in the 145th page, where he thus observes: “With respect to the second century, there is not a *single* instance on record among the orthodox, of any ordination at all.” If then he obtained information concerning Sabinus, that he was a Presbyter and re-ordained, only from vague report, or from his own imagination, or yet from the records of schismatics, it is, in either case, destitute of all weight in this controversy. And even if it were to be found on records as credible as those of Carthage and Rome, it would only go to show, that the leaven of the apostolick canons had already begun to ferment in the minds of those Bishops, who first devised the plan of *canonical* ordinations, for the purpose of unduly exalting themselves above the other Presbyters. And when we take into view, the tendency of the occasional ordinations of Deacons, after election, to suggest the idea of ordaining *anew* Presbyters also, and find the *new* ordinations of Cyprian and Cornelius so nearly connected in respect to time, with that of Fabianus, it becomes highly probable, that the first hint of re-ordaining Presbyters, was derived from the ordinations of Deacons, and of *laicks elect*. And what still adds to this probability, is, the eagerness discovered among the Pastors of those times, to assume to themselves the honours of the High Priesthood among the Jews, while they endeavoured to pacify the Presbyters with the title of Priests, and the Deacons with the place of the Levites. For, it appears from this circumstance, that aggrandizement in office had, even at that period, obtained a seductive influence over the minds of the chief rulers in the churches.—

That the successors of the apostles to the chief oversight of the churches, were neither apostles nor Evangelists, nor re-ordained Presbyters, but merely Presbyters, *elect*ed by each church for that express purpose, will appear still more clearly and indubitably evident, if we duly attend to Ireneus, who exhorts thus: "Obey those *Presbyters* in the church, who have the *succession*, as we have shown from the apostles." And which, as heretofore noticed, he had thus shown: "The apostolick *tradition* is present in every church. We can enumerate those who were constituted Bishops by the apostles in the churches, and their *successors even to us*, who taught no such thing, by showing the tradition and declared faith of the greatest and most ancient church of Rome, which she received from the apostles, and which is come to us *through the succession*."

Here express mention is made of an apostolick tradition, but whether *oral* or written, is not intimated; probably the apostles never committed it to writing, for if they had, it could not have been called tradition. And whether any of the churches ever recorded it, is not here, either asserted or denied: most probably they acted on it without recording it. It cannot be doubted but it referred to the government of the churches, and in the connexion here used, it is reasonable to suppose it referred particularly to the constituting a *succession* of Bishops as pastors or chief rulers in the churches. Indeed all this is so probable, that it will not be denied by any. But still it remains to be decided how Ireneus meant, that these chief rulers were to be apostolically constituted *through the succession*. In explanation of this particular, he directs us to the practice, as he calls it, of "the great and most ancient church of Rome." For by the "declared faith of that church," he appears to intend, that their faith in the apostolick tradition, is declared by their practice in constituting Bishops. But where or how are we to learn what the practice of that church was, from the time of the apostles down to the time of Ireneus? He had, no doubt, access to records which to us are inaccessible; yet this circumstance should by no means deter us from making all due enquiry, and especially as it appears that Ireneus has himself given a

list of at least four of this succession, expressly named by Dr. Miller, in his second Series, page 174. But there were at least twelve in this succession, including Linus as the first, and Eleutherius as the last, he being cotemporary with Ireneus. Dr. Miller indeed objects to the correctness of the list given by the fore-mentioned father, as differin; from that given by Tertullian and others; but these differences will in no wise affect the point in debate, or the certainty of an actual succession, as meant by Ireneus. The succession, as thus maintained by the latter, appears to be adopted by Archibald Bower, in his History of the Bishops of Rome; while the succession at Rome, as given by Tertullian, seems to have been adopted by Robert Adam, in his Religious World Displayed. It may be proper to give both in this place. The former order of succession stands thus, viz. Linus, Cletus or Anacletus, Clement, Evaristes, Alexander, Sextus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and Eliuthirus—A. D. 176. Of this order of succession Calmet appears to *approve*. But the second order above mentioned is after this manner, viz. St. Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Evarastes, Alexander, Sextus, Telesphorus, &c. after the same manner as the foregoing, to Eleutherius—A. D. 177. In these two historical orders of succession, the difference, as to date, is but one year; and in respect to persons, St. Peter is included in the latter, but excluded from the former; while also, in Bower, Cletus and Anacletus constitute but one person—although Adam considers them as being two different Bishops of the church of Rome. But in this controversy it signifies nothing which of these orders of succession is preferred to the other, as the point here to be ascertained is not which Bishop preceded or succeeded the other—but in what manner was each constituted a Bishop in that church; because the mode of such constitution, whether by a popular election alone, or by a re-ordination, was, according to Ireneus, the declared faith of that church, in the apostolick tradition to which that father had appealed. And this appeal may well be considered not merely important in the decision of this much contested and deeply interesting question, but likewise as providential, and that for two reasons; first, because no other church ap-

appears to have been so careful in preserving a correct record of their Bishops in succession, as the church of Rome; and secondly, because from that church all the Bishops in modern times of the Latin churches in Europe and elsewhere, and more especially in England and in America, profess to have derived their Episcopacy, and of course, their ordinations. In respect to this succession, as recorded by Bower, although in a variety of instances he distinctly dates it from election or appointment, yet he *never once* explicitly dates it from consecration or re-ordination. And, as heretofore mentioned, Cornelius, the *twentieth* Bishop of this succession, was the *first* elected Presbyter whom he mentions as having been *re-ordained*. But how came Bower to be thus remiss in not distinctly recording the re-ordinations of the first nineteen Bishops? Was he a Dissenter, and opposed to re-ordinations? No; he was a rigid Episcopalian, and believed in re-ordinations as firmly as any man. Why then was he not as particular to record *new* ordinations of Presbyters, as to record their elections to office? The only good reason that can be given for this is, that he was an honest man and a faithful historian. He wrote from books and records. Had he found credible ancient records of re-ordinations previous to the Cyprianick age, he would *not* have failed to have recorded them. But as he found authentic and correct accounts and dates of the “declared faith of that church,” in the *election* of their Bishops to the apostolick succession, he therefore acquitted himself with honour, by making a faithful record of what he had truly found. Nor will an appeal to R. Adam, who was as staunch an Episcopalian as Bower himself, change this state of the question, as respects a *new* ordination of Presbyters; for, although he records by date 252 *elections* of Bishops in *succession* at Rome, he never, even in a single instance, records a *re-ordination*, in any case whatever: but uniformly, throughout the whole succession, dates the Episcopacy of each from his *election*. With this concatenation of evidence thus adduced, and fully in view, it is unnecessary to resort to further proofs that the apostolick tradition directing the churches how duly to constitute Bishops ecclesiastically such, was *not* by a *new* ordination, but simply by a *popular election*; yet, as corrob-

rating these well established facts, it will not be improper here to introduce a concise quotation or two from Jerome's well known comment on Titus i. 9, and from his epistle to Evagrius. In the former he thus writes: "Before there were, by the instigation of the devil, parties in religion, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*, the churches were governed by the common council of Presbyters. But afterwards, when every one thought that those whom he baptized were rather *his* than *Christ's*, it was determined through the whole world, that one of the Presbyters should be set above the rest, to whom all care of the church should belong, that the seeds of schism might be taken away." "As, therefore, the *Presbyters* know, that *by the custom of the church*, they are subject to him who is their *President*, so let *Bishops* know, that they are above *Presbyters* more by *the custom of the church*, than by *any real appointment of Christ*." In the epistle to Evagrius, he observes thus: "As to the fact, that afterwards one was *elected* to preside over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism; lest every one drawing his proselytes to himself, should rend the church of Christ." Although Jerome did not flourish until after the middle of the fourth century, yet, such was the well known extent of his reading and knowledge, and the integrity of his character and zealous attachment to truth, as well as his efforts to promote the purity and good order of the church in his time, that his testimony and opinions concerning the condition and usages of the churches from the time of the apostles, should not be deemed unworthy of respectful attention. And certainly so far as *weight* duly attaches to Jerome's authority in these quotations, its preponderance evidently falls into the scales of the preceding exposition of Jerome's testimony concerning the apostolick tradition, which was declared by the church of Rome, when it constituted Bishops by *election*, and *not* by a *new* ordination, of the Presbyters thus made Bishops. For it is only in this view of Episcopacy, as constituted *not* by a *new* ordination, but by *election*, that he was consistent, in asserting to Evagrius, "As a *fact*, that one (Presbyter) was *elected*, to preside over the rest, as a remedy against schism. And

had he not considered this constitution of Bishops to have been founded only on a *traditional* ecclesiastical election, and *not* on a *divinely instituted* re-ordination, he never could consistently have appealed in so publick a manner, to the certain knowledge of the Presbyters, and through them to the Bishops of that age, as he has thus done: “As therefore the Presbyters *know*, that by the *custom of the church*, they are subject to him who is their *President*, so let *Bishops* know that they are *above Presbyters*, more by the *custom of the church*, than by any real *appointment of Christ*.” And of such importance in the estimation of the celebrated Hooker, were these observations of Jerome, as to extort from him the following comment, viz. “On the other side, albeit Bishops may avouch, with conformity to truth, that their authority had descended from the very apostles themselves: yet the absolute and everlasting continuance of it, they *cannot say* that any commandment of the Lord doth enjoin; and therefore must acknowledge that the church hath power by universal consent, upon urgent cause to take it away.” (Ecc. Polity, p. 350.)

Condensing here into one view, these corroborating testimonies of Ireneus and Jerome, concerning the election of Presbyters by the churches, as successors to the apostles, combined with Hooker’s candid comments on the latter, and adding the whole to the preceding embodied evidence to the same purpose, and contained in the former part of this *Section*; all that can fairly be demanded in respect to successors to the apostles by Episcopalians, on the one hand, or, that consistently, can by *Dissenters*, be granted on the other hand, is simply this, viz. That by a *tradition* present in all the churches in the time of Ireneus (that is, in the latter part of the second century) the apostles before their decease had *advised* the churches to *elect* a Presbyter in each, who should preside over the other Presbyters, and over the whole assembly, for the healing and *prevention of schisms*. But, that no express command to this purpose, either by Christ himself, or by his apostles, is any where to be found upon *credible* or *authentick record*.

But, before we proceed to the discussions of another *Section*, it will be both convenient and in point, to notice

in this place, an objection made by Dr. B. to Dr. M. viz. "If a Presbyter be not a Bishop till he receive a call from a congregation, and take the charge of it, then he is a Bishop in virtue of a call, and not in virtue of a divine commission. Consequently, a Presbyterian Bishop is the mere creature of the people, and not a Bishop empowered to feed and govern a flock by authority from the great Head of the church. If this, Sir, be the extent of your claim, as it certainly must be, if consistency be preserved, we shall not be disposed to think you can depress yourself much lower." (Vol. 3, p. 323.)

According to this method of reasoning, the first *nineteen* Bishops of Rome, and all the other ecclesiastical Bishops previous to the Cyprianick age, were but the *mere creatures* of the people, and *nearly* as much *depressed* as Dr. Miller's Presbyterian Bishops, for they were all but mere Presbyters, elected into Episcopal office by their respective flocks. Nor were they able to extricate themselves from this condition of dependence, until such time as canonical re-ordinations came opportunely to their relief; for by means of this ingeniously devised ceremony, they soon arose from being only the restricted and limited overseers, to become the actual lords and masters of the churches. And by this happy expedient of a *re-ordination*, the people became impressed with imaginary ideas, of higher sacerdotal character being imparted to the Bishops, than had been by their first ordination, when constituted such Bishops as those were, whom Timothy and Titus ordained, and as mentioned in the New Testament. And to this was afterwards added the successful stratagem of wresting in most places the power of *election* from the hands of the Presbyters and people, and of transferring it into the hands of the Bishops, when assembled for the performance of the *canonical ceremony* of a *new* ordination.

By these, and by such like means it was, that the churches became at length the degraded vassals of a corrupt and domineering prelacy; for provincial synods first forged their chains, which afterwards were *riveted* by general councils, authorized by edicts from *imperial thrones*

In the Section next succeeding, it is designed to advert

particularly to sundry extravagant assertions, concerning Episcopacy, made by Dr. B. and by another Episcopal writer. Also to advert to the Doctor's indecorous attacks on the Reformers, on Presbyterians, and on the Methodists.



SECTION VI.

In the Doctor's fifteenth Letter, he thus observes : "It appears from history, that every church upon earth, before the *reformation*, were Episcopal, and that there were no disputes about ecclesiastical regimen before that period. It must therefore strike *every reflecting mind* as a most wonderful thing, that for 1500 years there should have been no diversity of opinion upon the subject of Episcopacy." Surely it is no very flattering encomium on Episcopacy, that under one form or other of its government, *all* that mass of corruption accumulated, which disfigured, debased and overwhelmed the churches of the *East* and of the *West*, so as to have subjected the former to the ignominious yoke of Mahometan bondage, and the latter, to all the miseries resulting from Papal errors, persecutions, and abominations, of manifold names and descriptions.

Although *no* distinctly marked systems of Episcopacy existed in the Christian church previously to the reformation, yet both together did not occupy 1500 years. Nor had even the church itself then existed so long, nor did John the Baptist commence his ministry 1500 years before Luther commenced the arduous enterprise of reforming a debased and corrupted Episcopacy.

The Christian church commenced on the day of Pentecost, A. D. 33, and from that period, during the lives of the apostles and evangelists, it was principally governed by these extraordinary and itinerant ministers of Christ. But after their decease, during a period of about one hundred and fifty years, each church elected one Presbyter, and subjected itself to his special oversight as Bishop, ruling over them in concert with the other Presbyters, according to the laws and rules of the gospel, as

prescribed in the New Testament. This was the first and genuine form of ecclesiastical Episcopacy, which existed previously to the third century in the Christian church. The second form of Episcopacy, as heretofore specially noticed, was that which originated from the apostolick canons. It appears to have obtained celebrity in the Cyprianick age, and by generally *subverting* lawful popular elections, and substituting therefor *unauthorized re-ordinations*, at length terminated its career of subversion and innovation, in an inundation of corruption, which deluged the churches under the hierarchy of *Arch-Deacons, Arch-Bishops, Patriarchs, Cardinals* and *Popes*. With these incontrovertible facts full in view, how surprising beyond all measure is it, that Dr. Bowden should so incautiously have asserted, that during "1500 years there was no diversity of opinion on the subject of Episcopacy" But leaving this *actual* diversity, both in opinion and practice, on the subject of Episcopacy, which during many centuries proved so injurious to the best interests of the church, previous to the reformation; we will now attend the doctor, while expressing both regret and gratification, at events resulting from the reformation; for in vol. 2. p. 69, he thus remarks: "The few deviations from Episcopal regimen, which *unhappily* occurred at the reformation, are but as the dust upon the balance; and if we must count numbers, this mode of trial, as well as every other, is decidedly in our favour." This exulting appeal to numbers, as a substitute for argument, is worse than none; for on this principle, the heathens can, in respect to religion, triumph over all others, the Mohommedans over the Roman Catholics, and these latter over all Protestants, of whatever name. And yet, weak and deceptive as this appeal to *numbers*, and their *increase*, is, another distinguished Episcopalian besides the Doctor, seems to repose some confidence therein, for Bishop Brownell, in his *charge* to the Episcopal clergy in Connecticut, in June, 1821, after impressing on them the "duty on all proper occasions, to hold up to view the *distinctive principles* of their church," he then added, "It is by these means that the Episcopal church in Connecticut has acquired her growth. A century ago, she numbered not

more than eighty families within this State. She can now count as many regularly organized congregations." Nor can it be uninteresting to the reader to attend to this eloquent Bishop, while gently rebuking a remnant of puritanical apathy to the *Liturgy*, still but too visible among both the clergy and people of his churches. "The fault which we thus deprecate, is not occasioned by any inherent defect in the *Liturgy*. In part, it may have been inherited from our *Puritanick* ancestors: who, in their zeal for reformation, were disposed to recede as far as possible from the church of Rome, and accounting as mere formality, that appearance of *deep* devotion which characterized her worship, were led to undervalue this most essential part of divine service." But returning to the Doctor's assertion, that "nine tenths of the Christian world are Episcopalians," in it, we discover a manifest identification of Protestant Episcopal churches with the church of Rome, as sister churches. And this taken in combination with his expressed regret, at the deviations from Episcopacy at the reformation, proclaim the Doctor to have been as true a son of Episcopacy in any form, as that woman proved herself to be the true mother of the disputed child, which rather than to have it *divided* by the sword of Solomon, she was willing to abandon *whole* to her rival. And from hence, without breach of charity, we may well conclude, that rather, than that Presbyterians, Independents, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, or any other Dissenters, should have originated from the reformation, he would have preferred that all who composed these sects, had continued to be *Roman Catholics*, for then the whole *ten parts* of the Christian world would have continued Episcopalians. Nor is it in the slightest degree unlikely that Bishop Brownell is *qually liberal* with the Doctor, in his sentiments towards the Roman Catholics, and *equally illiberal* towards Dissenters of all denominations; for, in addition to his expressed disapprobation, already noticed, of the conduct of the *Puritans*, in their rejection of the *papal Liturgy*, he thus further addresses his clergy: "With regard to our union with other religious denominations, we may cordially associate and co-operate with them in all secular affairs: in all humane, literary and charitable

objects : nor should differences of faith create any difficulties in the way of social intercourse and good neighbourhood : but in objects *purely religious*, we can form *no union* with other denominations with which we are surrounded, without either abandoning important principles, or incurring the imputation of sectarian bigotry." "Nor let us think that we are violating any principle of Christian charity, when we freely avow and firmly maintain our *distinctive* principles. The first and most essential of these *distinctive* principles, is, *that there were instituted in the church, by Christ and the apostles, three distinctive grades of Ministers*, with the distinctive power of ordination in the first grade ; that the ministry thus constituted, has been continued, by succession, to the present day ; and that no man or body of men possesses the right, to alter what was thus established. With regard to this principle, there can be no compromise. It must be inscribed on the banners under which you are enrolled, and maintained by an appeal to those passages of scripture, and a reference to those historical authorities by which it is so fully established." (p. 20, 21.)

In the preceding Sections, *those passages of scripture, and historical authorities*, thus referred to by the Bishop, have been fairly discussed, and found to afford no just support for these distinctive principles ; but, on the contrary, so far as these principles involve a *threefold ordination*, as constituting *three distinctive grades of Ministers*, these discussions furnish conclusive evidence, that such ordinations are wholly destitute of all divine and apostolical authority.

But to return to the controversy as conducted between Drs. Miller and Bowden, it is to be regretted that crimination and recrimination obtained an unpleasant admission therein ; but justice demands the assertion, that if the former erred in this respect a little, the latter repaid him therefor seven fold. As it is not designed in this Review, to widen the breach between brethren, or, by stirring up the angry passions, to provoke Dissenters and Episcopalians to hate each other, many things in this controversy will be passed over in silence, which otherwise, might have required particular notice. But not-

withstanding this forbearance, where it may be requisite to refute calumny, whether against distinguished individuals, such as Luther and Calvin, and others, who are therein unjustly stigmatized, and against religion and morality themselves, as in the cases of Gruet and Perinus; and also, against whole communities of pious and exemplary Christians, whose ordinations and gospel administrations are unjustly traduced. But all this will be attempted without railings, or unjust aspersions against any who think or act otherwise. We will therefore begin here with Luther. Against this great reformer and his colleague, Carolostadius, the Doctor thus exclaims: "Were Luther and Carolostadius Bishops? It is well known they were not. Yet they could quarrel, and disgrace the reformation by their incessant jarring. The latter was at last banished by the Elector of Saxony, at the instigation of Luther. Bishops had nothing to do with these contentions, which were enough to make a *Christian weep.*" (Vol. 2, p. 245.)

Upon the credit of Maclaine, the translator of Moshem, we are warranted to consider this angry attempt to fix a lasting stain on the memory of those distinguished reformers, as greatly *exaggerated*, for he thus asserts, in a *note*, vol. 4, p. 307: "Carolostadt, after his banishment from Saxony, composed a treatise against enthusiasm in general: this treatise was addressed to Luther, who was so affected by it, that repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given to Carolostadt, he pleaded his cause, and obtained from the Elector, permission for him to return into Saxony."

But Dr. B. still smarting under a few severe stripes inflicted by the rod of Dr. M. in reference to *Episcopal heresy, contention and schism,*" turns hastily from Luther, and attacks Calvin with much greater violence and acrimony, involving at the same time, Presbyterianism, in all the consequences of this intemperate attack: "A violent contest took place between Calvin and the Senate, about the election of a Minister. It produced almost sedition. Calvin's quarrels with Perinus proceeded to such a length, that the Council became furious against one another. And what do you think was the cause of it? Why, Perinus thought it was no harm to

recreate himself now and then with dancing. But Calvin, although no Bishop, played the *tyrant*, and forbade that amusement, upon pain of excommunication. Perinus was not to be treated in that manner. He opposed such *tyranny*; and two of the Ministers, who joined with him, were turned out of their living. The contention became general throughout the city, and the common council, taking different sides, almost cut one another's throats. Many more instances of tumults might be adduced, as proofs of the *gentleness of parity*. One person was put to death for libelling Calvin. Another was banished the city for preaching against predestination. Servetus burned for heresy. So much for the mother church of Presbytery." (Vol. 2, p. 246.) That the great character of Calvin was obscured by some faults and weaknesses, cannot be denied by even his greatest admirers; but the age in which he lived, and the circumstances of difficulty in which he was placed, palliate in some degree, *things*, which otherwise would seriously have militated, both against his wisdom, and his Christian deportment. But this invective by Bowden, is impotent in more respects than one. It is so in "commending, whom it was meant to slander." For in these States it is said, there are *nine* Bishops, *two hundred* Presbyters, and *forty-eight* Deacons; in all, *two hundred and fifty-seven* Ministers. But among all these Ministers, is it possible, that *two* could be found, who, at the hazard of cutting throats, or, of having their own cut, would join a *cabal*, merely to defend the *recreation of dancing*? Or if two such unworthy Ministers could be found, is there a single Bishop of the *nine*, with his other clergy, who would not by an act of excommunication, expel such sycophantick triflers and schismaticks, from desks and pulpits for which they were so unfit! and from livings of which they were so truly undeserving? Alas! how very different was this truly laudable expulsion of two unworthy Ministers, by "Calvin and the mother church of Presbytery," from the expulsion of *two thousand* of the most worthy and best deserving Ministers in England, who in 1662, were in one day, EXPELLED from their pulpits and livings, by the *Royal* head and Bishops of another mother church, of known celebrity! But at Geneva,

“another was banished the city for preaching against predestination.” This doctrine was held in as high estimation in that city, as the *Liturgy* is among Episcopalians. A Minister of the latter denomination, preaching against the use of the *Liturgy*, would most assuredly be quickly expelled from the bosom of that community. But, “one person was put to death for *libelling* Calvin.” This affair is thus impartially related by Mosheim, in vol. 4. p. 417, 418. “This *cabal* was composed of a certain number of licentious citizens, who could not bear the severe discipline of Calvin, who punished with rigour, not only dissolute manners, but also whatever carried the aspect of irreligion and impiety. This irregular troop stood forth in defence of the licentiousness and dissipation that had reigned in their city *before* the reformation; pleaded for the continuance of those *brothels*, *baquetings*, and other entertainments of a *sensual* kind, and employed all the bitterness of reproach and invective, all the resources of fraud and violence, to accomplish their purposes. Of this *odious* class was Gruet, who attacked Calvin with the utmost animosity and fury, calling him *Bishop*, the *new Pope*, &c. This Gruet denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, the difference between moral good and evil, and rejected with disdain, the doctrines held the most sacred among Christians: for which impieties he was at last brought before the *civil* tribunals, in the year 1550, and was condemned to death.” But, “Calvin caused Servetus to be burned for *heresy*.” He did so in 1553, and in England, from 1555 to 1558 inclusive, more than one hundred and fifty persons, of both sexes, were *burned to death* for *heresy*, and yet, neither Calvin, nor Presbyterians, nor Dissenters of any other name, had any hand in this barbarous tragedy. And this Dr. Bowden ought to have recollected, when he regretted the departure from Episcopacy at the reformation. But from the preceding invectives against Presbyterians, and their founder Calvin, as persecutors, he elsewhere resorts to a denial of that reformer’s ordination: “Calvin himself was not ordained, if Beza, his friend and colleague, knew any thing about the matter: and yet, no doubt he ordained numbers. Is it probable, then, that the church of Gene-

va has a succession?" And in vol. 2, p. 42, 43, he asserts much more to the same effect, and which he closes in these words: "It is then pretty clear, that Calvin had no other pretensions to the ministerial character, than what was founded on the election of him by the magistrates and people of Geneva, to be their preacher and professor of divinity. And yet, no doubt, this *lay* professor of divinity ordained numbers; and thus a *spurious brood of Ministers*, even upon Presbyterian principles, was introduced into that church; and, consequently, there can be no probability of a clear, uninterrupted succession from that source." To these unfounded accusations, Dr. Miller replies in considerable length, and with such evidence and argument, as abundantly refute these slanders. But, to such as may not have read his second volume, the following concise extract may be at once both necessary and acceptable: "Doctor Bowden asserts, on the authority of Dr. Leaming, that Calvin was never ordained; and represents that gentleman as having derived his information from Beza. The Doctor has suffered himself to be led astray, by an ignorant and dishonest guide. Beza says no such thing. On the contrary, after informing us that Calvin had frequently preached, while he was yet a youth, in the communion of the church of Rome, and that he did this without having received any *Popish* orders; Beza proceeds to state, that he was set *apart* to the ministry, by the Presbytery of Geneva, in the month of August, in the year 1536." (Letter 7, p. 306.)

Nor is it against Calvin and Presbyterians only, that the Doctor inveighs with such intemperate zeal; his philippicks against the Methodists, and their ordinations, are no less violent and indecorous. Dr. Miller having observed, "That in order to swell the list of Episcopal churches as much as possible, the Methodist church was frequently represented as such:" Dr. B. among other things in reply, answers thus: "Sir, it is impossible that you should be ignorant that we consider the Methodist Episcopacy as good for nothing. It is impossible that you should be ignorant, that our Bishops re-ordain all that come over from them to us. If even one of their Bishops were to conform to our church, he must submit

to be ordained, first a Deacon, and then a Presbyter. How is it, then, Sir, that you can intimate, that we admit the Methodist Episcopacy? No, Sir, we not only consider them as non-Episcopal; but also as the *most wanton schismaticks* that have ever disgraced the Christian church. For they agree with us in all doctrinal points, they admit the validity of our Episcopal orders, and they have a Liturgy taken from ours, with no material alterations. They do not, I believe, often use it. Nor is it to be expected from a people so enthusiastick. Like the Pharisees of old, they *say*, and *do not*. They admit the propriety and expediency of a Liturgy, by establishing one, and they contradict and condemn themselves, by not using it." (Vol. 2, p. 73, 74.)

Had Mr. B. but calmly considered the duty of every man's taking the *beam* out of his own eye, before he attempted to take the *mote* out of his brother's eye, he probably would have dealt more gently with the Episcopal order and worship of his Methodist brethren: for a papal zealot, with much appearance of consistency, might, through the medium of the church of England, have thus replied to the Doctor, in reference to his own *asserted* form of Episcopacy: "You Episcopalians, of the church established by the laws of the realm of England, acknowledge us to be the mother church. You confess our ordinations to be valid, and their succession from the apostles to be without interruption. Your Liturgy you have taken principally from ours; and in your hierarchy of Deacons and Arch-Deacons, of Priests, Bishops and Arch-Bishops, as well as in your adoption of our sacerdotal vestments, you have conformed to us: while, at the same time, like a schismatical daughter, you have disgraced the Christian church, by most undutifully refusing to submit to the lawful successors of St. Peter, and by wantonly yielding yourself up to the will and dictation of *mere laicks*, as your visible ecclesiastic heads, because arrayed in the robes of royalty, and decorated with crowns, as the Kings and Queens of your nation. And what is worse, your *trans-Atlantick daughter*, on whom you have conferred ordination, thereby encouraging her to conduct even more inconsistently than yourself, you thereby are become a partaker in her guilt. And how enormous is

the guilt of her transgressions, for she has presumed not only rashly to reform your Liturgy, but also your *hierarchy*, by the stupid rejection of Arch-Deacons, Arch-Bishops, Lord-Bishops, and of a *visible* head, thereby symbolizing in no small degree, with dissenting schismatics, of every name, to the great disparagement of you her *most graceless* mother, and of me, her *most blessed and venerable grandmother.*"

But to return, whatever irregularity may appear in the Methodist Episcopal ordinations, *canonically considered*, still, in respect merely to validity, they must, however informal, be regarded as not inferior to those of the Presbytery; while these latter must ever, in the estimation of all persons duly informed, be estimated to be of equal authority with all emanating *only* from *canonical re-ordinations*, in whatever form of Episcopacy, and wherever found now to exist.

Further examples of indecorous railing by the Doctor, to be noticed, and *Congregational Episcopacy* to be discussed, in the following *Section*.

SECTION VII.

Dr. M. having asserted, "That primitive Episcopacy was *parochial* and *not diocesan*," thereby extorted from Dr. B. the following indignant reply: "What proof can you desire more decisive than what I have given you, that *Congregational Episcopacy* had *no existence* in the primitive ages? Sir, it is a *mere whim*, the production of that *restless fanatical tribe* that overthrew the church and state of England, in the seventeenth century. Calvin knew nothing about it; he was a Presbyterian, as I supposed you were, till I saw your book. Beza knew nothing about it—John Knox knew nothing about it. Who did know any thing about it, till it was broached by the *Congregationalists*, near a hundred years after the reformation? I am astonished to find you an advocate for a system of church government, different from that of the church to which you belong. Pray, Sir, who is the Bishop of the Presbyterian church in this city? I know

who ought to be, if age, and venerableness, and long services, were to decide the question. But, I am pretty confident, that you will not allow that venerable man to be your Bishop. No, Sir, you consider him as your colleague; but no Bishop in the primitive church ever considered Presbyters as his colleagues. You consider yourself as his *equal*, in every thing relating to the church; and, therefore, upon your own principle, for you to allow a Bishop to have some superiority over his Presbyters, your church is not founded upon the apostolical plan. You are not the first that opposed the government of the church to which he belonged. Dr. Campbell did the same. While a Minister of the church of Scotland, and holding one of the most dignified, lucrative stations under its establishment, he was teaching his pupils to despise its government, and to adopt a system which, if carried into effect, would totally overthrow it. You, indeed, differ in one particular from him. *He* was an enemy to *ruling* elders: *You* are an advocate for them. But this difference does not essentially affect the main point, *Congregational* Episcopacy. *Your* scheme has a dash of Presbyterianism in it—*his* wants that *ornamental* circumstance; but which of the two is the better, I shall leave to the *taste* of our readers to decide." (Vol. 1. p. 79, 80.) If the Doctor designed to have left the whole of this effusion, to the *taste* of his readers, most certain it is, that unless their faculty for relishing subjects exhibited to the understanding, was greatly perverted, they could not have been highly delighted; for every correct taste must greatly disrelish *gross* slanders, and *paltry* assertions, by whomsoever made. But passing over his indecorous attacks on Doctors Miller and Campbell, and, on Presbyterianism; we will here advert only, to his *illiberal* and *libellous* attack, made without *any* provocation, on Congregationalism. "Calvin knew nothing about *Congregational Episcopacy*—Beza knew nothing about it—John Knox knew nothing about it. *Who did* know anything about it, till it was broached by the *Congregationalists*, near a hundred years after the reformation? Sir, it is a *mere whim*, the production of that *restless, fanatical* tribe, that overthrew the church and state of England, in the seventeenth century." Such are the

wild assertions of this *overheated* partisan. But had his zeal not been thus surcharged, he must have recollected what he himself well knew, that Congregational Episcopacy was of very ancient date, and not the “*mere whim*” of any *modern* “*fanatical tribe.*” For, when it served his purpose, in opposition to Dr. Miller’s argument, derived from the *Chorepiscopi* of early antiquity in the church, as favourable to ordination by Presbyters; he instantly recognizes Congregational Episcopacy as *existing* in those remote ages of Christianity. A short quotation from Dr. M. and a few concise ones from Dr. B. will place this affair in its true light. “It also appears, from the most authentick history, that the country churches generally maintained the primitive plan of government much longer than those of the cities, and were from one to two centuries later in receiving Episcopacy as a superior order. The Ministers of these country congregations were called *Chorepiscopi*, or country Bishops. They continued to exercise full Episcopal powers a considerable time after the Presbyters, within and near the great cities, had become subject to *diocesans*; until at length, the influence of the Bishop of Rome, and some other ambitious prelates, procured a decree of the Council of Sardis, to suppress the *Chorepiscopi* entirely.” (Miller.)

Bowden thus replies: “Here, Sir, you take for granted what you certainly ought to have proved fully, viz. That the *Chorepiscopi* were mere Presbyters. Had you consulted such respectable authors, as Barlow, Hammond, Beverage and Cave, perhaps, you would have received some benefit from the perusal. Had you only consulted Bingham, you would have found him asserting, that even Blondel, the great champion of Presbytery, has a long dissertation, to prove that all the *Chorepiscopi* mentioned in the *ancient* councils, were *properly* Bishops. And there needs no further proof of this (says Bingham) than what Athanasius says in his second apology, where he puts a manifest distinction betwixt Presbyters and the *Chorepiscopi*, &c.” But Bowden still proceeds, in *full proof* of Congregational Episcopacy. “It being then sufficiently evident, that the *Chorepiscopi* were *proper* Bishops, the reason assigned by the Council of Sardis,

for the abolition of them, is of no manner of consequence as to the point under discussion. As you quote it, the reason is, *Ne vilescat nomen Episcopi*; that is, *Lest the title of Bishop be too cheap.*" But, "How does it make the name of a Bishop cheap, if the *Chorepiscopi* were only Presbyters? I should suppose that it is an unnecessary multiplication of Bishops, and placing them in obscure villages, that would be likely to make them cheap. To prevent this, and also to put a stop to the liberty which they took of *ordaining* without the *license* of the city Bishops, to whom they were subjected by the *canons* of the church (but not by the laws of the gospel) that *degree* of Bishops was abolished by the Council of Sardis." (Vol. 2, p. 187, 188, 189, 190.)

This *degree* of Bishops, as the Doctor is here pleased to term their order, he has before asserted was that of *proper* Bishops, although *not* city, but village Bishops. And what sort of Bishops were village Bishops, if they were not truly, and in the most appropriate signification of the term, *Congregational* Bishops? They had no other diocess but what was comprehended within the compass of a single congregation. Even if the village were populous, one commodious place of worship might have admitted five hundred, a thousand, or more worshippers within its walls; of what consequence, then, to *Congregational Episcopacy* is it, that neither "Calvin, nor Beza, nor John Knox, knew any thing about it," when such an illustrious host as "Barlow, Hammond, Beverege, and Cave," appear to have known much about it? And especially when Bingham, Blondel, and even Dr. Bowden himself, all give us most positive assurance of its actual existence, when the *Chorepiscopi*, as proper Bishops, presided in villages, over *Congregational* churches, in the early ages of Christianity? But how great was the dilemma into which Dr. Miller here led Dr. Bowden. Enclosed as in a corner, the latter had no other alternative, but either to surrender the argument to the former, and admit the hated and dreaded claims of *Presbytery*; or, in direct contradiction to his *libellous* defamation of *Congregational Episcopacy*, to become a voluntary advocate for the justice and consistency of its claims. As the council of Sardis, or of Sardicia, as named by

some writers, was that which most unrighteously decreed the abolition of the village or country Bishops; it may be necessary in this place to remark briefly thereon. It was, as we learn from Bower, convened at the request of Julius, Bishop of Rome, and of other Bishops, by the authority of the Emperors Constans and Constantius, A. D. 347. It was at first generally attended by the Bishops from the East and West; but before they had accomplished all their purposes, a great schism took place among them; so that the orientals withdrew from the council. By this council several canons, however, were decreed: one in particular, which laid the foundation for the future arrogance of Rome, and the vexation and debasement of other churches in future times; and *this which thus destroyed the last vestige of the ecclesiastical rights of the smaller churches, in the extinguishment of the Chorepiscopi.* Of this council, whose decrees were thus so utterly destitute of prudence, and so thoroughly fraught with injustice, Bower thus remarks: "It is to be observed, that the canons of this council were never received in the East, nor even in the West, by the Bishops of Africa; and that they were not inserted by the Council of Chalcedon into the code of canons approved by them, as rules to be *universally* observed: so that, after all, the so much boasted Council of Sardicia, is a council of no great authority." (Vol. 1, p. 123.)

It seems to appear, however, that the canon which violated the *rights of the village churches and Bishops*, was readily acceded to by all the *city Bishops*. But wherefore, and by what authority, was this subversion of the just rights of the *village and country churches*, and of their *true Bishops*, thus effected? Were these churches, like those of the cities, become ambitious, contentious, and voluptuous? Or, were their Bishops, like many of the Diocesans of that age, become haughty, arrogant and heretical? No accusations whatsoever, of these kinds, were preferred, either against these churches, or against their Bishops. No, the alleged crime extended only to the Bishops, and according to Dr. Bowden, consisted in their taking the liberty "of *ordaining* without the *license* of the city Bishops, to whom they were subjected by the *canons* of the church." While the ostensible motive, to

suppress the *Chorepiscopi*, was, to prevent the "multiplication of Bishops in obscure villages, which would make Bishops cheap." But why are these canons called the canons of the church? Had the *Laity*, or the *Presbyters*, or the *Chorepiscopi*, or the *village churches*, any voice in their enactment? There is no reason to suppose they had, but there is *ample* reason to believe, they were the decrees of the city Bishops alone; because of such, the ecclesiastical councils were composed, which claimed the *exclusive* right of enacting canons for the church. It therefore, was under the *sheer* tyranny, of laws, enacted, judged upon and enforced, by self-created, deliberative assemblies, composed of ambitious prelates, that the village churches and their Bishops, were thus unjustly deprived of their unalienable rights and prerogatives. Nor will this *self created* character of these councils, be impaired, by objecting, that *imperial* edicts authorized this Council of Sardis, and other councils; because the origin and custom of Episcopal councils had taken place, long before imperial edicts attempted to intermeddle with them; and because the civil authorities seldom interfered, unless solicited by designing ecclesiasticks. Nor had even imperial power itself, any right to meddle with ecclesiastical arrangements, which had no reference to secular concerns. And, as to claims founded on the *rights* of Episcopacy, to *legislate* for the churches, either in general, or in particular, as these councils did, they are utterly and evidently nugatory. They have no support whatsoever from the New Testament, but are in direct opposition to the manifest condition of the seven Bishops and churches, divinely noticed in the Apocalypse. And were further proof requisite, to nullify these arrogant assumptions of Bishops, during the third and fourth centuries: it would be only requisite, to suppose the nine diocesan Bishops in these States, assembled as a council, (say at Philadelphia) without either Ministers or delegates from the several churches in their respective diocesses, for the express purpose of enacting canons which should authoritatively, and *deeply* affect all the ecclesiastical interests of every Minister and church of their order in these States. The just indignation, which such a proceeding would excite among Episcopalians in these

States, is such, as ought to have been excited in all churches, whether of the cities or villages, against the unhallowed assumptions and proceedings of the ancient councils, and more especially against those of Sardis. In respect to the *village* churches, ecclesiastical writers seem in general, to have but slightly noticed them. Eclipsed by the splendour, and hushed into silence, by the noise and bustle of the predominant city churches, they were much forgotten by ecclesiastical historians; while at the same time the pretensions to superiority, between the churches of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and at length of Constantinople, furnished ample matter, for the recording pens of those contentious ages. It is, however, sufficient for the vindication of Congregational Episcopacy, to know assuredly, that *such* Episcopacy did exist, in the first and purest ages of the Christian church, and that when suspended, such suspension was effected through the jealousy and by the tyranny of an Episcopal confederacy, which in the end, subjugated all the Western churches to the *will* of papal supremacy; and the Eastern churches, through their contentions, to the *iron* and *galling* yoke of Mahometan cruelty.

Shall we then, be surprised, that when the light of the reformation first arose on long benighted, and on long enslaved Europe, that neither Calvin, nor Beza, nor John Knox, knew anything about Congregational Episcopacy? They knew, indeed, too much about the abominations of papal Episcopacy, to be disposed, readily, to fall in love with Episcopacy, in any form whatever. Nor is it at all wonderful, that it required the lapse of near a century, after the reformation, before many of the Dissenters acquired as much, and more knowledge of Congregational Episcopacy, than was acquired in two or three centuries by Dr. Bowden and his coadjutors, who obtained only a glimpse of *true* Episcopacy in that form. Much slander has been unjustly thrown upon Congregationalists, because of Robert Brown's extravagant ideas of Independent churches. With equal propriety might the reformation itself in England, be stigmatized with the much greater errors of Henry the Fifth, the first *Royal head* of the *Episcopal* church of that nation.

Nor is it in any degree necessary here, to culogize

John Robinson, as the corrector and judicious reformer of Brown's errors, nor yet, to extol him for having attained to more just and enlarged views, of *ancient* Congregational Episcopacy, than even Blondel, Barlow, Hammond, Beverege, Cave and Bingham, for his works and his wisdom, in reference to that subject, praise him, in more than a thousand of Zion's gates. But while Dr. B. and the fore-mentioned eminent writers thus contend for the *ancient* existence of Congregational Episcopacy in village churches, we are not for a moment to imagine, that in those times, this form of Episcopacy was confined to churches in villages only, but had also, in numerous instances, a like existence in churches, in different cities. For although in Antioch, in Ephesus, in Corinth, in Alexandria, in Rome, and in Carthage, and in many other large cities, there is sufficient reason to conclude, that, towards the close of the *first*, and during the *second* century, the churches became too numerous to assemble together with convenience for publick worship in *one* congregation; yet, there is no satisfactory evidence that this was the case in smaller and less populous cities. And if we are to give credit to Mosheim, *this was the fact*; for having carefully examined this subject, with his extensive means of information, he thus asserts: "A Bishop, during the *first* and *second* century, was a person who had the care of *one* Christian assembly, which, at that time was, *generally speaking*, small enough to be contained in a private house." And it should not here be forgotten, that both in every age and in every nation, there has always been a greater number of small cities, or compact towns, than of great and overgrown cities. And to this consideration it should still be added, that in those times, the overwhelming population in all places was that of Gentiles and Jews, and *not* of Christians. In view of all these particulars, a *denial* of Congregational Episcopacy, such as Br. Bowden has made, in his abusive effusion before noticed, must appear truly extravagant, to every candid and impartial person, who attends duly to this subject. But still in respect to *principle*, it signified nothing, whether each church was numerous or otherwise; in either case, each was circumscribed within the limits of one city, and its immediate

vicinity, whether of large or of small extent. And the church, whether composed of one, or of more congregations, still, in each, there was but one court of *judicature*, in which, when discipline required *punishment*, it was *inflicted* by the vote of *many*. II. Cor. xi. 6. Each church in its collective capacity, constituted its own *legislature*, and its own *elective* assembly, in which were elected Deacons and Presbyters, by the suffrage and at the discretion of the body. And, as demonstrated in the *fifth* Section of this Review, in this *elective assembly* by its *vote* alone, a Presbyter was constituted an ecclesiastical Bishop, without any additional ceremony, or *act of re-ordination*. This form of Episcopacy, whether it be called *Congregational* or *Diocesan*, was the true Episcopacy which took place towards the close of the *first*, and which continued nearly into the beginning of the *third* century; and which is thus corroborated by the testimony of Mosheim, when treating on the usages of the *second* century: "One inspector, or *Bishop*, presided over each Christian assembly, to which office he was *elected* by the voices of the whole people. To assist him in this laborious province, he formed a council of Presbyters, which was not confined to any fixed number. To the Bishop and Presbyters, the *Ministers* or *Deacons* were subject, and the latter were divided into a variety of classes, as the different exigencies of the church required. During a great part of this century, the Christian churches were independent of each other; nor were they joined together by association, confederacy, or any other bonds but those of charity. Each Christian assembly was a little state, governed by its own laws, which were either enacted, or at least approved by the society. But in process of time, all the Christian churches of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which, like confederate States, assembled at certain times, in order to deliberate about the common interests of the whole. To these assemblies the name of *synods* was appropriated by the Greeks, and that of *councils*, by the Latins; and the laws that were enacted in these general meetings, were called *canons*, that is, *rules*.

These *councils*, of which we find not the smallest trace before the middle of this century, changed the whole

face of the church, and gave it a new form; for by them, the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished, and the power and authority of the Bishops greatly augmented. The humility, indeed, and prudence of these pious prelates, prevented their assuming all at once the power with which they were afterwards invested. At their first appearance in these general councils, they acknowledged that they were no more than the delegates of their respective churches, and that they acted in the name and by the appointment of their people. But they soon changed this humble tone, imperceptibly extended the limits of their authority, turned their influence into *dominion*, and their counsels into *laws*; and openly asserted, at length, that Christ had empowered them to prescribe to his people, *authoritative rules of faith and manners.*" (Vol. 1, p. 174, 175.)

In some one or other of these councils, and by some aspiring prelates, thus therein assembled (but no person can tell when, certainly, or where, or by whom particularly) was that *canon, illicitly* framed, which served in the Cyprianick age, as a *pretence* for the *re-ordaining* of Presbyters, elected to the Episcopal office; and on the supposed authority of this thus fraudulently fabricated canon, it is, that the Episcopalians of our time, presume to condemn the ordinations among other denominations, although no less valid, but far more regular than their own. For, as the validity of the Episcopal office was established by a popular *election* only, and not by a new ordination, it follows, that in every instance, through every age, where a popular election was neglected, and a new ordination substituted in lieu of it, such person, if a Presbyter before, remained still but a Presbyter, nor had he thereby any further Episcopal character or authority conferred on him, than he before possessed, except what *prejudice* and *ignorance* in the eyes of the multitude, might have imparted to him: or if in a national church, what mere *civil* authority might invest him with. But as to the usages of true apostolick Episcopacy, he would remain still but a mere *unelected* Presbyter. While in this unquestionably correct view of this subject, every Presbyter, whether at or after the reformation, who was elected as pastor, whether by a Presbyterian, Inde-

pendent, Congregational, or Baptist church, he became thereby, without a new ordination, its true Bishop or overseer, upon his acceptance of that office, according to the usage of the apostolick churches, and to which, Irenæus, as before noticed, referred at Rome, whose first nineteen Bishops were constituted such, merely by election, without any re-ordination.

But this leads us to the important question, how shall we, consistently with these views, be able to trace a probable succession? Shall it be through the line of the Bishops of Rome? Or, through that of the English Bishops? Or again, is it to be sought for in the line of Presbyters?

As to *succession* on just principles, in the church of Rome, however clogged and oppressed with the leaden weight of a *canonical* ordination, and however tarnished with the vices of the Pontiffs and people, through many centuries; yet, its validity should be admitted, while in principle and practice, the unalienable right of election was inviolably maintained, in that church; but, whenever this once ceased, the *true* succession in that line ceased also. For, in ancient times, where this principle was either forcibly or fraudulently violated, no canonical ordination was esteemed to be of any value, but was invariably disregarded, and treated even with contempt. This was exemplified particularly, even in the Cyprianick age, in the case of Novetianus, the competitor of Cornelius, who, although *re-ordained* by three Bishops, was nevertheless rejected and despised, because elected only by a minority. It was likewise the same at Carthage, in the case of Felicissimus, although *re-ordained* by five Bishops. But during even the succeeding century, the church of Rome continued so tenacious of this vital principle of a popular election, that even the tyranny of the Emperour Constantius, was unable to subdue it, when he unjustly expelled their lawfully elected Bishop, and endeavoured to impose a *non-elected*, but *re-ordained* Bishop on them, in the person of Felix. Their indignant opposition on this occasion, is thus related by Bower: "Felix was hated to such a degree, that of all the inhabitants of Rome, not one ever appeared in the church while he was in it; nay, he was by all avoided even in

the streets, and other publick places, as if he had carried about with him a *contagion*." (Vol. 1, p. 146, 147.)

This watchful jealousy of that church, was probably the mean of preserving with the exercise of its elective rights in the choice of its Bishops, an unbroken succession in that *line*, perhaps longer than in any other Western church of that age: for it appears to have continued therein, at least in a considerable degree, until in the year 1181, when Lucies III. through the intrigues of former Bishops, was elected, *not* with "The consent and approbation of the *clergy and people*, which had hitherto always been esteemed necessary to *ratify* the election, and which was not so much as demanded, but the affair was transacted by the college of *Cardinals alone*, who have continued to maintain that exclusive and important privilege even to our times." (Mosh. vol. 2, p. 474.) As all pretensions to *succession in this line*, at Rome, since the unlawful election of Lucies III. are but an insult to reason, and a *mere* mockery of common sense; we will from thence, turn our attention to the English Bishops. But, are we likely to succeed better in this line, than in that of Rome? Certainly not. For should it even appear that English ordinations were derived from Rome before the year 1181, what evidence is there that their Bishops were without interruption lawfully elected from that period down to the reformation? But were even this proved, still the succession was unquestionably lost in that line, since the time of Henry the Eighth. For all elections of Bishops in that church, from that period to the present time, have been apostolically unlawful, being performed *not* ecclesiastically by the *church*, but *schismatically* by Kings and Queens. Bishops so elected, would have been *excommunicated* in the *first, second, third, and, in later centuries*. No churches in those early ages, that were orthodox, would then have submitted to one of them. It is true, they are Bishops and Lord Bishops, according to the laws of the realm of Great-Britain; but according to primitive ecclesiastical laws and usages, they are but mere *unelected* Presbyters.

It is a principle laid down by Dr. Bowden himself, and a just one, too, "That what were the rights of

Christians in the apostles' days, the very same, neither more nor less, are the rights of Christians at this day. (Vol 2, p. 269.) This correct principle, if but once adopted into full belief, and immediate practice, by all the Episcopal churches in the United Kingdom, although it would restore to them true Episcopacy, and confer due honour on the *true Head* of all Christian churches; yet it would revolutionize the whole hierarchy. But surely no event seems less probable, when we duly consider, that a revolution of this nature would inevitably forever interrupt those rays of royal favour, in which these churches have basked, during successive generations. Seeing then that the chain of succession is thus broken in the links of many generations of the Episcopacy, both of Rome and Great-Britain, shall we abandon the pursuit as hopeless? Or, turning from perverted forms of Episcopacy, shall we repair in search of succession, to the humbler line of Presbytery? And assuredly, if not retained and transmitted through this line of sacerdotal endowment, we may abandon forever all rational expectation of tracing, to a certainty, its present existence, in any of the hierarchies, whether East or West, or North or South.

It being a *fact* established by evidence, beyond all possibility of refutation, that a popular election of Presbyters, without re-ordinations, was the apostolick mode of constituting Bishops ecclesiastically such, as practised in the churches, from the days of Ignatius to some time in the third century; it of course follows, that none of those Bishops were thereby removed further from being *laicks*, or invested with more of clerical character, than they before possessed, although by this ecclesiastical election, *chosen as pastors* to the chief oversight of the whole. In this luminous view of the subject, it may be perceived, that the canonical re-ordinations introduced into the Cyprianick age, and which the corruptions of succeeding generations have perpetuated, instead of adding validity and sanctity to what God had before rendered valid and sacred, has only clogged and embarrassed the simple institutions of the apostles, by annexing thereto the excessences of *mere* human inventions. And from hence, we may see more clearly, the perfect consistency of what Jerome has said in reference to this *election*, viz: "One

(Presbyter) was *elected* to preside over the rest, as a remedy against schism, lest every one drawing his proselytes to himself, should rend the church of Christ.”

No augmentation of sacerdotal endowment was hereby either intended or communicated to the elected Presbyter, in the estimation of Jerome; but this elevation of one Presbyter above his brethren, was designed simply, for the *prevention and healing of schisms*. And had this apostolick practice, according to its original intention, been but rigidly adhered to, without innovating thereon, by the addition in time, of *uncarranted* re-ordinations, not only would schisms have been prevented, and the rights and privileges of the Presbyters and people been preserved; but likewise the ambitious projects of assuming prelates being nipped in the bud, the unrighteous decrees of synods and councils would never unhappily have superceded the maxims and doctrines of the gospel. As, therefore, through the imprudence and errors of the churches, Episcopacy was suffered to disfigure itself with mock ordinations, to trample on the rights of both Presbyters and people, and finally to perpetrate on itself the crime of ecclesiastical suicide, by not compelling it to submit to a lawful ecclesiastical election; are we from hence to infer, that the principles of a sacerdotal succession do not still radically, however informally, subsist by a Christian ministry in the churches of the ever blessed Redeemer? Certainly not. For, as large an endowment of sacerdotal character exists now, in every Presbyter, as did in the Presbyters of the first and second centuries; and each Christian church of this age, possesses as just a right, when necessity requires, to elect a Presbyter for its lawful pastor or Bishop, as any Christian church of former generations. And this brings us to the very *point* to which this controversy regularly conducts us. For, having ascertained as above, the failure of succession through unlawful elections, in the Episcopal lines of both Rome and the English hierarchy; so have we distinctly recognized by inevitable implication, its vital existence in the chain of Presbytery, by reason of ample sacerdotal endowment. And this involves an ample refutation of Dr. Bowden’s fallacious argument on this very point, and on which he thus expresses himself, viz. “When

the reformation began, all the churches in Europe were *Episcopal*, and all the Presbyterians then existing, had been ordained by Bishops. But no Bishop ever gave a Presbyterian authority to ordain. The utmost authority is to *preach the word*, and to administer the sacraments. Whence, then, did those Presbyters who first ordained, derive their authority? The office of a Presbyterian is a gift *mediately* from Christ. But a person who receives a gift, receives just so much as the gift implies, and not a tittle more. But the power of ordaining was not a part of the gift to the Presbyters at the reformation. How, then, could they ordain others, when they were not empowered so to do? There appears to be a difficulty here: **How is it to be removed?**" (Vol. 2, p. 278.) This difficulty is already removed. No Bishop has power in the ordination of a Presbyterian, either to impart to him, or to withhold from him, the power to ordain others. It belongs to those who ordain Presbyters, to impart to them a sacerdotal character or commission. But to each church it appertains, to elect ecclesiastically to the office of Bishop, or pastor. The consequence therefore is, that power, or right, to ordain, is *mediately* from Christ through the *church*, which elects the Presbyterian into the pastoral or Episcopal office, and *not* through the Bishop, who had ordained him Presbyterian. And from hence it follows, that those churches, whether Presbyterian, independent, Baptist, or Congregational, and whether at or after the reformation, which elected Presbyters as their pastors, thereby conferred on them a more regular ecclesiastical authority to ordain others, than the Bishops themselves had, who ordained these very Presbyters, prior to the reformation: because, all such Bishops, although *canonically re-ordained*, but not ecclesiastically elected, were *virtually* but mere unelected Presbyters, and, of course, not of the same rank and ecclesiastical authority as the Bishops of the second century were, who were all ecclesiastically elected, but of whom, *not one* was canonically re-ordained. And happy, yea, thrice happy, most assuredly, for the world, for the church, and for the Bishops themselves, would it have been, had this uncorrupted simplicity of primitive Episcopal constitution and regimen been but rigidly retained, and scrupulously adhered to,

in every condition of the Christian church. For had each church *steadfastly* maintained in all cases, its unalienable right of election, and all the churches *frowned* on the unauthorized assumptions of the Bishops in synods and councils, to institute *new* ordinations, of which the apostles knew nothing; we never should have heard of general councils decreeing laws, for the regulation of the *faith* and *manners* of Christians, which were before better regulated in the Holy Scriptures. Had it not been for these ambitious projects and enterprises of the Bishops, and this unwary supineness of the churches, the latter would never have lost their liberties, nor the former have become the oppressors even of Monarchs, and the most *barbarous* persecutors of Christians. It was in consequence of this deplorable supineness on the one hand, and of this successful combination of the Bishops on the other hand, that in process of time, Bishops became Patriarchs, and Patriarchs became Popes. For had it not been for these omissions and assumptions, we never should have read of a suppliant Emperor of Germany, in the person of Henry IV. standing at the gate of Pope Gregory VII. during three days, in February, 1077, *fastin.*, his feet bare, his head uncovered, and no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth wrapped round his body! Nor should we, but for *these*, have ever heard, of Frederick I. surnamed Barbarossa, acting as equerry, in 1155, by holding the *stirrup* of the Pontiff Adrian IV. Nor should it be deemed an exaggeration, thus to consider the fore-mentioned mistakes of the early churches, and gross errors of their aspiring Bishops, in concurrence with other events and circumstances, as radically laying the foundation of the tyranny and persecutions of the *Papal* church; for had the churches of the third century but arrested and defeated the machinations of the Bishops of that age, and have preserved their ecclesiastical equality and independence, as they might and ought to have done, Rome could never in her Bishops have tyrannised over sovereign Princes, over the other churches justly jealous of their rights, nor over the innumerable myriads of Christians whom she slew in her wars; and whom she *immured in the dungeons, tortured on the racks, and consumed in the flames, of the Inqui-*

sition. It was the infelicity of England, and more especially of Ireland, as well as of other nations in Europe, that in the sixteenth century, Papal superstitions had so darkened and enfeebled the minds of the great majority of the people, in respect to the true nature and best interests of Christianity, that multitudes of them were nearly insensible of their degraded condition ; while, at the same time, no inconsiderable number of the better informed and more discerning among them, sensible of their deplorable state, were disposed to seize any opportunity of breaking the shackles wherewith they were so ignominiously fettered. Neither the intolerable haughtiness of *Bicket*, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, nor the humiliation of Henry II. when scourged by the Monks, at the instigation of the Pontiff Alexander III. by way of penance for the tragical death of the former, who fell a martyr to his own obstinacy and ill-deservings, were yet forgotten by the Monarchs of England, when Henry VIII. from motives best known to himself, determined in reforming the church in his dominions, to throw off the galling and oppressive yoke of Rome. But, he resolved at the same time, to transfer supreme authority over the church, from the Pope to *himself*, and to transmit it, with his *crown*, to his successors.

Henry's reign, together with those of his immediate successors, Edward, Mary, Elizabeth and James I. evinced the determination of the *throne* to fashion the church according to its own will, by shaping it on such moulds as royalty might devise. Under Mary the Protestant Bishops gloriously attained to *crowns of martyrdom*. But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, by their horrible barbarities, in obsequious obedience to the will of their detestable mistress, *branded* their memories with eternal infamy.

Elizabeth, however illustrious in policy, in extent of power, and in successful enterprise, was nevertheless no true friend to ecclesiastical rights, or to liberty of conscience. A friend to the reformation, so far as it accorded with her ideas of prerogative, as avowed head of the church, consequently, she regarded her *will*, and *not* Christ's law, as the standard whereby it should be ruled. It therefore is not surprising, that the counsels of the wise

and lenient Grindall should be rejected for those of the more rigid Whitgift. James found in Bancroft an advocate to his mind, contending for the divine right of Kings and Bishops. While Charles obtained in the overheated zeal and rash measures of a Laud and Stafford, all that an imprudent King could have desired, who unjustly contemplated the subjection of church and state, to the extravagant fancies of an unbridled ambition. It was under *these* royal heads of the established church in Great-Britain, acting in concert with the views and counsels of *these* and such like Lords spiritual and temporal, that the Dissenters from the establishment were grievously harrassed and oppressed by the unjust measures of the High Court of Commission, and by the no less arbitrary decisions of the Star Chamber. By these, and by such like men and measures it was, that Christian affection and veneration were alienated from a *church*, symbolizing in no small degree with Rome, in its *secular head*, in its *canonical hierarchy*, in its *formularly* worship, its *monkish vestments*, and in its *superstitious* saint days; and yet, still *above all*, in its *anti-Christian persecutions*.

It was in those days of high handed assumption in church and state, and under these circumstances of Episcopal and royal oppression, that Presbyterianism acquired increased influence and numbers, both in England and Scotland. And in those times also, the Independents and Congregationalists arose successively into notice and respectable influence. For the former being persecuted in England, sought and found an assylum in Holland; where, being under no embarrassments from existing establishments, they closely and judiciously examined into the *original* form and government of the primitive Christian church, and consequently, from the fullest conviction of what, under these circumstances, appeared to them their *right* and their *duty*, they devoutly transformed Independency into Congregational Episcopacy. It is unnecessary to relate here, their emigration two centuries ago, to these shores of New-England, where Divine Providence has granted them an open door, a secure retreat, and an ample inheritance. But it is of the utmost consequence, to all the best interests of their posterity, that they barter not away the ecclesiastical polity and

simple forms of public worship transmitted to them, through manifold privations and sufferings, by their pious forefathers, so far as copied from the instructions of the New Testament, and as derived from the practice and usages of the Christian church, before synods and councils had marred them by canonical innovations. Dr. Bowden's violent and unprovoked attack upon the Congregationalists in England, has been already slightly noticed. In that attack he pronounced Congregational Episcopacy to be "a mere *whim*, the production of that *restless, fanatical tribe*, that overthrew the church and state of England in the seventeenth century." In respect to Congregational Episcopacy, although thus denounced as a mere *whim* of the *seventeenth century*; the Doctor had himself recognized its existence in the early centuries of Christianity, when the Chorepiscopi, according to his own account, presided as *true* Bishops, over the village churches. And as to his attack on the English Congregationalists, who lived in the time of Charles I. it is incorrect in the extreme, because if a meritorious deed, the Congregationalists deserved but a small part of the praise, and if the contrary, but a small proportion of the censure, as this overthrow of the church and state of England was not effected by the Congregationalists, nor by them, aided by the Independents and Presbyterians; but, by them altogether, in concert with the civil Independents and zealous Republicans of the English nation. But the Doctor, from inveighing against Dissenters from the established hierarchy in England, directs his attacks against different denominations in New-England. "There are (says he) numerous congregations in *New-England*, who are, as to ordination, Presbyterian, although as to government, *Congregational*; and they also have had *frequent contentions*, and *numerous schisms*." "It is very certain (he adds) that *several sects* make no pretensions to succession, and therefore no care is taken to preserve it. This is the case with the Baptists, *Independents* and *others*. In New-England there have been *numerous* instances of *lay* ordinations, consequently all derived from that source have no pretensions to succession." As recrimination is not here intended, all *diocesan schisms*, of whatever complexion, age or nation, will

altogether be passed over in silence. But the assertion that *whole* sects, and these, too, the *Baptists, Independents* and *others*, make no pretensions to succession, savours so strongly of hyperbole, as to be unworthy of any admission into sober controversial discussions. Nor is his declamatory assertion, in reference to these denominations, in respect to *numerous* lay ordinations in New-England, either less slanderous, or unjust, than that before mentioned, is extravagant and unfounded; for in respect to them he asserts, that "In *New-England* there have been *numerous* instances of *lay* ordinations." Ordinations in New-England have ever been transactions of great notoriety; consequently if *numerous lay* ones have indeed taken place therein, it became impossible to conceal them. And it was incumbent on the Doctor, when he thus publicly impeached and stigmatized the ordinations of New-England, to have produced indubitable proofs of the *numerous facts and instances of numerous lay ordinations*. The Baptists undoubtedly are disposed to deny and repel this accusation in reference to themselves; as, if we except the Scotch Baptists, the others appear to be scrupulously attentive to the preservation of succession, in their ordinations, in these Eastern States. Independent churches here, were but short lived, and never numerous, nor did any long retain the principles and practice of Independents, consequently ordinations of any kind, among churches of Independent principles, were never numerous in New-England, for the majority of their Ministers, at the early settlement of this country, had prior to their emigration, been non-conformists, ordained by the English Bishops. Nor does it distinctly appear, that more than two lay ordinations, actually such, ever occurred in those churches: the first was at Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1642, and the last at Stratford, in Connecticut, in 1665. This last instance was the lay ordination of Israel Chauncey, and which was so unpopular, that in derision it was "termed the *leathern mitten* ordination, because it has been the tradition that Elder Brinsmaid laid on hands with a leathern mitten." (Trumbull's Hist. of Con. vol. 1, p. 489.) But in order duly to account for this circumscribed and transient aberration from correct views, by a portion of

the first emigrant pilgrims to these shores; and which resulted, in some few instances, of irregular ordinations; it will be expedient very briefly to advert to the events and circumstances, which imperiously led them to encounter the hardships of this perilous emigration. Of these complicated and imperious events, Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, thus writes: "In 1620, a number of pious people, part of Mr. John Robinson's church and congregation, who by the violence of persecution, had been driven from their pleasant seats and enjoyments in England, arrived on the coast; and after braving every danger, and enduring almost every hardship and distress of which human nature is capable, effected a permanent settlement in this part of North-America. They gave it the name of New-Plymouth." "At this time liberty of conscience could not be enjoyed in the parent country. No indulgence was granted even to the most pious, loyal, and conscientious people, who would not strictly conform to the *habits, ceremonies and worship* of the church of England. All non-conformists were exposed to fines, imprisonments, and the ruin of their families, fortunes, and every thing which ought to be dear to men. The most learned, pious, orthodox and inoffensive people, who did not conform to the church of England, were treated by the King and his Bishops, with far greater severity, than drunkards, sabbath breakers, or even the most notorious debauchees. They were condemned, in the spiritual courts, without juries, without having the witnesses against them brought into court, to depose face to face; and, sometimes, without knowing the crime alleged against them, or who were the witnesses by whom it was proved. Many of the pious people in England were so harassed and persecuted, for their non-conformity, that they determined, if possible, rather to make settlements in a dreary wilderness, at the distance of three thousand miles from their native country, than endure the persecution and sufferings, to which they were constantly exposed from the hands of those, who ought to have cherished and defended them. This *cruel treatment of our venerable ancestors was the cause of the settlement of the New-England colonies and churches.*" (Vol. 1, p. 3, 4, 5, 6.)

While the above quotation presents a just picture of the complicated sufferings and oppressions inflicted by the rulers of the church and state, on non-conformists of all descriptions in England, so the following extract from the same historian, exhibits a small portion of the persecutions of worthy puritan Ministers, as exhibited in the case of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, viz. "In 1630. the Rev. Thomas Hooker, a gentleman of great abilities, and a famous preacher, at Chelmsford, in the county of Essex, was silenced for non-conformity. To escape fines and imprisonment, he fled into Holland. He was held in such high and universal esteem among his acquaintance, that forty-seven Ministers in his vicinity petitioned the Bishop of London in his favour. These were all conformists, and witnessed for Mr. Hooker, that they esteemed him, and *knew him* 'to be for doctrine orthodox, for life and conversation honest, for disposition peaceable, and no wise turbulent or factious.' However, as he was a non-conformist, no personal or acquired excellencies, no testimonials of his good conduct, nor prayers of his friends, could save him from persecution and deposition." (ibid, p. 10.)

A considerable number of Mr. Hooker's congregation, and others with them, who highly esteemed him, came over in 1632 and settled at Newtown, since called Cambridge. "At their desire, he left Holland, and arrived at Boston in 1633. With him came over the famous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Samuel Stone as an assistant in the ministry. Mr. John Haynes afterwards Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff, and two hundred other passengers of importance to the colony." And such were the continued oppressions of the High Court of Commission, the persecutions of the Star Chamber, and the tyrannical decisions of the Bishops' courts, that multitudes of the puritans, with numerous non-conformist Ministers, fleeing from the desolating storm, sought and found a refuge in the infant colonies. And so great were the numbers of the adventurers, that "in 1643 the first twenty thousand souls who came over from England, settled thirty-six churches. And in 1650. there were *forty* churches in New-England, which contained *seven thousand seven hundred and fifty* communicants." (Styles' Manuscript Lectures, &c.)

In respect to the number of Ministers, who arrived in those times of adversity, with portions of their dispersed flocks, Neale, in his History of the Puritans, thus informs us: "The chief leaders of the people into these parts, were the puritan Ministers, who being hunted from one diocess to another, at last chose this wilderness for their retreat. I have (says he) before me, a list of *seventy-seven* divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country, before the year 1640, all of whom were in *orders* in the church of England. The reader will meet with an account of some of them in this History." (Vol 2, p. 233.) Accordingly, he afterwards distinctly mentions Dr. Elliot, Rev. Messrs. Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, John Davenport, Thomas Sheppard, John Norton, and Richard Mather. And likewise, Rev. Messrs. Rogers, Newman, and Chauncey. The latter afterwards became President of Harvard College. It was under these circumstances, of a recent emancipation from the galling yoke of Episcopal and Star Chamber bondage in England, that the Congregational churches in New-England were formed; and called Congregational, because these "churches originally maintained, that the right of choosing and settling their Ministers, and of exercising discipline and performing all juridical acts, was in each church, when properly organized; and they denied all external or foreign power of Presbyteries, synods, general councils, or assemblies."

It was thus circumstanced, and under the impressions unavoidably resulting from an indignant recollection of the manifold wrongs and complicated injuries inflicted by diocesan measures and influence, on non-conformists of every description; that the delegates and ministers of the New-England churches assembled at Cambridge, and in 1648 devised a platform for the future government of the churches which they represented. The consequence was, that from a just abhorrence of Episcopal domination, an undue heaven of Independent principles unhappily crept into the operations of that assembly, whereby each church was unwarrantably authorized to assume, by a delegation of brotherhood, the power of ordaining its own pastor. But this offensive article soon

became obsolete, and uniformly as justly unpopular in practice, as for a short season it had been unjustly popular in theory. But the following highly important and authentick communication sheds ample light on these interesting transactions of the early churches and Ministers of New-England :

“ *Cambridge, February 7, 1822.*

“ The Cambridge Platform admitted lay ordination in theory ; but that there were *numerous* instances of lay ordination in New-England at any period, or during the whole period since its settlement, may very safely be denied. Lay brethren *inducted* the first Ministers of the New-England churches, and this was *called* ordination ; but it was no more than a re-induction of those who were already vested with official power. All these Ministers were ordained before, by the Bishops in England ; and they did not renounce that ordination. Thus for example, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Bulkeley of Concord, and Mr. Noyes of Newbury, adhered to their former ordination in England, by the Bishops, though not regarding them as diocesan Bishops, but as *Presbyters*. From this time, some of the ordained Ministers present laid on hands in ordination. For a while, indeed, the delegated brethren joined with them, “ in token of subjection of the church to the pastoral care of the Minister ;” but before the year 1660, it became a custom for the ordaining Ministers to perform the whole service. In the early history of New-England, not more than one instance of lay ordination, properly so called, seems perfectly ascertained ; and this was under the inspection of Ministers ordained by Bishops in England, one of whom prayed at the solemnity, and all gave their approbation, and right hand of fellowship, which has been considered as amounting to their performing the ordination themselves. This instance occurred at Woburn, in 1642.

Upon the publication of the Cambridge Platform, in 1648, the Dissenters in England, while they approved of it in general, yet, excepted against *lay* ordination ; and their arguments in the “ *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici.*” seem to have convinced the New-England Ministers of their mistake. The fact, however, *is*, that they

did not practise upon that article of the Platform, and it soon became obsolete. Of this fact, beside the evidence of our early histories, the “*Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*,” published in 1726, is sufficient proof.

The Saybrook Platform was adopted by the Connecticut churches in 1708; and at the same time, it was agreed, that the “*Heads of agreement assented to by the United Brethren, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational, in England, be observed by the churches throughout that colony.*” The 4th and 5th articles of these “*Heads of Agreement*,” under the head “*of the Ministry*,” are as follow :

IV. That in so great and weighty a matter as the calling and chusing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite. that every such church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations.

V. That, after such advice, the person consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly *ordained*, and set apart, to his office over them; wherein it is ordinarily requisite that the *pastors of neighbouring congregations* concur with the presiding *elder or elders*, if such there be.

As corroborative of the above circumstantial and highly satisfactory answer, by the Rev. Dr. A. Holmes, to certain enquiries made by the author of this Review, sundry interesting particulars are here subjoined, from Trumbull’s History, relative to the Congregational churches in that State “The first churches, though their numbers were small, and they had to combat all the hardships, dangers and expense of new settlements, commonly supported two able, experienced Ministers.” “The six first towns in Connecticut and New-Haven enjoyed the constant labour of ten able Ministers. As other towns settled, churches were gathered and Ministers *installed* or *ordained*. Fourteen or fifteen of these Ministers had been episcopally ordained in England, before they came to America. From these Reverend fathers the Ministers of Connecticut *trace their ordinations*; especially from Mr. Hooker, Mr. Warham, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Stone. Some or other of these assisted in gathering the churches, and in ordaining the Ministers settled in their day.” (Vol. 1, p. 292, 293.)

In respect to those few instances of ordination above mentioned by Dr. Holmes, wherein during a short season, delegated lay brethren laid on hands in concert with duly ordained pastors ; such ordinations, however irregular in respect to *formality*, yet, in respect to *validity*, were not thence justly to be condemned. And in justification of their validity, the following principle, laid down by Dr. Bowden himself, will correctly apply, viz. “ Indeed, to me it appears, that the person who uses the words, by which the commission is conveyed, is the *sole* ordainer, and that the others, *who lay on hands*, let them be even apostles, or Bishops, do no more than express approbation. For the officer who uses the words conveying the commission, either has the power *singly* to invest the ordained with valid authority, or, he has not. If he *has not*, then the others who concur with him have not ; for fifty cyphers will not make a unit. If he *has* the power, then the hands of the others are totally unnecessary, merely, as to the conveyance of the commission ; although, not so as to the solemnity and dignity of the transaction, and for the purpose of expressing approbation. Accordingly, it is a matter that is not disputed among Presbyterians, whether a single Presbyter would not convey as valid an authority, as a hundred united ; nor, among Episcopalians, whether the consecration of a Bishop, by a single Bishop, would not be as valid as by a plurality. The consecration, indeed, would not be *canonical* ; but that is a very different consideration. The *canons* of the church rest upon *ecclesiastical authority* ; but the *validity* of the commission upon the *competency* of the ordainer, and ultimately, upon divine authority. A number of ordainers is, therefore, unnecessary, and there is nothing added thereby, to the validity of the commission conveyed by the presiding officer.” (Vol. 1, p. 306, 307.)

This very explicit principle, thus laid down, so far as true and correct, removes all doubt concerning the actual character of the fore-mentioned imposition of lay hands, in concert with duly ordained pastors, taking the lead in acts of ordination ; because from hence it is evident, that however wrong, merely in respect to *due forms*, yet that in reference to *validity*, these lay brethren were but mere

cyphers, impairing, in *no degree* whatever, the authority of the commissions of the Ministers, thus *informally* ordained. But this principle is deserving of further consideration, because it draws the lines distinctly, between *canonical* and *divine* authority. For herein it is truly and justly observed, that “The *canons* of the church rest upon *ecclesiastical* authority ;” while herein, also, it unequivocally is acknowledged, that neither these *canons*, nor this ecclesiastical authority, are derived from, or repose on, divine authority. But on this ground, it may well be asked, what becomes of the re-ordination of Presbyters, in order to constitute them ecclesiastical Bishops? The *canon* which enjoins such re-ordination by two or more Bishops, proves to be a mere human assumption, and which lawfully may be omitted. But where can any substitute for this nullity be found? Will the *solemnity* and *dignity* of this transaction, when performed by two or three Bishops, be a warrant for having done that, which no divine command had ever enjoined? All that can justly be offered in excuse for such a consecration, *is*, that those Bishops, who without a divine warrant, re-ordain a Presbyter, act therein only as mere cyphers; and quite as irregularly, as any *lay* brethren, who ever may improperly have interfered in any ordinations, either in New-England or elsewhere. Nor can the justice of this censure be disproved, until an explicit divine warrant for the *re-ordination* of a Presbyter, in any mode, can distinctly be produced. As to Dr. Bowden’s assertion concerning New-England, that numerous *lay* ordinations had taken place therein, although unfounded in *fact*, yet, it must be admitted, that mere appearances seemed in some degree to give it countenance; because *lay* re-inductions, as mentioned by Dr. Holmes, or *lay* installations, as denominated by others, were in the early settlement of this country, called ordinations, which circumstance, taken in connexion with a few instances of the *lay* imposition of hands, in concert with duly ordained English Ministers, then elected as pastors, and one or two actual *Independent* or *lay* ordinations, all together served as a plausible authority for the fore-mentioned slanderous allegation.

But to return to the leading and fundamental points of

this controversy, it is here proper to remark, that High Churchmen, if they would place their exclusive claims on a basis immoveably steadfast, it will be necessary they should perform what Dr. Bowden toiled hard to effect, but was utterly unable to accomplish. They must prove, that to perform miracles, constituted no part of the duty of the apostles, as enjoined on them by their commission. They must produce demonstrative proof, that the churches before the *third* century, *did not* by a popular election, constitute Presbyters into ecclesiastical Bishops. They must, in opposition to the indubitable evidence of the New Testament, *disprove* the *evangelical mission* of Timothy, during a short season at Ephesus, and of Titus, during a like period at Crete: and contrary to all probability, must, by vague traditions and wild assertions of writers of the *fourth* and of later centuries, establish the former, Bishop of Ephesus, and the latter of Crete and its numerous churches. And lastly, they must prove by better evidence than has yet been brought forward in this controversy, that the *re-ordination* of *Presbyters* reposes for authority *not* on the *apostolick canons*, but, on evidently explicit authority from the apostles *themselves*, either by *positive precept*, or, by such well attested examples, exhibited by the apostles in their *own practice*, as will admit of no reasonable doubt or denial. For, when once Episcopalians shall have produced this train of proofs and evidence, and which Dr. Bowden neither did, nor could produce, then, but not until then, may they consistently proclaim their Bishops apostles, and denounce as invalid, all ordinations which have not originated beneath the imposition of their hands.

But, preparatory to a conclusion of this Review, it may be expedient to advert concisely to “The *distinctive principle of three grades of Ministers* divinely instituted in the Christian church;” and as expressly mentioned by Bishop Brownell, in his charge to his clergy. These grades, as thus assumed to belong to modern Episcopalians of diocesan order, are deceptive in the extreme, and that in a variety of respects. A Deacon, according to the order of the New Testament, had the special care of the poor. A church-warden has now that charge committed to him. Each primitive church had therein a plurality

of Deacons : A plurality of modern churches are now frequently, and for the most part, destitute of a single Deacon. Each primitive apostolick church invariably elected all its Deacons : No Episcopal churches now elect their Deacons. Each church of the early and purest ages, had therein a plurality of Presbyters : But a single Presbyter now, has often to supply a plurality of Episcopal churches. During the second century, a Bishop invariably presided over *only* one church : But now, as invariably, he presides over a variety of churches. And in addition to these numerous instances of glaring non-conformity, we are compelled to subjoin that notorious departure from apostolick usage and authority, as before distinctly noticed, of constituting Presbyters, *not* by a lawful popular election, into ecclesiastical Bishops, as was the practice previous to the Cyprianick age, but, of creating them Bishops, by a *re-ordination* altogether unknown to, and unsanctioned by, the apostles. Nor should it be either overlooked or forgotten, that on this very unauthorized and innovating *new ordination of a Presbyter*, High Churchmen suspend the *validity* of all other ordinations, of all baptisms and celebrations of the Lord's supper ; and finally, on this very *act*, suspend even the existence of the *visible* church itself : for with them it amounts to a maxim, " That a *new* ordination is requisite, in order to constitute a Presbyter into a Bishop ; that none but Bishops can communicate the sacerdotal character ; therefore, that there can be no true Ministers without them, and consequently, without them, no true church. ' This is the mode of reasoning of one class of churchmen." (Bowden.) But another class of churchmen think and reason very differently. To this class the pious and celebrated Dr. Scott appears to belong ; and he thinks, writes and reasons after this manner. " It appears to me at least, that neither Episcopacy, nor any other species of church government, can be proved from *scripture* to be exclusively of divine authority. But a moderate Episcopacy has many advantages to recommend it ; and the high claims of exclusive authority, which soon began to be advanced and exercised by that order, and all the abuses of anti-Christian tyranny, supply the best arguments to those, who would entirely exclude it

from the church. In this, however, as well as in other things, very much remains to be remedied and rectified, among every description of Christians, before matters can be reduced to the scripture standard." (Commentary on Acts xx. 17.)

That the "anti-Christian tyranny of the Episcopal order," as here well expressed, in former ages, furnishes the "best arguments to those who would entirely exclude it from the church," is an assertion not easily to be refuted. And Dr. Scott's further remark, that "Very much remains to be remedied and rectified, among every denomination of Christians, before matters can be reduced to the scripture standard," is deserving of the candid and serious consideration of every Christian community. And perhaps reformation, in respect to a restoration to the true *temper* and *spirit* of Christianity, as taught and exercised by the founders of the Christian church, is equally important with reformation in other respects. For whatever importance may duly attach to valid ordinations, to requisite government and discipline, to a due administration of ordinances, or even, to the hallowed truths of the blessed gospel itself; yet, ultimately, what will all these together avail, if unconnected with supreme love to God, and with its counterpart, love and good will to men? For rites and forms, ceremonies and ordinances of worship, correct creeds, and duly authorized administrations constitute only the *mere form*, while obedient love to God, and active benevolence to mankind, operate, as the life and soul of all true religion and godliness. Nor can the true worshippers of the Father of Spirits, when duly actuated by a lively faith in the ascended Redeemer, and cheered by the consolations of the Holy Spirit, restrain their enlarged souls, from expanding with a generous glow of brotherly love to true Christians of whatever name. To such of Episcopal denomination while thus influenced, how irksome must be that imperious mandate which prohibits intercourse with other Christians, in "all matters purely of a religious nature." But Christians who accede not to diocesan dogmas, although thus, or otherwise frowned on and spurned by High Churchmen, still cordially tender to all who love

our Lord Jesus Christ in truth and sincerity, the right hand of Christian friendship and fellowship.

Should Episcopalians of all classes in the Protestant churches, on more full, candid and luminous investigations of this subject, become induced to adopt, in reference thereto, the fore-mentioned mild and moderate views and sentiments of Dr. Scott, much thereby would be effected, towards healing that schism, which so long has grieved Zion's best friends, and afforded too much cause for triumphant exultation to her *worst* and most *inveterate* foes. But a lasting and radical healing of this schism can never take place, until such time, as the contending denominations shall cordially admit, so far as *validity* is involved, a mutual equality on each side, in ordinations and in all connected gospel administrations. This once effected, Judah would no more vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah: But all *true* Christians uniting in *harmony of love*, the strife would be, in serving Christ, who should contribute most to the best interests of his kingdom, in promoting the welfare of the whole. This condition of the church once arrived, rapidly would the gospel win its widening way, until Messiah's reign, extending from sea to sea, should with each river from its head, revolve through all its meanderings, to earth's remotest bounds.

Note referred to in page 99.

Dr. Scott's observation that "Much remains to be remedied and rectified, among every description of Christians, before matters can be reduced to the scripture standard," is so evidently just and important, as to be worthy, not only of the consideration, but likewise of a practical application, by all Christian sects, so far as further reformation may be effected in the present subdivided condition of the Christian church. Congregational and well ordered Baptist churches are, as respects ecclesiastical *organization* and *discipline*, nearly alike in all important concerns, modes and subjects of baptism *excepted*. These denominations harmonize with the scriptures and with each other, in a popular Tribunal from whence issue all final decisions of censure to the guilty, and of acquittal to the innocent. The elective power in the *se* denominations is, according to

scripture, duly deposited in each church, in the brotherhood, who elect by popular suffrage to the pastoral, and to the Deacon's office. The elected candidate to the former office, if a *laick*, is duly consecrated a Bishop by prayer, accompanied by the imposition of hands usually of three or four duly ordained pastors of other churches. But their Deacons, although ever a plurality in conformity with scriptural examples, yet are but rarely ordained to office by the pastoral imposition of hands, and consequently are *defective* through this omission in an important scripture requisition. Nor have these denominations a regularly constituted Presbytery in each church, as was the usage of each primitive church. This defect, however, is *less* the *fault* of these communities, than it is the unavoidable effect of the manifold "abuses" of former generations, alluded to by Dr. Scott. For the "Anti-Christian tyranny," expressly mentioned by him, sowed such discords amongst Christians, and so impaired confidence among them, as still renders the re-union of numbers sufficient to admit of Presbyteries like those of the primitive churches now, in a great degree, utterly impossible. But this defect of a regularly constituted Presbytery is in many churches of Congregational and of Baptist order remedied, in part, by a permanent committee, *electd* to office during good behaviour. These without the name virtually constitute a Lay eldership; and in concert with the pastor and Deacons, usually prepare all important business, previously to its being finally decided on by the brethren in full assembly.

Providence, May 1, 1822.

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