





WHOSE ARE THE FATHERS?

Κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντας τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν.—CLEMENT OF ROME, 1. 3.

‘Licet nullum ex apostolis vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur; tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicæ deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.’—TERTULLIAN, 8. 8.

‘Christus dicit ad apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt: “Qui audit vos, me audit, et qui me audit, audit eum qui me misit,” &c.—CYPRIAN, 11. 31.

‘Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos: ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et commune debere ecclesiam regere.’—JEROME, 29. 78.

Διαλεγόμενος περὶ ἐπισκόπων, καὶ χαρακτηρίσας αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰπὼν τίνα μὲν ἔχειν, τίνων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ, καὶ τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τάγμα ἀφῆλς εἰς τοὺς διακόνους μετεπήδησεν. Τί δήποτε; ὅτι οὐ πολὺ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἃ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει. Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τούτῳ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.—CHRYSOSTOM, 34. 45.

WHOSE ARE THE FATHERS ?

OR

THE TEACHING OF CERTAIN
ANGLO-CATHOLICS, ON THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY,
CONTRARY ALIKE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, TO THE FATHERS
OF THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES, AND TO THOSE OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

WITH A CATENA PATRUM OF THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES AND OF THE ENGLISH
CHURCH OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

JOHN HARRISON

CURATE OF FITSMOOR, SHEFFIELD.

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THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
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TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOHN STOW

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MAIN

PREFACE.



THE WRITER has always taken an interest in what relates to the maintenance and defence of Protestant and Evangelical religion, but did not, until two years ago, contemplate the authorship of such a volume as this. But that which a person may not at first design to do, he may, by a variety of circumstances, be induced to undertake. In these days of change and innovation in the Church, zealous partisans have made the best use they could of the daily press to promote ritualism and priestly power. It was in connection with an effort of this kind that the author contributed a series of letters in a local periodical; and a suggestion was made by the late Rev. Thomas Best and other clergymen that the general contents of those letters should be published in a more permanent form. The author readily attended to the suggestion, but in the first instance contemplated only a pamphlet or small volume. Finding, as he pursued the investigation of the Fathers with this object in view, how unsatisfactory it would be to give only a fraction of their testimony, he determined to include all the writers of the first six centuries, and quote them as fully as he might be able. Had he foreseen the labour and time required for the task, he

would not have undertaken it; and now, wishing to be at liberty for equal, if not more important duties, he sends forth his volume, relying more upon the facts and evidence it contains than upon the mode or style in which they are stated.

Since the author began his work, Ritualism has been rapidly developed, and some persons might perhaps ask, why has not a more direct attack been made upon that folly? The answer is, the author has struck at the root of the tree, and not attempted to pluck off its leaves. Ritualism is the natural and legitimate fruit of this Anglican doctrine on the Christian ministry, and Dr. Pusey and others have publicly recognised it as such. If the Church of England is to make a trio with the Romish and Greek Churches then the sooner she adopts the antics, attitudes, apparel, and apostacy, of the Churches of Rome and of Greece the better. But surely the Protestant and Evangelical Church of England has not yet come to this! and it is devoutly to be wished that she never may.

As a humble effort to avert so dreadful a catastrophe, the author commends the following work to all Bible Christians, and prays that the blessing of the Triune Jehovah may rest upon it.

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WHOSE ARE THE FATHERS?



INTRODUCTION.

THE doctrine held by certain Anglicans, that an uninterrupted stream of grace has come down to the English Church from Christ through the Apostles, exclusively by the episcopal office, and that without such grace, so communicated, there cannot be a valid church and valid sacraments, is either a dangerous delusion, or, to use the words of a recent writer, 'is one of the most fundamental of all church principles.' It is a doctrine to which no well-instructed Christian can be indifferent. Were it an innocent fiction, the case would be materially altered; for although we might pity the man who believed so much on such insufficient evidence, yet if his general faith were not affected by it, such a harmless speculation might be tolerated. But a hearty belief in this doctrine constitutes the difference between an evangelical protestant and a superstitious papist; between one who adheres to the Canonical Scriptures simply and one whose faith has several objects to which it must be directed, and all considered to be of equal importance; or, to use the language of the Bishop of Oxford, 'a hearty belief *alike* in the sacraments of the Church, her creeds, her orders, and her bible.'*

* Charge, 1863, p. 61.

Some parts of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon* amply confirm and illustrate the practical importance of this point. Thus, he says:—

‘Christ useth the outward ministry of men, appointed in succession.’ . . . ‘Such an organization as essential to the transmission of grace from Christ our Head.’ . . . ‘Through which (ministers) spiritual nourishment is ministered to the growth of the whole.’—p. 55.

Again he says:—

‘The doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice depends upon the doctrine of the real objective presence. Where there is the apostolical succession and a consecration in our Lord's words, there, it is held by Roman authorities too, is the Eucharistic sacrifice.’—p. 25. ‘Those before us have pointed out how the Church of England taught, not an “undefined,” but “a Real Objective Presence of Christ's Blessed Body and Blood.”’ . . . ‘The Church of England believes that the Body or Flesh, and the Blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and man, united indivisibly in one Person, are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, under the outward sign or form of Bread and Wine.’—p. 23.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation, interpreted in a Greek sense, by a distinction without a difference, Dr. Pusey says—

‘No English churchman who believes the Real Presence as his Church teaches, could hesitate to accept.’—p. 25.

Having manufactured a god, he and his friends, naturally enough, have assigned to him a throne to which they bow:—

‘In the traditional custom of bowing to the altar (when the Holy Sacrament is not there), we mean only reverence to it, as having been “the Throne of God.”’—p. 206.

When this doctrine of priestly power and its necessary adjuncts were prominently introduced about a quarter of a century ago, they received attention by the proper authorities, met with a fitting answer, and some of their leading authors were proscribed. Dr. Pusey himself for a time was suspended. Dr. Newman received such a severe rebuff for the authorship of Tract 90, that, according to his own account, it led to his joining the Roman communion. Archdeacon Wilberforce,

brother, in more senses than one, of the present Bishop of Oxford, when about to be called to account for his heretical book on the *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, openly adopted the Romish faith. But, notwithstanding these discouragements, this alien doctrine extended throughout the land. The present generation are under the hallucination that Tractarians and their doings are matters of the past; that the men who are the offspring of the heresy are sounder churchmen than others; and these so-called sound churchmen are not wanting in audacity to assume the title. But it is notorious to every one who will investigate the case, that the successors of the Tractarians approximate much nearer to the faith and practices of Rome than their predecessors did.

It may be asked—If Tractarians are now more extreme in their Romanizing views than formerly, how is it that so few now go to Rome? The answer is that they can do the work of Rome more respectably, and with better pay, where they are. This was not allowed when Tract 90 was published.

In a little book bearing the misleading title, *Defence of Church Principles*, containing Tractarian lectures delivered by different clergymen at Ipswich and Norwich, the Rev. R. F. Littledale, LL.D., says:—

‘Many of the men who went over to Rome some time ago because they thought the English Church was breaking up, are coming back by twos and threes and fours. Thirty years ago the men who went over to Rome never came back. They come back now because they see real work and healthy religion going on.’—*Church Principles tested by their Results*, p. 22.

In another lecture he says:—

‘They go (over to Rome) to get something which they cannot get, do not get, or, what often comes to the same thing, think they cannot get, in the English Church. When once they have got this notion fairly into their heads, all the no-Popery tracts and lectures in England will not keep them back. The real cure is to give them here what they are going to look for; and if they get all they want with us, you may be very sure few of them will take the trouble to go farther. Now, this is what the

Tractarians, as they are called, are trying to do, and it is for this that they are so heartily abused every day of their lives by persons who do not understand what they want.'—*Secessions to Rome*, p. 4.

These extracts require neither note nor comment.

The condemnation of Tract 90 by all the bishops of our Church was a severe blow to the Tractarians, and in consequence many joined the Romish Church. Dr. Pusey foresaw this. In his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury he said:—

'If this goes on, my lord, where is it to end? If *our own* BISHOPS, and others *encouraged by them*, say to us—sore as it is to repeat, they are their own words—"Get thee hence, Satan;" while those of the Roman Communion pray for us, and invite us, is it not sorely adding to the temptations, I say not of ourselves, but of younger men?'—p. 86.

What is so marvellous in these Tractarians is, that while on the one hand they exalt the office of the bishop, and give him the place of an apostle in power and authority, yet when it suits their convenience they can set aside, not merely one bishop, but all their bishops. Even the Bishop of Exeter said:—

'The tone of the tract (90), as it respects our Church, is offensive and indecent; as it regards the Reformation and our Reformers, absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound; the reasoning with which it supports its principles, sophistical; the averments on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts.'—*Charge*, 1842.

But in defiance of all the bishops, Dr. Pusey, Dean Hook, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Perceval, stood by the condemned tract. Dr. Pusey stands by it now. In his *Eirenicon* he says:—

'Our dear friend's tract (Dr. Newman's tract 90) has done good and lasting service, by breaking off a mass of unauthorised traditional glosses, which had encrusted over the Thirty-nine Articles.'—p. 30.

And he and Mr. Keble have republished it. Again he says:—

'The trumpet had sounded (Tracts for the Times), steady, clear, certain; and a very great army had gathered at the call. We do not need the trumpet when God's willing people are gathered. What has had to be done since has been to build on. The building arises "without axe

or hammer." Never, I am satisfied, was the work of God among us so wide and so deep as now. Far deeper and wider is it than in those glad, prosperous days, because the leaven which was hidden in the meal has worked secretly, and has now more centres, from which it is everywhere working.'—pp. 282, 283.

This is the place to give Dr. Newman's own statement respecting the Tract 90:—

'If conversions to Rome,' he says soon after Tract 90 was published, 'take place in consequence of the Tracts for the Times, I do not impute blame to them, but to those who, instead of acknowledging such Anglican principles of theology and ecclesiastical polity as they contain, set themselves to oppose them. Whatever be the influence of the Tracts, great or small, they may become just as powerful for Rome, if our Church refuses them, as they would be for our Church if she accepted them. If our rulers speak either against the Tracts or not at all, if any number of them, not only do not favour, but even do not suffer the principles contained in them, it is plain that our members may easily be persuaded either to give up those principles, or give up the Church. If this state of things go on, I mournfully prophesy, not one or two, but many secessions to the Church of Rome.'

'Two years afterwards, looking back on what had passed, I said, "There were no converts to Rome till after the condemnation of No. 90."—*Apol. pro Vita Sua*, p. 245.

Referring to his resignation in consequence of the condemnation of his Tract 90, he says:—

"I found no fault with the liberals; they had beaten me in a fair field. As to the act of the Bishops, I thought, as Walter Scott has applied the text, that they had "seethed the kid in his mother's milk."—p. 342.

And, again, referring to the same thing, he says:—

'I saw indeed clearly that my place in the movement was lost; public confidence was at an end; my occupation was gone. It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshal on the buttery hatch of every college of my university, after the manner of discommoded pastry-cooks, and when in every part of the country and every class of society, through every organ and occasion of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway carriages,

I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment. There were indeed men, besides my own friends, men of name and position, who gallantly took my part—as Dr. Hook, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Perceval: it must have been a grievous trial for themselves; yet what after all could they do for me? Confidence in me was lost.’—p. 173.

Soon after this a change took place in the Tractarian tactics. Tract 90 had proved a failure; the attack on the Prayer Book was too rude, it even frightened, as we have seen, the Bishop of Exeter; it had been spoken of as ‘ambiguous,’ ‘teaching with stammering lips,’ as ‘a judgment on the Church,’ and the like, whilst they extolled the ‘Mass Book as a sacred and most precious monument of the Apostles.’ But subsequently the Prayer Book was called a ‘precious jewel,’ and the Tractarians became wonderfully sound churchmen; they became wiser with wisdom not from above, and gave up the openly aggressive plan: to use the words of Dr. Pusey, ‘thenceforth the trumpet was not needed, the building arose without axe or hammer;’ and with patience and perseverance, peculiar to propagators of heresy, they adopted and carried into effect more private measures, which must have succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. Had Newman now been in our Church, he needed not, according to his own showing, to have gone to Rome. To use Dr. Gatty’s language, and speaking from his point of view, Tractarians would not have needed to console themselves on account of their ‘great loss’ by considering that Dr. Newman had ‘not taken with him the good seed he had already sown.’* We justly question the goodness of the seed. Judging from its fruits at Oxford and elsewhere, we should rather consider it to be impure. One of the most convincing proofs of its impurity is that it has so degenerated at Oxford as to produce a crop the very opposite to that which was intended, viz., sceptics instead of superstitionists, men who believe too little rather than too much. Unsound religion is always liable to extremes. If a

* Sheffield Daily Telegraph, December, 1863.

man ceases to exercise legitimately the faculties of mind which God has given him, the next thing is he will accept of nothing in religion but what can be made obvious to his senses and in which faith has no place.

In a charge delivered by the Bishop of Ripon this point is well stated. He says:—

‘Within the memory of most of those whom I am now addressing, two opposite schools of theology have displayed within the bosom of the Church the greatest activity. They are still striving for ascendancy. The distinguishing feature of the one is the exaltation of authority, the distinguishing feature of the other is the exaltation of the intellect.

‘By the one class of theologians implicit faith, almost unquestioning obedience, is claimed on behalf of the Church, on the ground of her Divine original; her ministry derived by an unbroken series of links from the Apostles themselves; her right of administering the sacraments, her traditions, her guardianship of Holy Writ; her office both to keep and expound the mysteries of Divine truth. By the other class of theologians, this claim on the ground of exclusive authority, is to a great extent, if not altogether, set aside. Truth is to be tested by the powers of the human reason. Revelation itself must submit to the same searching process of investigation as that by which the facts of profane history or of science are weighed and determined. Conscience is elevated to a position of pre-eminence to the revealed Word of God, and a claim is set up on the part of man himself to the possession of a verifying faculty, by the exercise of which he may determine what is to be accepted and what rejected, even in the volume of Revelation itself. How far it may be the case that secret affinities exist between these two apparently antagonistic schools of theology is a question by no means devoid of interest. It might not be difficult to show that the natural consequence of claiming more than is due on the side of authority is to provoke resistance to every species of control. Unnatural restraint almost inevitably leads to unbridled license. It is then more than possible that with all these palpable divergences, the two schools of theology to which I have referred have this relation to each other. The extravagant claim on the footing of authority which has been set up by the one has prepared the way for the extravagant exaltation of reason as independent of authority by the other. But in each case, the real root of the evil is to be found in the want of due reverence for the Supreme authority of Scripture as a Divine revelation. In each case, singular enough, the practical result is the same as regards the

dishonour which is done to the Word of God. The disciples of the one school maintain that we are indebted to the Church for the possession of the Scriptures, and that, independent of her teaching, we are not at liberty to interpret their meaning. The disciples of the other school maintain that, owing to the extraordinary advance of historical, geographical, or scientific research, the progress of human intellect, and the freer range of thought, the time has arrived when the facts and even the doctrines of the Bible must be submitted to methods of trial and investigation similar to those which are applied to verify the conclusion of the historian or philosopher. Thus in either case, the fundamental truth of the supreme authority of Revelation is practically obscured or denied, and we are in peril of being drifted into superstition on the one hand, or swallowed up in the vortex of infidelity on the other.'

This extract from the Bishop of Ripon admits of two very striking illustrations. Suppose some unfortunate person of weak or misguided judgment should believe, on the testimony of the Bishop of Oxford, that 'the Divine authority of Holy Scripture rests upon the Divine authority, in its proper place of the Holy Catholic Church.*' Let this disciple of the bishop be disposed on good grounds to give up such a faith in the Church, mixed up as it is by the bishop with the Divine inspiration and Divine authority of the Holy Scripture, there would be considerable danger in throwing overboard his superstition, of his also making shipwreck of his faith.

Dr. Pusey is another such case. He believes the inspiration of the book of Daniel, and the truth of the prophecies contained therein. In the book in which he ably states the grounds of his belief, he also records his faith in the inspiration of Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and his belief that he was a real prophetic character.

'I do not, of course, deny *Christian* prophecy after the apostolic age, such as I have myself pointed out as having been vouchsafed to St. Cyprian, along the whole course of his episcopate.'—*Lectures on Daniel*, p. 627.

It is not to be denied that there might be Christian prophecy

* Charge, 1863, page 58.

after the apostolic age. But the dozen instances referred to in the episcopate of Cyprian are extremely difficult to believe. We shall refer to one instance only, out of those selected by Dr. Pusey. It is the one when Cyprian had a revelation to inform him that the sacramental cup should be mixed with wine. A questionable revelation certainly.

‘But you should know that I have been admonished, that in offering the cup, the tradition of the Lord should be observed, nor ought else be done by us, than what the Lord has first done for us; that the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him should be mixed with wine. For whereas Christ says, “I am the true wine,” the blood of Christ is not merely water, but wine.’—*Epis.* 63.

For other instances of Dr. Pusey’s faith in the superstition and delusions of Cyprian, see ch. iv. of this vol. sects. 125, 137, 139.

It must be admitted that Tractarians have manifested a laudable zeal against modern scepticism in the Church, and have denounced some of the Essayists as dishonest in their subscriptions to the Articles, &c. &c., paying no regard to the excellent advice, ‘Physician, heal thyself.’ To what account the Tractarians have turned their opposition to the Essayists, and how it has acted in favour of their superstition, is shown in the charge of the Bishop of Carlisle. Speaking of some, whom he denominates a third party in the Church, he says:—

‘I, for one, can have no sympathy with men who had rather that all things should be brought to a standstill than that any the least alteration should be made which does not fully and exactly tally with the day-dreams of their own ambitious imaginations. And such men there are still at work amongst us. They were until recently regarded with a just and an universal suspicion, as animated by the spirit of sacerdotal absolutism, which, more than two centuries ago, involved our Church and kingdom in a common overthrow. The notable zeal with which, all the while retaining a cordial dislike to the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation, they have thrown themselves into the anti-rationalistic movement, has caused too many to condone their errors, and thus given them the opportunity, of which they have been by no means backward to avail themselves, of silently urging onwards their cherished scheme of unprotestantizing the National Church.’

Now what is the key-stone of the arch of this *via media* bridge between Canterbury and Rome? Most undoubtedly their teaching on the episcopal office. If, then, it is shown that this their teaching is not found in their own selected authorities, viz. the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the first six centuries, or in the formularies and Articles of the English Church, and especially as interpreted by her reformers and defenders of the sixteenth century, the arch of their bridge will be without strength and cohesion, and consequently every stone of the arch will be worthless. In fact, to lay aside all figure, their whole system of teaching as peculiar to themselves will turn out to be error and delusion. To prove this is the task which has been undertaken, and which is submitted to the reader in the following pages as accomplished.

It is believed by all parties, that the doctrine in question is not revealed in Holy Scripture, and it is made to rest on the tradition of the Fathers. All Anglo-catholics have subscribed to the following proposition :--

‘Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.’—*Art. vi.*

True churchmen cannot accept any other standard of authority; but these Anglo-catholics do when they appeal to the Fathers for a vindication of their private views on the episcopal office, which they hold to be necessary to the very existence of a church, and consequently necessary to salvation. With all their boasted respect for church authority, they most schismatically set up outside the Church a dogma, essential in their estimation, not required within it. Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Fathers of the first six centuries did hold the doctrine in question, as held by these Anglo-catholics, and that it will bear the test of the canon of the monk of Lerins, ‘*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est;*’ still that

ought to form no part of the faith of Anglo-catholics; for, if held at all, it must be as a mere private opinion. But it is maintained in the following pages that the Fathers of the first six centuries did not hold the doctrine in question; but so far from its bearing the test of the canon so vauntingly put forth by these modern Anglo-catholics, the canon can only be consistently applied to it in a negative sense, viz. the doctrine of the episcopal office, as held by these Anglo-catholics, was *not believed everywhere and always* during the first six centuries, *and not by any* of the Fathers of that period whose writings have come down to us. Proof may be safely challenged to the contrary. These Fathers have stated facts, have avowed beliefs, which are incompatible with this modern notion of succession.

In the first part of the *Catena Patrum*, appended to this book, the reader may consult for himself the statements of each several father, and draw his own conclusions. The evidence adduced from the Fathers, admitting they did not hold the doctrine in question, must of necessity be negative and indirect: they could not categorically deny or refute a doctrine of which they had no knowledge.

On the other hand, if they had held the doctrine in question, we should expect to find in their voluminous writings proof positive, such as could neither be questioned nor doubted, especially as they have discussed, very frequently and fully, kindred doctrines.

In the first part of the *Catena* will be found all, or nearly all, the passages usually quoted by these Anglo-catholics and their sympathisers in favour of their view of the doctrine. We have not knowingly omitted one extract of that kind which has come under our notice.

In quoting so largely from the Fathers on clerical orders and kindred subjects, other points are of necessity introduced, which at first sight might startle simple Evangelical Christians. But such readers may compose themselves by reading the Sixth Article, and bearing in mind the rule of Bishop Latimer,

viz. to believe the Fathers when they bring Scripture for what they say. One serious fault of the Fathers is their believing too much; confounding their own superstition with the faith of the Gospel, their fancies with facts, their own teaching, or that of their uninspired predecessors, with the teaching of Holy Scripture. They are to be pitied, who follow such blind guides in matters of faith and practice not revealed in Scripture. For instance, in such cases as praying, or offering sacrifice for the dead, connecting exorcism and the use of the oil with the sacrament of baptism, &c. &c. These practices would almost bear the test of the canon of the Monk of Lerins, and these Anglo-catholics complain that our Church, not having these things, is seriously wanting in ancient catholicity. It is grievous to think that any class of men in our Church should attempt to fetter the interpretation of Holy Scripture by the teaching of any of the Fathers, when in most cases in matters of fundamental importance, the Scriptures themselves are much more simple and easy to be understood than the Fathers are. Our greatest poet, and one of the first biblical and classical scholars, says:—

‘If these doctors, who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and suspectful translations of the apostate Aquila, the heretical Theodotian, the Judaized Symmachus, the erroneous Origen; if these could yet find the Bible so easy, why should *we* doubt, that have all the helps of learning, and faithful industry, that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of God as near now to us as ever? But let the Scriptures be hard: are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse than the Fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved sentences of the Fathers, besides the fantastic and declamatory flashes, the cross-jingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a settled devotion, worse than the din of bells and rattles.’—*Of Reformation in England. Milton’s Works*, pp. 9, 10. One vol. ed. 1833.

Again, Milton says:—

‘We do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic

man, by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table; and searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter, not of time, but of heaven, only bred up here below in Christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and discipline of the Gospel.—*Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

Bad as was the teaching of the leading authorities of the Church of antiquity, it was far worse in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Reformers then called in the aid of the Fathers of the early Church, to pull down or to detach, as the case might be, any additions to the superstructure of the Church, as added by more modern authorities. Daille has so well and accurately expressed the practice of the Reformers in this respect, that his testimony is here added:—

‘They all rely upon the authority of the Scriptures only; and admit not of any part of the authority of the Fathers, as a sufficient ground whereon to build any article of their belief. It is true, I confess, that some of their first authors, as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and J. Jewel (bishop) of Salisbury, and in a manner all the later writers, also allege the testimonies of the Fathers; but (if you but mark it) it is only by way of confutation, and not of establishing anything: they do it only to overthrow the opinions of the Church of Rome, and not to strengthen their own. For though they hold that the doctrine of the Fathers is not so pure as that of the Apostles, yet do they withal believe that it is much purer than that which is at this day taught by the Church of Rome; the purity of doctrine having continually decayed, and the impurity of it increased to such a degree, that the further they are removed from the time of the Apostles, the nearer they approach (as they say) towards the afore-mentioned *falling away* spoken of by St. Paul.

‘Although the Protestants allow the Scriptures only for the true foundation of their faith, yet, notwithstanding, they account the writings of the Fathers to be necessary also, and of good use; first of all, in proving this *decay* which they say has happened in Christianity; and, secondly, for making it appear that the opinions which their adversaries now maintain were not in those days brought into any form, but were as yet only in embryo. As for example, transubstantiation was not as yet an article of faith; notwithstanding they long ago did innocently,

and not foreseeing what the issue might prove to be, believe certain things, out of which (being afterwards glossed over by passing through several languages) transubstantiation was at length concocted. So, likewise, the supremacy of the Pope had at that time no place in the belief of men; although those small threads and root-strings, from whence this vast and wonderful power first sprang, long since appeared in the world.'—*On the Right Use of the Fathers*, ch. vi. pp. 296, 297.

From this it may be seen that the early Fathers have a legitimate use, and that they are in this way most valuable. The use made of them in the following pages is precisely the same as that made of them by all the leading authorities of our Reformed Church during the sixteenth century, as may be seen from the second part of the *Catena Patrum*.

This second part is exclusively confined to the leading authors of the English Church who wrote in the sixteenth century. The third part includes authors of a more recent date: they are admitted because, as will be explained more fully in a distinct chapter, they have been quoted by the Tractarians in their *Catena Patrum* to prove the Tractarian doctrine of apostolical succession.

If in these second and third parts of the *Catena*, the errors of Tractarians or Puseyites are condemned in the persons of Roman Catholics, it should be borne in mind that it is only in this way we could know the opinions of the writers quoted, for such errors were neither held nor tolerated by our Church during the age of the leading church authorities of the latter half of the sixteenth century, nor for a long time subsequently.

It is not necessary for our argument that the interpretation put upon Holy Scripture, in reference to clerical orders, by Fathers of the Church, should be right: probably in many, if not in most instances, it is not so. Nor is it necessary that the opinions of either the Fathers quoted in the first part of the *Catena* or those of the second and third parts, should be in perfect accordance with Holy Scripture. The doctrine of these disturbers of our Church relates not merely to a theory but to a fact. If we show that the writers of the first six centuries knew nothing of it, and

that the Reformers of our Church and her leading authors repudiate it, our object is gained.

One serious charge against these Anglo-catholics is that the extracts given from the Fathers are often garbled, and many passages, though not garbled, have been quoted apart from the context, which, if it had been given with the extracts, would have made them useless for the purpose for which they were adduced. Practices of this kind have been so common to all parties, that some special plan is desirable to put the reader into the position of judging for himself. Now, the only practicable manner of accomplishing this for the great bulk of readers, is that more copious extracts from the Fathers should be given, and that those thus given should not be selected so as to give one particular aspect or phase of church-government, but fairly to let the respective authors state in their own words what they have generally stated on the subject. This we have endeavoured to accomplish in the first part of the *Catena Patrum*, where will be found that what any particular father has stated relating to the subject of our book, has been given very fully. This is especially the case in regard to Clemens Romanus, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Ruffinus, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. There is no classification of these extracts; they are given in the order in which they stand in the several volumes out of which they have been taken. It has been considered that thus to give the reader an impartial impression of the real teaching of the Fathers, is the next best thing to his consulting the originals, which, for two or three reasons, would be quite impracticable to the ordinary class of readers. Many of the quotations are of necessity original translations, but where possible a free use has been made of such translations as came to hand, and especially those of *The Library of the Fathers*.

In the following pages, for the most part the term Tractarian or Puseyite will be avoided, and the term Anglo-catholic will be

used instead. There are, however, various kinds of Anglo-catholics, but true churchmen are right Anglo-catholics; and as those who hold and teach doctrines alien to our Church cannot be right Anglo-catholics, but are Angles of other kinds, which it is not necessary to define more accurately, they will be spoken of as '*these*' or '*certain*' Anglo-catholics.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEACHING OF CERTAIN ANGLICANS ON APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF SCRIPTURE, AND SHOWN ON THEIR OWN ADMISSION NOT TO BE REVEALED THEREIN, OR ONLY VERY OBSCURELY SO; AND ALSO THE INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN TEXTS ADDUCED BY CANON WORDSWORTH AND OTHERS PROVED TO BE INADMISSIBLE, CONTRARY TO ALL ANTIQUITY, AND IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THEIR OWN CANONS OF INTERPRETATION.

1. It is admitted by many of these Anglo-catholics and their authorities, that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is not revealed in Scripture, or very obscurely so. Mr. Keble says:—

‘The succession itself is a mystery, and of course left, as all mysteries are, in some respects dimly revealed, *i.e.* in the world’s language, vague and indistinct.’—*Keble on Tradition*, p. 96.

2. Mr. Gladstone says:—

‘To expect from Scripture a full account of the establishment of an order (of bishops, such as are now so called), whose function it was to replace the apostles, is to anticipate what is absolutely precluded by the nature of the case, inasmuch as Scripture only records what took place during the lifetime of the apostles.’—*Church Principles Considered*, &c., ch. v. *The Apostolical Succession*, p. 240.

3. The Rev. H. Newland says:—

‘But he (Mr. Thelwall) cannot find the apostolical succession; it is not quite so plain on the surface, no doubt. It never occurs to him that there could not be a great deal about the apostolical succession while the apostles were alive.’—*Lectures on Tractarianism*, by the Rev. H. Newland, p. 45.

4. Dodwell and Hammond, authors of great weight with these Anglicans, and quoted by them in their *Catena Patrum* on apostolical succession, acknowledge the silence of Scripture on this point. The former states:—‘The sacred penmen nowhere professedly explain the offices or ministries themselves, as to their nature or extent.’—*Nupero Schismate*, 14. The latter asks—‘Who were the apostles’ successors in that power which concerned the governing of their churches which they planted?’ This information he admits can only be obtained ‘from the consent of the Greek and Latin Fathers, who

generally resolve that bishops are the successors.'—*On the Power of the Keys. Preface*, p. ii.

5. The authors of the *Tracts for the Times* very generally concede that the doctrine in question is at best only very obscurely revealed in Scripture, if at all. Two instances out of many shall suffice :—

'The question, therefore, never need be, whether an ordinance, such as that of Episcopacy (in the Tractarian sense), can be *proved* to be of Divine command, for it has been observed, that our Lord never said that He was the Christ. But He was not on that account the less so, nor was it the less necessary that He should be received as such. All the external evidence required would be, whether there are indications of a Divine preference given to it; for if this can be proved, it is sufficient for a dutiful spirit. In such considerations, all that can be said is, "he that can receive it, let him receive it," and that "the poor in spirit" occupy "the kingdom." It follows, that, although such knowledge be the result of senses exercised in the discernment of good and evil, yet that it depends not on intellectual acuteness, or subtle reasonings. Religion being a practical matter, a disposition to argument should be discouraged, and the thoughts directed to something practically good; as God does not reveal himself excepting to a certain disposition, the question is one of natural piety.'—*Tract* 80, pp. 66, 67.

6. Another Tractator says:—

'We must honour the bishop, because he *is* the bishop;—for his *office*' sake; because he is CHRIST's minister, stands in the place of the Apostles, is the shepherd of our souls on earth, while CHRIST is away. This is FAITH, to look at things not as seen, but as unseen; to be as sure that the bishop is CHRIST's appointed representative as if we actually saw him work miracles as St. Peter and St. Paul did.'—*Tract* 10, p. 4.

7. Here is a tacit confession that apostolical succession can only be received as a doctrine of Scripture by those who cease to examine the evidence on which it is supposed to rest, and accept it on the authority of teachers who would delude their disciples into its reception by confounding ignorance with the meekness commended in Scripture, and superstition with the piety which it inculcates. 'It is no wonder, therefore,' as Archbishop Whately says,—

'That the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, deprecate all exercise of the mind in reflection, decry appeals to evidence, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people. It is not without cause that they dread and lament "an age of too much light," and wish to involve religion in "a solemn and awful gloom."

It is not without cause that, having removed the Christian's confidence from a rock, to base it on sand, they forbid all prying curiosity to examine their foundation.'—*Kingdom of Christ*. Second Edition, p. 186.

8. It certainly must be a desperate shift to attempt to show that the evidence of the Messiahship of the Lord Jesus and that for apostolical succession are much the same. But it is surely outrageous to diminish the Scriptural evidence for the Messiahship of our blessed Lord by affirming 'that our Lord never said that he was the Christ,' and then to found an argument upon it, when such facts as the following are recorded by the pen of inspiration :—'Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am the Messiah.' (John iv. 26.) 'I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, thou hast said.' (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64.)

9. The first extract as given from Mr. Keble well represents the sentiments of his brethren as expressed in the other extracts, viz. : 'that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession is a vague and indistinct mystery, and is dimly revealed.'

But if so, how comes it to pass that these writers, and certain other Anglo-catholics, nevertheless receive it as a doctrine on which they lay so much stress, as to maintain that without the thing which they believe the doctrine teaches, there can be no Church and therefore no salvation? Mr. Jones of Nayland, a link of the *Catena Patrum* on succession, says :—

'We all grant, in common with Dr. Samuel Clarke, that the legislative power of the Church cannot extend to matters of doctrine; for the power that can make a law can unmake it, and then it might follow that the Church might dispense with any "doctrine of Scripture."'

The doctrine in question is regarded by its own advocates as a mystery vague and indistinct and only dimly revealed in Scripture, or not revealed at all, and according to Mr. Jones, with whom we concur, the Church has no authority to institute a doctrine. How then can it be consistently believed by clergymen, and urged upon others at the peril of their souls if they reject it, after having subscribed to an article containing the following proposition?—

'Holy Scripture containeth all thing necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be

required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'—*Article VI.*

10. These Anglo-catholics think, however, that the doctrine of the transmission of the Apostleship of the twelve to others to the end of the world, may be inferred from certain parts of Holy Scripture. The texts adduced, and the inferences drawn therefrom by a few of these Anglicans, shall now be given.

Dr. Wordsworth states:—

11. 'Q. But to ascend higher; does the succession of the chief pastors to the Apostles appear to have been directly *authorised* by CHRIST?

'A. It does. The Episcopal government of the Church was originally *founded* in the *person* and office of our blessed LORD Himself.

'Q. How does this appear?

'A. As follows: CHRIST being sent by his Father (Heb. iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 25), to be the great Apostle, Bishop, and Pastor of the Church, as he is called in Scripture, and being visibly consecrated to that office by the Holy Ghost, sent his apostles as his Father had sent him. (Acts x. 38; Luke iii. 22.) He gave to them the Holy Ghost as his Father had given to him (John xx. 21, 22, xvii. 18); and commissioned them to execute the same apostolic, episcopal, and pastoral office, in their own persons, and in that of their successors, for the governing of his Church (2. Tim. ii. 2) until his coming again, promising to be with them always, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 18-20.)—*Theophilus Anglicanus or Instruction for the Student*, pt. i. chap. x. pp. 95, 96.

'With you, and with those in whom your apostolic authority to preach and administer the sacraments will be continued to the end, and in whom therefore it will live by my power.'—*On Matt. xxviii. 20.*

'As, *i.e.* with authority to *send others*; as I, who have been sent by my Father, *send you*; and I send you with the Holy Ghost, as I was anointed at my baptism with the Holy Ghost.'—*On John xx. 21.*

Dean Hook:—

12. 'As the Lord Jesus Christ was sent by the Father, so were the Apostles sent by him; "As my FATHER hath sent me," he says, soon after his resurrection, "even so send I you." Now, *how* had the FATHER sent him? He had sent him to act as his supreme minister on earth; as such to appoint under him subordinate ministers, and, to do what he then did when his work on earth was done, to hand on his commission to others. The Apostles, in like manner, were sent by Christ to act as his chief ministers in the Church, to appoint subordinate ministers under them, and then, as he had done, to hand on their commission to others.'—*Art. Bishop, Ch. Dic.*

Mr. Perceval, one of Dean Hook's authorities:—

13. 'Our Lord, before his departure from the world, addressed these

words, not to all the ministers he had ordained under himself, who consisted of, 1st, Apostles, 2nd, The Seventy,—but to the Apostles only: “As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.” “I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.” “I am with you always, even to the end of the world.”—*Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, ch. viii. 5, pp. 102, 103.

The Rev. Hugh James Rose, another of the Dean’s authorities:—

14. ‘I shall first observe, that in a passage of St. John’s Gospel our Lord declared to the apostles that, “As his Father sent him, so he sent them” (John xx. 21), words which seem of themselves almost sufficient for our purpose; that immediately after this declaration he breathed on them and said, “Receive the Holy Ghost,” and assured them that from that time, “whosoever sins they remitted, those sins were remitted, and whosoever sins they retained, were retained.” But with these strong and positive promises, we must join others recorded by St. Matthew. . . . We find in both a command of our Lord to the apostles to “go and make disciples of all nations and baptise them,” and a promise that “He would be with them to the end of the world.” (Matt. xxviii. 20.) . . . I must, however, observe here, that when our Saviour says that “he sent his apostles as the Father sent him,” he obviously speaks only of his embassy as a teacher and minister. . . . If, then, Christ sent the apostles *as* his Father sent him,—sent them, that is to say, to do his work after he had departed from the world; if by that very act he showed that in his ministerial character he had the power of delegating and continuing his authority, could they to whom he promised the same power as he possessed, conceive that that essential part of it, the right of delegation, was withheld, when the religion was to be continued for ever? . . . But an objector of a different kind will complain that we rest our cause on a word; that in the passage we allege, *all* nations can only mean *all* the nations which the apostles had the means of visiting and converting. We rest not our cause on a word, but on the promise of Jesus which explains it. “Lo! I am with you always,” said he, “even to the end of the world.”—*The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*, Sermon ii. pp. 40–43, 46.

The Bishop of Exeter:—

15. ‘First, then, for the great question of the very foundation and origin of your ministerial charge. Do you derive it in regular succession from those who were invested with it, and with the power of transmitting it, by the great Head of the Church? . . . Turn to the Gospels appropriated to the service (Ordination), and first to that from the 20th chapter of St. John: “Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; *as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.*” . . . Or read the other lesson from St. Matthew’s Gospel, in which our Lord commissions and empowers his apostles, not only to admit subjects into his kingdom, members into his Church, but also to teach and govern the Church, promising his

perpetual presence with them: "Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." Is it conceivable that the Church, in selecting this passage of Scripture to be read on this occasion, did not mean by it to signify, that the promise was to be fulfilled by Christ's presence with them, the successors of the apostles, to the end of the world?—*Charge, 1839.*

"Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; *as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.*" Now, if these words do not confer Christ's authority, what do they confer? Or, if it be said that their scope and efficacy extended not beyond the persons of the apostles, what did our Lord mean by his solemn declaration that he "would be with them always, even to the end of the world"?—*Charge, 1842.*

Bishop of Oxford:—

16. 'And how could the Church fulfil this office unless of a truth God were personally with her? Unless her whole system be supernatural, unless a Divine breath inspire her judgment, how could she discern the truth amidst the conflicting claims of many writings?'—*Charge, 1863, pp. 60, 61.*

Mr. Gladstone:—

17. 'After his ascension' (?) "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you; and when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." (John xx. 21–23.) But it naturally occurs that there is here no proof of the perpetuity of the apostolical power. It might have been needful or advisable that for the first institution of the Christian Church a body of men should be appointed with extraordinary qualifications, and with corresponding powers—and yet it might have been ordained that their offices should determine with their lives, and that all the subsequent exigencies of the body, which was to receive from them its first organisation, should be provided for by such a machinery of government as its members might, in the due use of their understandings, conclude to be appropriate and sufficient for the purpose. But every such theory is at once and absolutely precluded by the closing words of St. Matthew's Gospel, which are these: "And lo! I am with you alway." (The phrase used is peculiarly expressive of unintermitted continuity, *πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας*, "all the days,") even unto the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii. 20.) "With you alway,"—but how should he be alway unto the end of the world with men whose lives were appointed to determine in the usual course of nature, or, as respected many of them, by the hand of violence at even an earlier period? As our Lord had first instituted the office in the persons, so he now contemplates the office through the persons of the apostles, and in declaring that he will ever abide with it, he declares and thereby establishes its perpetuity, while he likewise, as is obvious, connects that perpetuity in a peculiar manner with their own personal agency. The power, therefore, by which the apostles acted

was not to expire with their lives. It was to continue, even to the end of the Christian dispensation.'—*Church Principles*, chap. v. secs. 15–16, pp. 203, 204, 205.

Mr. Gladstone, in an appendix, gives a long list of authors, many of whom quote the same texts and make similar remarks upon them.

The Rev. W. Palmer:—

18. 'Christ gave to the apostles his own mission: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" empowering them by these words to give to *others* the mission which, by the very act of conferring it on the apostles, he showed to be transmissible. . . . Therefore they were evidently empowered by God to give their own divine mission to Christian ministers, and the succession of such ministers was never to fail: "Lo, I am with you" (and therefore with your successors) "always, even to the end of the world."—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 140.

19. The above extracts are a fair sample of modern Anglican teaching on the supposed transmission of the Apostleship. It is generally believed by this school that the commission given to the twelve has been handed down to the present bishops, and to them exclusively, and this is what the above texts taken conjointly teach; and if the frequency of quotation and the boldness of mere assertion avail anything, the question is now settled. It would seem as if this school considered these texts, from the stress they lay upon them, to be the beginning, middle, and end of Scripture. The Bishop of Oxford expatiates upon them with his episcopal eloquence in his charges and public speeches.

But before we proceed to examine these texts, it is necessary to come to a proper understanding respecting the principles of interpretation. These Anglicans have a very convenient canon which often is of singular value to them, and by which they constrain the Scriptures into an agreement with that strange thing which they call 'the Church.' And thus we are often pained to hear the alien dialect, 'Thus saith the Church,' instead of the language 'Thus saith the Lord.' Or, according to the last charge of the Bishop of Oxford, the oracle of infallibility, 'half in the speech of Ashdod,' and half 'in the Jew's language,' 'Thus saith the Church and the Scriptures;' confounding darkness with light, fallibility with infallibility.

20. The canon as expressed in the words of Dr. Wordsworth is as follows:—

‘If there is such a thing as the Church Universal, to which Christ has promised His presence and His Spirit; if there are such words as the following in the New Testament, “Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world;” “The Comforter shall teach you all things, and guide you into all the truth;” “The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth;” if Christ has given us the Holy Scriptures by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and if He has delivered Scripture to the keeping of the Church Universal, and appointed her to be its guardian and interpreter; if He has done these things, it is not only folly and presumption, it is a sin against Him and against the Holy Ghost, to say that any of the books, or any portion of the books, which have been received, as divinely-inspired Scripture, by the consentient voice of the Church Universal, is not inspired by God, but is a human composition, blemished by human infirmities. . . .

21. ‘So, again, it is an illusory hope, that advances can be made in the work of sacred interpretation, by the instrumentality of any who reject the expositions of Scripture received by the consent of ancient Christendom, and who propound new interpretations invented by themselves, at variance with the general teaching of Scripture as received by the Catholic Church.’—*Preface to the Greek Testament*, p. ix.

22. The latter part of the extract more especially contains the canon. It should be noticed how Dr. Wordsworth claims infallibility for the Universal Church, which church he does not define. Archbishop Laud, the father of this Anglican heresy, has furnished an answer by anticipation. See Chap. VII. 20.

23. The Bishop of Oxford expresses similar sentiments and accepts the same canon as Dr. Wordsworth:—

‘On us in our day, as having inherited the pure deposit; on us as witnesses and guardians of the ancient faith; on us as solemnly set to interpret God’s Word, as from old it has been interpreted.’—*Sermon preached at St. Mary’s Church, Oxford*, 1855, p. 24.

24. We by no means accept this canon, but are prepared to prove that these Anglicans, in the interpretation of John xx. 21-23, and Matt. xxviii. 20, have most completely set it aside; that they

‘have rejected the expositions of Scripture received by the consent of ancient Christendom, and have propounded new interpretations invented by themselves, at variance with the general teaching of Scripture as received by the Catholic Church.’

These Anglicans profess great attachment to ancient interpretations, and in this particular instance we find it convenient to consult their taste as it exactly suits our purpose. And since they give preference to a canon constructed by themselves, it will not be out of place to yield to their foibles, and effect our purpose by an instrument of their own construction.

It may, however, be well to enquire whether the testimony of the Fathers upon the interpretation of the text in question, is a legitimate test to try the accepted canon of these Anglicans.

25. The Fathers have given interpretations of single words, and particular prophecies to which the canon in question could not be well applied. Thus the Hebrew term denoting one of the principal Jewish feasts, usually translated 'passover,' is represented in the Greek by the term *πάσχα* (passover), and this is interpreted by most of the fathers of the first four centuries as signifying passion or suffering, and they suppose the term to be derived from a Greek verb, *πάσχω*, which means to suffer. It is so interpreted by Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, by how many more fathers we cannot tell. Of course Origen and Jerome as Hebrew scholars would know better.

26. Again in regard to the interpretation of prophecy, nearly all the fathers of the first three centuries and part of the fourth believed in a temporal reign of the risen saints on earth for a thousand years. Origen and Jerome, better acquainted with Judaism, rejected these carnal notions. Dean Alford, in his notes on the Greek Testament, says:—

'Those who lived next to the apostles, and the whole Church for 300 years, understood them in the plain literal sense; and it is a strange sight in these days to see expositors who are among the first in reverence of antiquity, complacently casting aside the most cogent instance of consensus which primitive antiquity presents.'—*On Rev.* xx. 4-6.

27. Dr. Wordsworth, in his notes on the same text, discards the all but universal exposition of antiquity, and gives in this case an irrelevant one of his own, in the shape of a trite truism revealed elsewhere in Holy Scripture, but not alluded to in the text in question. He says, on the words '*They lived a*

thousand years, 'The souls of the martyrs lived after their death, before the resurrection of their *bodies.*'

28. If these Anglicans did not abandon their own acknowledged canon they would be amongst the most zealous chiliasts or millenarians of the present day, and being guided by the patristic interpretations of the first three or four centuries, they might tickle the fancy of their disciples by many curious representations of the thousand years yet to come, of which the following are specimens.

29. Irenæus represents a vine in those days as producing more wine than would float all the vessels in the world; and tells us that a single grain of corn would be so fruitful, that from the accurate description which he gives, it would produce about 446,000 tons of fine flour, exclusive of bran and sharps. (6. 15.)

Lactantius says:—

'The earth shall yield its fertility, and spontaneously produce most abundant fruits; the rocks of the mountains shall sweat with honey, wine shall run down in streams, and the rivers flow with milk.'—
Lib. vii. cap. 24, p. 668.

30. The most valuable aid the early Fathers render us in the interpretation of Scripture, is their narration of facts which came under their own personal knowledge; their theories, or fancies, are often the most weak and worthless. Uninterrupted apostolic succession as held by certain Anglicans, if true, was not a mere theory, but an important fact, and should have been well known to the Fathers.

The doctrine in question, viewed from this Anglican point, is one of all others on which we might take the testimony of the Fathers, and their knowledge of the supposed fact, or their ignorance of it, must assuredly influence their interpretation of any particular texts relating to the supposed fact in question. The rule adopted by Dr. Wordsworth ought most certainly, if anywhere, to be applied here. Let us see, then, how his interpretation agrees with the general if not with the universal interpretation of the Fathers of the first six centuries. The briefest extracts will be given here, but in most instances fuller information will be found in the *Catena Patrum* appended, to which references will be given. We shall commence with

the quotation made from Dr. Wordsworth at sect. 11 of this chapter, and consider first those texts adduced by him only, and probably for the first time in the history of biblical interpretation adduced for such a purpose.

31. That 'Christ was sent by his Father to be the Great Apostle, Bishop, and Pastor of the Church,' is a most certain, and to us most blessed truth, and the Holy Scripture quoted on which it rests unquestionable, and which shall be here given in full. 'Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the *Apostle* and *High Priest* of our profession Christ Jesus.' (Heb. iii. 1.) But when Dr. Wordsworth affirms that Christ commissioned his Apostles to execute the SAME *Apostolic*, *Episcopal*, and *Pastoral* office with which He Himself had been intrusted by the Father, in their own persons, and that of their successors, he affirms what is not true, and profanes Holy Scripture in quoting it for such a purpose. If we take the Apostle Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, then we have an Apostle, on the authority of Divine inspiration 'in nothing behind the very chiefest Apostles,' representing Christ, then glorified, as being his Apostle and High-priest of his profession, and teaching the Christian Hebrews and others so to regard Him. It did not enter into the mind of St. Paul that he was the successor to the Apostleship of Christ.

32. Had Christ, or could he have, any successor, in this respect? For instance, to ask a practical question founded on the teaching of Dr. Wordsworth and his brethren; are the Bishop of Oxford and the Bishop of Natal, two opposite cases where extremes nearly meet, by virtue of their consecration as bishops successors to the Apostleship of Christ, or is any bishop or any man, however orthodox or holy, that successor? The beloved disciple and apostle who reclined on his Divine Master's bosom in the days of His humiliation, when he saw Him again 'fell,' as well he might, 'at His feet as one dead.' (Rev. i. 17.) But many of these Anglo-catholics, who 'strain at a gnat and swallow a camel,' will turn in worship towards the east, because, as they say, Christ came from the east (which is a profane misconception), and make obeisance or bow to a table on which the elements are accustomed to be placed for the celebration of the

Lord's Supper, while they arrogate to themselves prerogatives, some of which belong exclusively to the Lord Jesus Christ, and others as exclusively to His holy Apostles. The Apostleship of Christ, no more than his Chief-priesthood, can be delegated to another. He in His own person is the Apostle and High Priest of His Church, as St. Paul teaches in his Epistle to the Hebrews.

33. The following may serve as a kind of very modified commentary on Dr. Wordsworth's teaching :—

'In one sense, it is from the bishop that the *news of redemption and the means of grace* have come to all men ; this again is a witnessing Christ. I who speak to you concerning Christ, was ordained to do so by the bishop ; he speaks in me ; as Christ wrought in him, and as God sent Christ. Thus the whole plan of salvation hangs together : Christ the true Mediator above ; His servant, the bishop, His earthly likeness ; mankind the subjects of His teaching ; God the author of salvation.'—*Tract 10*, pp. 4, 5.

34. The other text serves the purpose of Dr. Wordsworth no better ; for, taken with the context, it is plain that Christ is represented as being a Shepherd and Bishop in such a way as he could have no successor :—

'Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness : by whose stripes ye were healed. For ye were as sheep going astray ; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.'—*1 Peter ii. 24, 25*.

The Shepherd referred to is He who gave His life for the sheep. In the words 'but are now returned unto the Shepherd,' there seems to be a blending of the comparison with the thing compared ; and the term Bishop seems to be added after Shepherd by way of explaining in what sense Christ is now our Shepherd.

St. Peter was the chief of the Apostles, but surely he does not refer to himself as being the Shepherd and Bishop of souls ; and if not, it will be difficult to conceive what the text in question has to do with the doctrine of Apostolical Succession.

35. Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Notes on the New Testament*, has not given any intimation that these two texts which have now been noticed have any relation to the peculiar prerogatives of a bishop. His *Theophilus Anglicanus* is intended as 'instruc-

tion for the young student;’ perhaps his *Notes on the New Testament* are for older ones. But it is unkind to feed the young confiding candidate for the office of the Christian ministry with what is not the ‘sincere milk of the Word.’

The other texts quoted by Dr. Wordsworth will be considered in connection with an examination of the use made of them by those other Anglicans.

36. The next text to be considered is John xx. 21; and as Mr. Rose has well represented the opinion of his brethren in his application of that text, we shall requote him and give the answer:—

“As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.” (John xx. 21.) If then Christ sent the Apostles *as* his Father sent him,—sent them, that is to say, to do his work after he had departed from the world; if by that very act he showed that in his ministerial character he had the power of delegating and continuing his authority, would they, to whom he promised the same power as he possessed, conceive that that essential part of it, the right of delegation, was withheld, when the religion was to be continued for ever?”

37. ‘Christ sent his Apostles *as*,’ &c. Why this emphasis? Is the following his meaning? Bishops succeed to *the same power* as the Apostles possessed; the Apostles to *the same power* as Christ possessed; Christ, as Mediator, to *the same power* as God the Father possessed; and so bishops succeed to *the same power* as God the Father possessed? This appears to be the meaning of Mr. Rose, and most certainly so of Dr. Wordsworth; as is plain from the use he has made of the same text, and the argument he has founded upon it, as above given at section 11 of this chapter.

38. Several of these Anglicans, and Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Rose in particular, appear to make no difference between the sending of Christ and the sending of the Apostles. They seem to make Christ an Apostle among the Apostles; in fact the first in the line of succession. Clement, ‘whose name is in the book of life,’ and whose epistle is the most ancient, authentic, and valuable of all the apostolical records, was ignorant of this Anglican mode of sending bishops. He represents the several appointments as of descending grades. All the grades of sending are gone through, and coming to the last and lowest, he

says, 'The Apostles appointed their first-fruits, having proved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons.' (See **1. 3.**)

39. Tertullian also goes through these grades of sending; but so far from his attaching importance to a bishop having the same power as that of Christ, or that of an apostle, he seems to merge him among the church or congregation assembling in one place. His words are, 'That which the churches (not the bishops exclusively) have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God.' (**8. 6.**) At the commencement of the 37th chapter of the same book (page 211), Tertullian says:—

'If these things be so, so that the truth be adjudged to belong to us as many as walk according to this rule, which the Churches have handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God.'

If this most valuable Latin father of the second century had any such notion of a bishop as certain Anglicans now have, it is truly marvellous he should have, in these instances, used the term *church*, when *bishop* would have answered his purpose so much better.

40. Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, would have been perfectly shocked at the irreverence of these Anglicans. In his homilies he specially guarded his hearers against any such misconception of the language of Holy Scripture. He says, 'For great and altogether boundless is the interval between Christ and his disciples;' and he adds on the text in question:—

"As the Father hath sent me, so send I you." Seest thou here, also, the word hath not the same force? for if we take it as though it had, the Apostles will differ in nothing from Christ.'

Again he states on a similar text:—

"As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world." . . . In this place, again, the *as* is not put to signify resemblance in the case of Himself and the Apostles; for how was it possible for men to be sent otherwise?' (For fuller evidence see **34. 27, 28.**)

Chrysostom evidently understands the comparison not between the parties *sent*, but between the parties sending. He says, 'Ye have no difficulty, owing to what hath already come to pass, and to the dignity of me who send you.' (See **34. 29.**)

41. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, has spoken very much to the point on this text. He says:—

‘For if they are so sent, even as Christ was sent by the Father, how necessary it is to consider to what the Father sent the Son. For thus, and not otherwise, can they imitate Him.’

And he goes on to state that ‘Christ came to call sinners to repentance; to save, and not to condemn the world;’ &c., and concludes:—

‘All which things he signified by these very few words, saying, that he sent them as he himself was sent by the Father; that hence they might understand that they were to call sinners to repentance, that they should care for the body and soul of those that were sick, and in the dispensation of things should not do their own will, but the will of Him who sent them, and should save the world by preaching, and the doctrine of faith.’ (See 37. 6.)

In this same connection Cyril states:—

‘For we find it written a little below, that Thomas was not with the disciples when Jesus came: How, therefore, (some one will say) if then he was absent when Christ breathing said, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost,” was he made a partaker of the Spirit? We answer, then, that the virtue of the Spirit from the intention of Christ’s giving, passed into all the disciples: for he gave not to some but to *all the disciples*. Wherefore, by this liberality of giving, not only the apostles present, but *all the apostles* who were absent, received the Holy Ghost.’ (37. 7.)

In reference to this very point, Dr. Wordsworth states:—

‘Thomas was not present when He breathed on them; yet we cannot doubt that the breathing extended its virtue to him, and to *all* who were duly called and sent by Christ. (*Cyril*.) Cp. Numb. xi. 24, 26.’—*On John* xx. 22.

The passage he referred to in Cyril is the one now under consideration, the teaching of which Dr. Wordsworth appears to adopt; but if so, then he must conclude that ‘*all the disciples*,’ which certainly would be more than five hundred, received the Holy Ghost as well as the ten disciples. Cyril evidently uses the term Disciple and Apostle here as being equivalent; but if not, under the term Apostles he included more than the twelve—the seventy disciples at least, whom he, and nearly all the fathers call Apostles, if not the five hundred whom Theodoret and some of the fathers also call Apostles. (See Chap. II. 16.)

42. Will the text under consideration suit these Anglicans

equally well if we assume, on the authority of Cyril, that our Lord commissioned the seventy-two disciples, as well as the eleven? We very much doubt it. Anyhow this illustrious Greek father differs essentially from these Anglicans as to the work to which the Apostles were sent, and as to the number he believed to be sent; proving how ignorant he must have been of these Anglican assumptions, and the fundamental importance attached to them.

43. Remigius quotes the text, and so applies it as manifestly to indicate that the early Church could not have understood it after the manner of these Anglicans. (See **46. 6.**)

44. Gregory the Great speaks very definitely on the text under consideration. He says:—

“As God the Father sent me God, I man also send you men.” “As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;” that is, I love you with that love when I send you into the midst of trials of persecution, with which the Father loved me whom he appointed to come to bear sufferings.’

In this text he explains the term *as*, not as denoting a general equality between the Apostleship of Christ and his servants the Apostles, but as he considered that there was some resemblance denoted by the term, he thus applies it to their sufferings. (For a much fuller statement see **54. 17.**)

45. Our learned and illustrious presbyter Bede makes some remarks upon the text, but his silence in regard to this modern Anglican teaching is ominously against his degenerate successors. (**55. 5.**)

46. No man perhaps was more competent to give the teaching of the early Catholic Church than Thomas Aquinas was. In his *Catena Aurea*, or *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, he gives the interpretations of three fathers on the text in question, which shall here be quoted:—

“As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.” *Gregory.* That is, I love you, now that I send you to persecution, with the same love wherewith my Father loved me, when he sent me to my sufferings. *Augustine.* We have learnt that the Son is equal to the Father; here he shows himself Mediator; *He me*, and *I you.* *Chrysostom.* Having then given them confidence by his own miracles, and appealing to Him who sent him, he uses a prayer to the Father, but of his own authority gives them power.’—Vol. iv. pp. 606, 607.

This also is singularly against these Anglicans, for there is not the remotest hint of their interpretation or application of the text, but that which is absolutely fatal thereto, as far as the consent of the Catholic Church of antiquity is concerned.

47. Theophylact, the most illustrious father of the age in which he lived, states on this text, 'But see thou also his authority. He doth not say I will pray my Father, and He shall send you; but I send you.'—*Latin Translation, f. 437.*

Theophylact certainly understood our Lord not to institute a comparison between Himself and the Apostles being *sent*, as these Anglicans do, but between the Father's *sending*, and His *sending*. These Anglicans, as we have seen, regard our Lord's words as designed to convince the apostles that they had the same power as he had; whereas, he no doubt teaches that he had the same power as the Father had. The Lord Jesus appears to be speaking, not in his ministerial character, but, as the risen Lord of his Church, in his regal character.

48. It will be shown in the next chapter, that whatever power the twelve apostles possessed, the Fathers generally did not conceive that power or their apostleship to be transmissible to any successors.

Mr. Gladstone admits that in this text there is 'no proof of the perpetuity of the apostolic power.' (Sect. 17 of this chap.) But he believes it may be deduced from the text which we are now to consider (Matt. xxviii. 20), the interpretation and application of which, as given by Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Wordsworth, and others of these Anglicans, will be seen at sections 11-18 of this chapter. And here we shall give the interpretation and application of the same text as recorded by all the leading Fathers of the first six centuries.

49. Origen applies the text to all believers: 'Who saith to all in every place, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."' (Matt. xxviii. 20.—**10.** 8.) Cyprian, addressing certain laymen and women, who were being persecuted for their Christian profession, said: 'Having the Lord your protector and guide, who said, "Lo, I am with you,"' &c. (**11.** 9.) Novatian so interprets the text as to apply it to all Christians. (**14.** 1.) The great Athanasius says:—

‘For the Word is near, who is all things on our behalf; even our Lord Jesus Christ, who, having promised that his habitation with us should be perpetual, in virtue thereof cried, saying, “Lo, I am with you,” &c. For he is the Shepherd, &c.’ (17. 9.)

Hilary, the bishop, quoting the text in question, says:—

‘For He is present also when He is called upon faithfully.’ . . . ‘He is present with him who believes in Him. For He will be present with two or three who are met in His name,’ &c. (19. 6.) ‘When finally after His passion, He himself promised the watchings of his eternal keeping towards us, saying, “Lo, I am with you,” &c.’ (19. 7.)

Macarius makes a general application of the text in two different places in his writings. (28. 2-3.) Jerome, in his commentary on the text, says: ‘He who promised that he would be with his disciples to the end of the world, shows also that he will never depart from believers.’ (29. 62.) Ruffinus, in three different places, applies the text generally to all believers. (32. 6, 9, 11.) Augustine states:—

‘For to all those whom Christ saw would become his, he said, “Lo, I am with you,” &c.’ (33. 14.)

‘Do thou lay hold with the heart, for Christ being absent is also present. . . . “Lo I am,” &c.’ (33. 60.) ‘As to the whole Church he promised, “Lo, I am with you,” &c.’ (33. 63.) ‘Our Lord Jesus Christ both came to men and went away from men, . . . and he is to come to them to whom he said, “Lo, I am,” &c.’ (33. 75.) ‘Nor to the disciples only does what he said, “Lo, I am, &c.” apply, but even to all Christians that should be after them, and succeed them unto the end of the world.’ (33. 76.)

Chrysostom, in his homily on the text, says:—

‘And not with those men only did He promise to be, but also with all that believed after them. For plainly the apostles were not to remain here unto the end of the world; but he speaks to believers as to one body.’ (34. 26.)

Gaudentius applies the text to all believers. (36. 1.) Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, makes a general application of the text. (37. 16.) Theodoret applies the text indiscriminately to the whole Church. (39. 6.) Leo I. says:—

‘Christ is an undivided indweller in His temple, which is His church, according to what He Himself promised, saying, “I am with you always,” &c.’ (44. 3 and 4.) ‘The Lord assures his presence to us, saying, “Lo, I am with you, &c.” . . . He who sits at the right hand of His Father, the same is an indweller in the whole body, &c.’ (44. 5.)

Fulgentius, quoting the text, says:—

‘How did he ascend into heaven, except he was very man contained in a place? Or how is he present *with all the faithful*, except that he is infinite and true God?’ (49.)

The Venerable Bede, in his commentary on the text, states:

‘He remains with his saints in Divinity on earth.’ (55. 3.)

50. But to settle the interpretation of this text as far as antiquity is concerned, to the entire satisfaction of any reasonable Anglo-catholic, additional evidence shall be adduced. In the ninth century, when what is called catholic truth and catholic interpretation had become well defined, and priestly power and pretensions had been well recognised, so much so that it would have been perilous to any interpreter of Scripture to have deprived the sacerdotal order of the application of any text to them which had been previously so recognised, Theophylact, in his commentary on John xx. 22–23, says:—

‘Why did he not appear to the disciples in Galilee, but in Jerusalem, since Matthew and Mark say that he promised to go before them into Galilee? Why therefore did he appear in Jerusalem? Some ask, how could this be? For he did not say I will only see you in Galilee, but I will not see you in Jerusalem. And so it appears more plain, and without contradiction. For afterwards he promised that he would be seen in Galilee by all his disciples, and not by the twelve only, but by the seventy. But in Jerusalem he appeared to the twelve only. Nor is there any discrepancy. For he was seen by all in Galilee, but in Jerusalem by the twelve.’—*Enar. in Joann.* cap. xx. vs. 22. f. 438. Latin trans.

According to Theophylact, he promised, not only to be with the eleven, but with the seventy, or all his disciples. Bishop Horsley and Dean Alford give a similar interpretation. Theophylact, in his commentary on the text in question, says:—

‘Not only to the apostles was this being present with them promised, but also to all Christ’s disciples simply as such; for the apostles, indeed, were not to live till the end; so that to us and to those after us has this been promised.’—*Enar. in Matt.* cap. xxviii. 20. f. 100. Latin trans.

51. But the most decisive authority we can quote in relation to our present point is Thomas Aquinas, the most famous doctor of the Latin Church. He lived in the twelfth century, and compiled a commentary on the four Gospels, selected out of

the works of the Fathers from the third to the twelfth century. He has, in his commentary on the text which we are discussing, given what he thought worthy of being recorded as the catholic interpretation of the greatest uninspired authorities of the Church. He states :—

CHRYSOSTOM : ‘ And because what He had laid upon them was great, therefore to exalt their spirits He adds, “ And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world ;” as much as to say, Tell me not of the difficulty of these things, seeing I am with you, who can make all things easy. A like promise He often made to the prophets in the Old Testament, to Jeremiah who pleaded his youth, to Moses and to Ezekiel, when they would have shunned the office imposed upon them. And not with them only does He say that He will be, but with all who shall believe after them. For the apostles were not to continue till the end of the world, but He says this to the faithful as to one body.’—RABANUS MAURUS (*Archbishop of Mayence*, A.D. 847) : ‘ Hence we understand that to the end of the world shall not be wanting those who shall be worthy of the Divine indwelling.’—BEDE (*Presbyter and Monk of Yarrow*, A.D. 700) : ‘ It is made a question how He says here, “ I am with you,” when we read elsewhere that He said, “ I go unto Him that sent me.” What is said of His human nature is distinct from what is said of His divine nature. He is going to His Father in His human nature, He abides with His disciples in that form in which He is equal with the Father. When He says “ to the end of the world,” He expresses the infinite by the finite ; for he who remains in this present world with His elect, protecting them, the same will continue with them after the end, rewarding them.’—JEROME : ‘ He then who promises that He will be with His disciples to the end of the world, shows both that they shall live for ever, and that He will never depart from them that believe.’—LEO I. (*Pope*, A.D. 440) : ‘ For by ascending into heaven He does not desert His adopted ; but from above strengthens to endurance those whom He invites upwards to glory, of which glory may Christ make us partakers, who is the King of Glory, God blessed for ever. Amen.’—*Catena Aurea*, vol. i. pp. 989–990.

52. Coming down to a still later period, Nicolas de Lyra partly wrote and partly compiled a commentary, which he completed in 1330. This has been printed at six different times in six large folio volumes, showing the estimation in which it must have been held. On the text in question, he quotes from Rabanus, Jerome, and Chrysostom passages already quoted above ; to which he adds one other from Didimus on the Holy Spirit—an anonymous ancient writer, whose discourse is usually published in Jerome’s writings. The passage is to the effect that Christ will always be present with the faithful. His

own remarks on the words: 'After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once' (1 Cor. xv. 6), are—'This appearance was made in Galilee (Matt. xxviii. 20), in which he appeared to the Apostles and many others.' That Christ appeared on that occasion not only to the eleven but to many others, is not only the opinion of modern, but also of ancient commentators. This will account for these early writers all being so agreed in considering the Lord Jesus as not only promising his presence to the Holy Apostles, but to all believers.

53. Until the last revision of the Prayer-Book, 1662, these two texts, 'As my Father hath sent me,' &c., and 'Lo, I am with you,' &c., stood as portions for the gospel in the form of ordering of priests, and not in the form of consecrating a bishop. The Bishop of Exeter asks (sect. 15 of this chapter)—

'Is it conceivable that the Church, in selecting this passage of Scripture to be read on this occasion, did not mean by it to signify that the promise was to be fulfilled by Christ's presence with them, the successors of the apostles, to the end of the world?'

It would be interesting to know what the bishop thinks the Church of England meant by those texts, during the century they stood in the service for the ordination of presbyters. (See Chap. VI. 17–27.)

54. Perhaps it may be asked, Have none of the Fathers of the 'yet undivided Church of antiquity' given interpretations on the texts in question similar to those of these Anglicans? Dr. Wordsworth must have quoted and referred to the Fathers in his *Notes on the Greek Testament* and in his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, many thousands of times, yet he has not supported his interpretations by a single extract from them, but has set them all at defiance, which of itself is not of much consequence, for it is quite possible that in some things all of them may be wrong; but the gravest part of the business is, he and these other Anglo-catholics have most flagrantly violated their own most cherished canon. The above extracts we have given have been selected out of about sixty folio volumes; but in making the selection none of the interpretations of these Anglicans have been noticed, nor is it believed that any exist. The best of the

Fathers are often very foolish, fanciful, and frivolous in their interpretations; and it seems marvellous that some of the more learned innovators in the Church of England could not have hunted up something to give a little colour to their novel interpretations of these texts. We do then most distinctly charge the Bishop of Oxford, Dean Hook, Dr. Wordsworth, and others of the same school, with giving interpretations on texts, which in their estimation are of fundamental importance, affecting the very being of the Church, absolutely unknown to the authors of the undivided Church of antiquity; and thereby most distinctly violating their own boasted canon of interpretation. To borrow as much as suits our purpose from their canon, we emphatically state they have—

‘rejected the expositions of Scripture received by the consent of ancient Christendom, and have propounded new interpretations invented by themselves, at variance with the general teaching of Scripture as received by the Catholic Church.’

Some of these Anglicans may violate their canon unknowingly; but surely this cannot be the case with such a man as Dean Hook, and least of all with Dr. Wordsworth, whose learning and course of studies must have furnished him with ample information on subjects of this nature.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE SHOWN NOT TO HAVE BEEN TRANSMISSIBLE ; THAT NO CHURCH RULERS WERE CALLED APOSTLES IN THE SAME SENSE THAT THE TWELVE WERE ; THAT EPAPHRODITUS WAS NOT THE BISHOP OF THE BISHOPS AT PHILIPPI, BUT A MESSENGER OF THE CHURCH THERE ; THAT ALTHOUGH MANY WERE CALLED APOSTLES IN EARLY TIMES, YET THEY WERE NOT REGARDED AS SUCCESSORS TO THE TWELVE ; THE STATEMENTS OF HILARY THE DEACON AND THEODORET CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED, VIZ. THAT BISHOPS AT FIRST WERE CALLED APOSTLES ; THE TEACHING OF THE FATHERS GENERALLY CONCERNING OTHER APOSTLES THAN THE TWELVE ; THAT THE AUTHORITY OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES IS HANDED DOWN IN THEIR WRITINGS RATHER THAN BY ANY CLASS OF MEN COMING AFTER THEM.

1. WHAT should be the strongest point of these Anglo-catholics is their weakest ; namely, the evidence on which they found their belief, that the first order of the clergy succeeded to the apostolic office, at least to its authority and power, and that at first those who are now called bishops were called apostles.

2. Dean Hook says :—

‘ The three orders of the ministry in the New Testament stand thus : 1st Order, Apostle ; 2nd Order, Bishop, Presbyter or Elder ; 3rd Order, Deacon. Afterwards, the office remaining the same, there was a change in the title, and the ministers of Christ were designated thus : 1st Order, Bishop, formerly Apostle ; 2nd Order, Presbyter or Elder ; 3rd Order, Deacon.’—*Bishop, Ch. Dict.*

This is tantamount to an admission that in the New Testament there is no distinction between a bishop and a presbyter. Again the Dean says :—

‘ The officer whom we now call a bishop, was at first called an apostle, although afterwards, it was thought better to confine the title of apostle to those who had seen the Lord Jesus, while their successors, exercising the same rights and authority, though unendowed with miraculous powers, contented themselves with the designation of bishops.’—*Sermons on the Church.*

3. Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, represents the case thus :—

‘ Q. Why then are bishops not called apostles ?

'A. Because in the first Christian age the name *apostle* described one who had been *personally sent* by CHRIST HIMSELF; it was therefore reserved to the Twelve appointed by him, and was not assumed by any of their successors, except St. Matthias, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, whose calls were of a peculiar kind (St. Matthias being chosen by lot, St. Paul being called by Christ Himself, and he and St. Barnabas being separated for their work by special command of the Holy Ghost), and who are thence called *Apostles* in Holy Writ.

'Q. The successors of the apostles could not then, it seems, take the name of apostle?'—ch. x. pt. i. pp. 87, 88.

4. By way of explaining why the term apostle was reserved to the twelve, we are referred to an extract from Theodoret, which here follows, with Dr. Wordsworth's remarks upon it:—

'Theodoret on 1 Tim. iii. The same persons were formerly called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops, were called apostles. But shortly after the name of apostle was appropriated to such only as were apostles indeed; and then the name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles. Thus, Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians.'

5. Dr. Wordsworth remarks:—

'This fact of Epaphroditus being *the bishop* of Philippi, will explain why the Epistle is addressed to the bishops and deacons (ch. i. 1); for Epaphroditus, their apostle, (as he is called by St. Paul) or *bishop*, was then with St. Paul (ch. ii. 25), and "bishops and deacons" therefore (in ch. i. 1) is to be rendered priests and deacons.'—*Ibid.* p. 89.

6. The reader will be better able to appreciate the evidence adduced by certain Anglicans in favour of their belief, that bishops succeed to the rights and authority of the twelve apostles, and at the first took their name, by having nearly the whole of that evidence thus represented at one view.

In examining this evidence, we shall begin with that adduced from Theodoret. His testimony is simple and easy to deal with, for he grounds it, as he thinks, on the statements of Scripture. But if we are to place dependence upon the leading and more numerous Fathers, we must infer that he has not adduced Scripture correctly. From the circumstance of Epaphroditus being called an apostle, he infers that he was the bishop of the church, and of bishops or presbyters at Philippi. But in what sense was Epaphroditus an apostle? Theophylact explains the title given to him thus, 'That is, he *who had been sent* by you to me, with a gift from you.' Remigius explains his title after the

same manner, 'Either because he *was sent* to you by me, or whom ye elected of yourselves for an apostle by *sending* him to me.' (46. 11.) Our version makes this Epaphroditus a kind of secular servant, not in orders at all, in our sense of the term, but a messenger who received his post, and right to fill it, from the congregation at Philippi. It is true St. Paul calls him his 'companion in labour,' but from an humble-minded apostle this proves nothing as to his clerical degree; for St. Paul uses the same term in the plural to other persons in the same epistle: 'Help those women who laboured with me in the gospel with other *my fellow labourers*,' or 'my companions in labour.' (Phil. iv. 3.) It is plain that the term 'apostle' applied to Epaphroditus must not be explained in its technical, but in its ordinary sense; as in the following texts. 'Neither he that is sent (*ἀπόστολος* apostle), greater than he that sent him.' (John xiii. 16.) 'Messengers,' literally, 'apostles of the churches' (2 Cor. viii. 23), Chrysostom explains, that '*were sent* by the churches;' Theophylact, 'that is, chosen and *sent* by the churches.'

7. Dr. Wordsworth, however, does not think, because Epaphroditus was called an apostle, that that is any proof he was the bishop of Philippi in our sense of the term, but maintains that he was their bishop before they made him an apostle; and he so gives the evidence he adduces from Theodoret as to induce the reader to believe that Theodoret held and taught the same thing. But we must give Dr. Wordsworth's own remarks, both on the apostleship of such men as Epaphroditus, and also respecting Theodoret. On the apostleship he says:—

'2 Cor. viii. 23. *Envoys of churches* sent by "the churches" (*Chrys.*) The word *apostles*, used here with a genitive, and that of a *human* society, and without an article, is not to be confounded with the words *the apostles* (i.e. of Christ); nor does it give any countenance to the notion, that the title of *apostle* was given as a designation to others besides the twelve, Matthias, Paul, and Barnabas. Again on Phil. ii. 25. "your apostle," chosen to be their messenger.'

For the like remarks see sect. 3 of this chapter.

8. We have no proof whatever that Barnabas was an apostle in any other sense than that he was sent by men under the direction of the Holy Ghost on a missionary tour. (See Ch. VI. 54–60.)

With this exception we quite concur with the above statement. But with these sentiments, what in all the world has Dr. Wordsworth to do with quoting Theodoret in proof that Epaphroditus was the bishop of the bishops at Philippi, since Theodoret himself entirely grounds his belief that he was so from the circumstance that he was called an apostle, nor does he give any other reason for his conclusion? But Dr. Wordsworth does not believe his reason; in the name then of Christian honesty, what has he to do with his conclusion, based, as he must know it was, on a misapprehension?

9. But what is still more extraordinary, Dr. Wordsworth, in a most unaccountable manner, endeavours to square Theodoret's teaching respecting Epaphroditus with his own. That there may be no mistake, we shall give Theodoret's remarks respecting Epaphroditus, and Dr. Wordsworth's representation of them in parallels:—

THEODORET.

Phil. ii. 25. 'And called Epaphroditus their apostle, as having been entrusted with the care of them, as it is clear that they who in the beginning of this epistle were called bishops were doing service under him, that is to say, fulfilling the rank of the presbyter.' (39. 24.)

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Phil. ii. 25. 'Perhaps Epaphroditus was the chief pastor of the church at Philippi, and chosen, as such, to be their messenger to St. Paul. (*Theodoret.*) In primitive times it was usual for the churches to communicate with martyrs and confessors by means of their respective bishops and clergy.'

Mr. Rose very truly says, 'Theodoret explains that the apostleship of Epaphroditus consisted in having the spiritual government of the Philippian church as bishop.' (Sect. 11, below.) On Phil. i. 1, Theodoret himself states: 'Paul plainly taught therefore that Epaphroditus was entrusted with the episcopal office, he having the appellation of an apostle.' (39. 23.) But Dr. Wordsworth maintains, that Epaphroditus was not called an apostle because he was a bishop, but as a bishop he was chosen to be an apostle, or messenger, or envoy of the church of Philippi. It would be interesting to know on what grounds he adduced the testimony of Theodoret, seeing that their respective views on the apostleship of Epaphroditus are essentially different. He certainly has failed to square the difference

between himself and Theodoret respecting Epaphroditus: it is strange that he should ever have made the attempt.

10. But we have still more to say respecting Theodoret's apostles. To the passage quoted at sect. 4 of this chapter another sentence might be added. 'So the apostles and presbyters wrote from Jerusalem to those that were at Antioch.' (Acts xv. 22-27.—**39. 28.**) Theodoret quotes Scripture very loosely sometimes, giving only the beginning and end of a sentence or passage. (See **39. 16, 27.**) In his reference to Acts he probably refers to Judas and Silas, as those who had the apostleship, as we shall see Jerome does. If so, in his estimation, these were as much apostles as Epaphroditus, and in fact were not what we understand to be apostles at all, but messengers, or envoys, as Dr. Wordsworth himself calls such persons. Like nearly all the early fathers, Theodoret calls the seventy disciples apostles. He represents also the five hundred brethren, of whom Paul speaks (1 Cor. xv. 6), as apostles, and numbers apostles by myriads. (**39. 16.**) Surely Theodoret's apostles will not suit these Anglicans, and we advise them all, like Dr. Wordsworth, to consider them for the most part as envoys or messengers of the churches, certainly not in any proper sense as successors to the twelve. (See sects. 3 and 7 of this chapter.)

11. Mr. Rose, one of Dean Hook's authorities, to whom he refers us on the doctrine of apostolic succession, says:—

'It will be necessary to do little more than recall to your minds, two or three instances in which this delegation of the ministerial powers took place. It did so in the case of Epaphroditus, who is said by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, to have been made the apostle of the Church amongst them. St. Jerome, in his commentary on the Galatians, expressly mentions this as one instance of the apostles consecrating another (apostle), and Theodoret (on the passage itself) explains that his apostleship consisted in having the spiritual government of the Philippian Church as bishop.'—*Sermon II.* pp. 53, 54.

We have now to examine the testimony of Jerome on this point. Mr. Rose says Jerome 'expressly mentions *this as one* instance of the apostles consecrating another.' True, but he also gives other instances in the same connection, which, if Mr. Rose had adduced by way of giving the full meaning of Jerome,

the one instance he has given would have been seen not to be a case in point, for Jerome has no reference whatever to the delegation of the apostleship of the twelve. He ranks with Epaphroditus those persons whom Dr. Wordsworth properly denominates, as our version does, 'messengers,' or envoys of the churches, persons not in the spiritual ministry at all. Jerome's own words are:—

· 'In course of time others also were ordained apostles, by those whom the Lord had chosen as that discourse to the Philippians declares, "But your messenger" (apostle). And to the Corinthians of such it is written: "Or the messengers (apostles) of the churches." Silas also and Judas are named apostles by the apostles.' (29. 64.)

Whatever Epaphroditus was in the estimation of Jerome, as to his office in the church, such also were Silas and Judas and 'the messengers of the churches.' If the statement of Mr. Rose must be taken for truth, then these others, as well as Epaphroditus, received the delegation of the ministerial powers of the apostleship of the twelve.

12. The statement of Theodoret, namely, that at first bishops were called apostles, is often supported by a supposed similar statement by Ambrose, or rather Hilary the Deacon. And this is generally introduced on the authority of a no less important author than Bingham. What he has said on the point will be found in a parallel column of an extract from Amalarius, from whom Bingham has professedly quoted. (56. 7.) He states that St. Ambrose asserts the same thing (as Theodoret) that 'all bishops were called apostles at first.' It is to be regretted that we should have to differ from such an excellent author as the learned Bingham, but Ambrose, or rather Hilary, does not make that statement. In explaining the phrase 'He gave some apostles and some prophets,' he remarks, 'apostles are bishops, prophets are interpreters, &c.' (31. 6.) This is the passage to which Bingham refers us in proof of his assertion. What Hilary states on this point and kindred ones will be found 31. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

Bingham further states:—

'Amalarius cites another passage out of the same author which speaks more fully to the purpose: "They," says he, "who are now called bishops were originally called apostles."'

But this is not the language of Amalarius as given in our edition, which may be seen by comparing what he himself says with what Bingham has professedly quoted from him, as given **56. 7.** Mr. Bingham, an editor of his ancestor, states that the words are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Magna*, Paris, 1589, but says the readings vary in the *Maxima*, Lugdun. 1677. Bingham's extract must be inaccurate, as it contains an apparent contradiction in itself. It states that those 'who are now called bishops, were originally called apostles;' but those who should have borne the name, if that statement is true, are said to have 'thought it not decent to assume to themselves the name of apostles.' In our edition of the writings of Amalarius there is no statement to the effect that bishops ever were called apostles; nor does he ascribe the distinction as it existed between a bishop and a presbyter in the third century to an appointment by the apostles; but on the contrary, records the full testimony of Jerome to show that in the apostolic times, and for some time subsequently, there was no essential difference between a bishop and a presbyter. (**56. 5, 6.**) Subsequently to the time of the apostles, the rulers of the Church having no pretensions to the apostolic office, appointed the two titles of bishop and presbyter, which had been common to one class of officers, to two distinct classes of officers, viz., those of bishop and presbyter as they undoubtedly existed sometime subsequent to the time of the apostles. Of the two offices, that of the bishop was the higher, and had the exclusive right of ordination. In proof of this, Amalarius refers to Jerome. (**56. 8.**) But it is plain he did not misunderstand or misrepresent Jerome as these Anglicans do in maintaining that he, from the beginning, believed bishops to have had that right in contradistinction to presbyters; for Amalarius plainly shows that the first Alexandrian bishops had no other consecration than that of presbyters, and were promoted to their primacy without the intervention of any higher order than that of presbyters. (**56. 5, 6.**) Amalarius, quoting as he does passages from Jerome which, together with his own commentary upon them, and what he has quoted from the writer he calls Ambrose, are singularly fatal to certain Anglican assumptions respecting their bishops.

13. It is of the utmost importance that we should have a fair acquaintance with what the Fathers generally teach on the apostleship. Some of them, as we shall see, speak most distinctly of bishops and presbyters as successors of the apostles; the question is, do they mean of the twelve, or of the seventy, whom the Fathers generally call apostles? As far as we have seen, they do not definitely state that bishops are successors of the twelve, but they do affirm that they are successors of the seventy. Dr. Wordsworth, however, states that bishops succeed the twelve apostles, and presbyters the seventy disciples. But he gives this on the authority of a second person, who, in all probability, knew less about the matter than he did himself, whilst he does not give the evidence upon which this second person rests his statement. But we shall give his own words:—

‘As the apostles are succeeded by bishops in the Church, so the seventy by presbyters. “We very well know,” says Bp. Andrewes to Peter Moulin, “that the apostles and the seventy-two disciples were two orders, and these distinct; and this likewise we know, that everywhere among the Fathers, bishops and presbyters are taken to be after their example; that bishops succeeded the apostles, and presbyters the seventy-two.” He then quotes Cyprian, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose.’—*On Luke* x. 1.

14. For the proof of this we are referred to other sources, which we have sought out, and shall here give:—

‘That these two orders were by our Lord appointed in those two. *Cyprian*: “Deacons must remember that our Lord chose the apostles, that is bishops and prelates; but the apostles, after the Ascension of our Lord appointed deacons for themselves as ministers of their episcopacy and of the Church.” (11. 6.) Nay, *St. Jerome*: “With us bishops hold the place of apostles.” (29. 10.) “All (bishops) are successors of the apostles.” (29. 28.) And that is a famous place in him; in him, and *St. Augustine* too, upon the forty-fourth Psalm, “Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, i.e. instead of apostles bishops.” (29. 50. and 33. 49.) *St. Ambrose* (*Hilary the Deacon*) in 1 Cor. xii. 28: “God hath set in the Church (*caput apostolos*) first apostles; now the apostles are bishops; the apostle St. Peter, giving us assurance of it; “and his bishoprick let another take.” (31. 2). And a little after, “are all Apostles?” He says right; for in one Church but one bishop.” (31. 3.) And in Ephesians iv. “The apostles are the bishops.” (31. 6.)—*Wordsworth’s Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. pp. 231, 232.

Did Dr. Wordsworth know that none of these quotations

teach that bishops are successors of the twelve any more than presbyters are? For such is really the case. One of the chief quotations teaches, that both bishops and presbyters are successors of the seventy disciples. Bishop Andrewes affirms 'that these two orders (bishops and presbyters) were by our Lord appointed in these two,' (twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples). But most certainly the extract from Cyprian does not state that bishops succeed the twelve apostles, and presbyters the seventy-two disciples. It would be interesting to know Cyprian's opinion upon this point; and happily he has made it known to us, in the most express language: 'Christ says to the apostles, and thereby to all rulers, who by a vicarious ordination are successors to the apostles, "He that heareth you heareth me," &c.' (Luke x. 16.—**11.** 31.) Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Instruction for the Young Student*, has given this passage, and this only, from Cyprian, in proof that 'bishops succeed and represent the [twelve] holy apostles.' Whereas it is plain that Cyprian refers to the seventy disciples, whom the Fathers generally call apostles. According to the testimony, then, of Cyprian, both bishops and presbyters succeed the seventy disciples or apostles; and this is, as we shall see, the general teaching of the Fathers. The extracts from Jerome and Augustine are explained in Chap. IV. 200, 239-242.

15. We turn with considerable interest to Dr. Wordsworth's *Notes on the Greek Testament*, to see what he says on Luke x. 16: 'He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me;' and we are struck with his profound and ominous silence; and, considering his expressed regard for the interpretations of early antiquity, we are puzzled by his reticence, especially as the Fathers generally have made so much use of this text. Elsewhere, as we have seen, Dr. Wordsworth himself has quoted Cyprian, in the case where he adduced that text in proof that bishops do succeed apostles by a vicarious ordination. Illustrations shall now be given of what the Fathers have taught respecting the apostles, both of the first and of the secondary kind.

We shall commence first with Ignatius, who certainly speaks

more distinctly than any of the Fathers of the college of apostles being replaced by successors. But he uniformly assigns the place of the apostles to the presbyters, and never to the bishops. (See **3.** 23, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 49, 50.) If we accept the testimony of this ancient writer, called Ignatius, presbyters have the place of the apostles, and bishops have the place of God.

The Fathers, in general, speak of others beside the twelve as being apostles. They uniformly call the seventy disciples apostles. Justin Martyr speaks of them in that character. He says:—

‘The Word of God is called angel and apostle, for He declares all that ought to be known, and is sent to proclaim what is told, as, indeed, our Lord himself said (to His apostles): “He that heareth me,” &c. (Luke x. 16.—**5.** 1.)

16. Irenæus says, ‘For after the twelve apostles, it is found our Lord sent seventy others.’ (**6.** 1.) Tertullian states, ‘And he chose other seventy apostles beside the twelve.’ (**8.** 14.) Clement of Alexandria says, ‘The apostle Barnabas, who was one of the seventy.’ (**9.** 3.) Origen says, ‘And mark, that the cities which receive not the apostles (seventy disciples).’—*On Luke* x. 10. *Catena Aurea*, vol. iii. p. 354. Cyprian, as we have just seen, represents the seventy disciples as apostles, and calls rulers of the church their successors. Hilary the bishop says, ‘The Lord gave to the apostles (seventy disciples) saying, “Behold, I give unto you power,” &c.’ (Luke xvi.—**19.** 5.) Basil makes the same statement. (**23.** 3.) So also Macarius. (**28.** 1.) Ambrose states, ‘But the apostles (seventy disciples) are appointed to preach the Gospel without shoes.’ (Tom. iii. Col. 130.) Jerome commonly speaks of apostles beside the twelve. (**29.** 23, 32, 63, 64.) Augustine not only calls the seventy disciples apostles, but the five hundred brethren also. (**33.** 78. 81.) Chrysostom on the words, ‘Then of all the apostles,’ (1 Cor. xv.) remarks: ‘For there were also other apostles, as the seventy.’ He considered that there was a female apostle, of whom he says, ‘Oh! how great is the devotion of this woman that she should be even counted worthy of the appellation of apostle!’ (**34.** 37.) Calmet, in his dictionary under the term *Junia*, says:—

'St. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and several others, take Andronicus for a man, and Junia for a woman, perhaps his wife. The Greeks and Latins keep their festival day, May 17, as husband and wife.'

If after all it should turn out that there was a lady once in the chair of Peter at Rome, supposing he ever had a chair there, that need not of itself make any interruption in this Anglican succession.

Theodoret not only calls the seventy apostles, but numbers apostles by myriads. (39. 16, 17.) Remigius says, on the text 'Who are of note among the apostles.' 'That is, among the twelve apostles. But it also may be understood of them, because perhaps they were of the seventy-two apostles.' (46. 3, 9.)

Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, calls the seventy disciples apostles, as quoted in the *Catena Aurea*, vol. iii. p. 356. Bede, on Luke x. 12, says:—

'There were no such guests found among the men of Sodom and prophets, as the apostles (the seventy disciples), among the Jews.'—Tom. v. Col. 329.

17. It is important to notice how some of the Fathers contrast what they consider to be the first order of Apostles with the second order, and how they represent the latter as having their places filled by others, but the former as still continuing, and not represented by any successors. Tertullian regarded the twelve apostles as being prefigured by the twelve fountains in Elim, and the seventy apostles, or disciples, as prefigured by the seventy palm-trees. (8.14.) After referring to the twelve fountains, he states:—

'For just so many apostles were foretold should water the arid and desert nations of the world, as is well known.' (8. 13.)

It is plain these fountains—these apostles—in the mind of Tertullian were never intended to be replaced by any successors. In his day he considered the original twelve still to be the fountains to water the thirsty world. Jerome regarded the fountains and palm-trees in the same light as Tertullian, but makes a still more definite application of them, from which it is certain he never considered the apostleship of the twelve to be delegated to anyone. In his mind, the twelve apostles, whom

he represents as the first order of disciples, still retained their office, and in his day, after the manner of fountains, irrigated the parched world; of which fountains he and others drank. (29. 32.) On this point there can be no possibility of misunderstanding Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, as quoted by Thomas Aquinas in his *Catena Aurea*. He says, on Luke x. 1:—

‘In the book of Numbers, also, it is written of the children of Israel that they came to Elim, which is, by interpretation, “ascent,” and there were twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm-trees. For when we fly to spiritual refreshment we shall find twelve fountains, namely, the holy apostles, from whom we imbibe the knowledge of salvation as from the well-springs of the Saviour; and seventy palms, that is, those who are now (*nunc*) appointed by Christ.’—Vol. iii. p. 345.

It is plain that in the mind of this archbishop of the fifth century, the twelve apostles could have no successors but the seventy had.

18. Theophylact, who lived in the eleventh century, bears similar testimony to that of the more ancient Fathers. On Luke x. 1, he says:—

‘It is written in Exodus, when the “children of Israel came to Elim, and there were there twelve fountains of water and seventy palm-trees.” What, therefore, was then by history, and done in figure, now becomes true. Elim is interpreted “ascent;” which means no other thing than that ye are not to remain in the situation of the Jews in the letter of the law, but be ascending in Christianity to more perfect knowledge and spiritual increase. We find twelve fountains, and we find twelve chief apostles, who are the most sweet fountains of all doctrine. The palm-trees, indeed, are those who have been educated and taught by the apostles; for although Christ chose them, they were, however, inferior to those twelve, and afterwards were their disciples and companions. Therefore, these palm-trees have been educated by the fountains, which I call apostles.’—F. 196.

This famous Greek commentator and Archbishop of Bulgaria, it is plain, had no conception that bishops succeed in any proper sense the twelve apostles; or if he had, his manner of expressing himself is altogether unaccountable.

19. Dr. Wordsworth gives with approval the statement of Bishop Andrewes, viz. ‘That everywhere among the Fathers . . . bishops succeeded the apostles, and presbyters the seventy-two.’ This good bishop was doubtless under a misapprehension. Dr.

Wordsworth has made thousands of references to the Fathers and extracts from them; and if there were proof of it everywhere among the Fathers it is strange he has not given us any, but, in the absence of proof, has reiterated the statement. Many notions now common to the Anglicans respecting their bishops never appear to have crossed the minds of the ancient Fathers. But we have one instance at least, where the thought occurred that there was an analogy between the twelve apostles and bishops and the seventy disciples or secondary apostles and presbyters. Aquinas ascribes this sentiment to Augustine, and Nicolas de Lyra ascribes the same sentiment to Bede. It is not to be found in the writings of Augustine, but is in those of Bede, and accordingly we have given it. (55.4.) Now if it were believed everywhere by the Fathers that bishops succeed the twelve apostles from the beginning, and presbyters the seventy disciples, how unlikely that Augustine, or Bede, or any early Father, should say that the twelve apostles *exhibited* and *fore-shadowed* the form of bishops, and that the seventy *showed* the form of the presbyters, and at the same time instruct us!

‘Nevertheless, in the primitive times of the Church, as the Apostolical Scripture is witness, both were called presbyters, both were called bishops,’ &c.

Augustine, or any writer after the second century when the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter was becoming more marked, very naturally might give utterance to such a sentiment. How differently these Anglicans express themselves in regard to the bishops being successors to the twelve apostles! and as differently would any ancient Father have expressed himself if he had possessed their notions.

20. When the Fathers represent bishops or presbyters as successors of the apostles, it is the seventy and others not of the twelve, they more especially refer to. As far as we have seen, the only direct reference they make to Scripture in proof that bishops and presbyters are successors of apostles, is the case of the seventy. And even here they do not claim bishops or presbyters to be apostles in the same sense, for they so define the different kinds of apostles as to show that in one sense the seventy could have no successors, inasmuch as they were sent

personally by Christ. On the other hand, they generally speak of the twelve as retaining their office and ruling, or exercising their authority by their writings; making good the statement of Bishop Pearson, 'The apostles are continued unto us only in their writings.' (88.) But these are points which we shall now investigate and prove, commencing with the definition which the Fathers give of the various kinds of apostles.

21. Jerome has given the fullest definition, which appears to have been generally adopted by subsequent Fathers. (29. 63.) Here it will be seen that the first kind, such as the twelve, the seventy, and St. Paul himself, could have no successors. The second kind might consist of all bishops and presbyters who were called of God and duly appointed by men. Theodoret must have had in his mind apostles of this kind when he numbered them by myriads. (39. 16.) Hilary the deacon makes a broad distinction between the apostles as sent by Christ, and others sent by the churches. (31. 4.) Augustine gives Jerome's definition in an abridged form. He says the term

'apostle is interpreted *sent*. There are four kinds of apostles, namely, those of God, not by man; of God, but by man; by man only; and of themselves.'—*Dialogus Quæst.* 64, tom. iv. f. 148.

Sedulius, a Scottish presbyter, gives Jerome's definition more fully (41. 3), and elsewhere illustrates the term. (41. 1, 2.) Remigius repeats most of Jerome's definition with additions and illustrations, especially the case of Ambrose, who speaks of the sacred office being bought and sold for money; and he thinks we ought to understand by the term apostleship, the mission of preaching. (46. 1, 2.) Primacius repeats Jerome's definition in an abridged form. (51. 1.) We gather from this what was the authentic teaching of the Church in the time of Jerome, and nearly two hundred years subsequently.

From this definition it is plain that these modern Anglican notions were unknown to the Fathers, or they would have given us a very different description of the apostleship.

22. We shall now more especially give proof from their teaching in relation to the office and work of the twelve apostles, that they never conceived of this office being delegated to others. Justin states:—

‘The twelve apostles, who depended on the eternal High-priest, and through whose voices the whole world is filled with the glory and grace of God,’ &c. (5. 4.)

He does not say that the whole world was filled by men who had succeeded to the apostolic office; no, but by the teaching of the apostles, which ministers of Christ had widely disseminated. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, gives utterance to exactly the same sentiment. (7. 1, 2.) Tertullian reiterates the same thought, but so speaks of the number twelve in relation to the apostles, as to make it certain that he never conceived of that number being replaced by successors. He represents the twelve as those who were foretold ‘should water the arid and desert world of the nations,’ not by successors to their office, but by their doctrine. (8. 13.) How this was done he graphically describes, and in a manner reproduces the apostles, not in the persons of other men, but by their writings. (8. 10.) Clement of Alexandria, in the usual style of the Fathers, records the same views. (9. 2.) In his estimation, the twelve are apostles still, as existing in their writings, and to whom there could be no successors. The learned presbyter Origen in a manner represents St. Peter as having successors both to his title as a rock, and his office of bearing the keys, not merely in the Pope of Rome, not merely in all bishops constituted after a certain Anglican fashion, but in all Christians who have the faith of Peter, otherwise, according to Origen, none can be successors to him. He states:—

‘And if anyone say this to him (“Thou art the Christ,” &c.), the revelation being made not by flesh and blood, but by the Father which is in heaven, that will follow, which the letter of the Gospel declares was said to Peter; for his spirit teaches him that whosoever becomes such an one, he is the same as that Peter. For all the imitators of Christ derive their name from the rock—that spiritual rock which follows them who are saved, that from it they should drink spiritual drink. They take their name from the rock, that is, Christ; for as, because they are members of Christ, by the name derived from Him they are called Christians, so from his being the Rock (*Petra*), they are called rocks.’ (*Petri* or *Peters*.) (10. 4.)

Again he says:—

‘We see, by all this, how it may be said to Peter, and to everyone who is a Peter, “I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.”’ (10. 6.)

These sentiments were common to many of the Fathers.

23. Novatian, with the Fathers in general, represents the giving of the Holy Spirit to the apostles, not as confined to any particular class of ministers in the Church, but to all believers. (14. 2.) Lactantius represents the apostles as being succeeded only in their writings. (15. 2.) Athanasius makes a general application of the words

‘Receive ye the Holy Ghost.’ ‘And when the Spirit was given to us, the Saviour said, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost.” God is in us, for so John wrote, “If we love one another, God dwelleth in us.”’ (17. 1, 3.)

Cyril of Jerusalem so speaks of the apostles and their number being twelve, as plainly to intimate that he had no conception of their having successors to their office. (18. 1.) He exhorted his hearers not to be ashamed of their apostles, meaning the twelve; and with several other Fathers, he thinks that there is an analogy between God breathing into the first man, and Christ breathing on His apostles. According to this view, every Christian who has the Spirit succeeds the apostles, and not merely any particular class of ministers. (18. 2, 3.) Eusebius of Emissa so speaks of Peter and Paul as to show that he did not consider them to be succeeded in their power and authority, but that they left on record their teaching, which was to be ‘for the commerce of eternity.’ (20. 2.) Victorinus represents those apostles of whom it was said ‘God hath set some in the church, first apostles,’ as having ceased in the Church. (26.)

24. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, with many of the Fathers, considers the twelve apostles to be represented prophetically in the Old Testament under the character of princes, and as princes who govern the whole world, and as constituted upon twelve thrones; but for these apostles Basil provides no successors. (23. 1.) Macarius so speaks of the twelve apostles as to show that he did not consider that their office was transmitted to any successors. (28. 2.) The learned presbyter Jerome, on all points under discussion between us and these Anglicans, is singularly against them. He most distinctly teaches that the authority of the apostles is continued to us only in their writings. (29. 52, 53, 54.) Ambrose, like Cyril of Jerusalem, as referred to above, considers that there is an analogy between the moral image of

the first unfallen man, and the moral image of a Christian. And he so applies the text, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' to all Christians as plainly to show that he did not conceive that the Holy Ghost was confined to the apostles or any particular class of persons who might succeed them. He appears to regard Christians generally as having received the Holy Ghost and thereby made priests, and in a sense fitted to remit the sins of others. (30. 3.) Again, in an exposition of the Revelation commonly ascribed to him, he so represents the holy apostles as to make it preposterous to suppose they had any successors, any more than Jesus Christ Himself had. (30. 18.) Hilary the deacon makes a general application of the words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' to all Christians, and describes them and himself, though only a deacon, as successors to the Levitical priesthood, and as having sacrifices. (31. 14.) Ruffinus, the learned presbyter, expressly represents the apostles as retained to us under the character of continuing mountains, but he also speaks of a second rank of apostles, who are reputed so by merit. He says nothing of succession. (32. 1.)

25. The evangelical Augustine, the reformers' friend, like nearly all the Fathers, represents the holy apostles as still retaining their office and authority in the Church, not by any personal successors, but by their doctrine as contained in their writings. Thus he says:—

'Why are the apostles foundations? Because their authority is the support of our weakness. Why are they gates? Because through them we enter the kingdom of God; for they proclaim it to us.' (33. 51.)

Like many Fathers above referred to, Augustine applies the words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' and their context, not to any class of ministers in the Church, but to the Church itself. The words, of course, were addressed personally to ten apostles, and as explained by these Anglicans (see sects. 2-5 above) must be confined to bishops exclusively, as the only successors of the apostles. But Augustine makes the Church, and not any class of ministers, their successors. He says:—

'If, therefore, they (the apostles) represented the Church, and this was said to them as if it were said to the Church itself, then the peace of the Church remits sins, . . . not according to the will of man, but

according to the will of God and the prayers of holy spiritual men, who judge all things, but they themselves are judged of no man.' (33. 38.)

This, in some measure, will illustrate what Ambrose says above respecting the laity remitting sin and being spiritual priests. Again, where the Papists make the Pope successor to Peter, and these Anglicans all their bishops, Augustine makes the believing laity his successors. He states:—

'For as some things are said which seem peculiarly to apply to the apostle Peter, and yet are not clear in their meaning, unless when referred to the Church, whom he is acknowledged to have figuratively represented, on account of the primacy which he bore among the disciples; as it is written, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."' (33. 54.)

Again he says:—

'For if in Peter there were not a sacrament, the Lord would not have said to him, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." If this was spoken only to Peter, then the Church doeth not this. But if this thing is done in the Church also, that what things are bound on earth are bound in heaven, &c.; because when the Church excommunicates, the person excommunicated is bound in heaven; . . . if, I say, this thing is done in the Church, then Peter, what time he received the keys, denoted the Holy Church.' (33. 60.)

This kind of teaching pervades the writings of Augustine. See also 33. 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, where still more decisive testimony will be found from this most Protestant Father respecting the Church being the successor of Peter and the other apostles, and not any order of clergy merely. No doubt the Church would act through her ministers, but the power would be derived not from the ministry, but from the Church itself, it, as Hooker states, being originally the seat of all power.

26. Chrysostom very eloquently represents Peter and the other apostles as still being princes of the Church and rulers of the world. (34. 17, 18.) Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, in addition to what we have already quoted from him, says:—

'The fountains of water are the divine disciples, who rain discourses from on high by the Spirit on the whole world.' (37. 3, 15.)

On this point Theodoret is one of our most important witnesses. He, as we have noticed, regarded the seventy and

the five hundred disciples as apostles, and in fact numbered them by myriads. (39. 16, 17.) The way in which he represents the twelve apostles as being so many foundations shows that he could have had no conception of their office being delegated to anyone. (39. 13.) He describes those who come after them as succeeding to their doctrine, their preaching, and their work. (39. 3, 11, 20.) He also says, 'No one dares to arrogate to himself their title.' (39. 11.) He speaks too of the apostles as if they still retained their office. (39. 5.) And this, it seems, they did, according to Theodoret, by their writings.

'The divine apostles not only obtained those places which they had trodden, but also those places in which their allwise writings have been read.' (39. 2.)

In the mind of Theodoret, the apostolical authority, or the authority of the twelve, was not conferred personally upon those who came after them, whether bishops or presbyters, but was retained in their writings; and hence, as we have seen, bishops and presbyters succeeded to their doctrine and preaching.

27. Leo, like many of the Fathers whom we have already noticed, regarded the gift of the Holy Spirit as common to all believers. (44. 6.) Remigius is still more definite and express on that point. (46. 5.) The words, 'some apostles,' he regards as relating to the twelve and seventy-two, but does not speak of any successors, and explains the words, 'some pastors and teachers,' as alike descriptive of bishops and presbyters. (46. 9.) Andreas, Bishop of Cæsarea, so explains portions of the Revelation in relation to the apostles as plainly to intimate that he never conceived of there being any successors to their rank. He represents the twelve apostles as having a power peculiar to themselves, as being of the 'first order, and martyrs and teachers coming after them, as being of a second or lower order, and being a second or lower succession. (47. 3, 4. See also 2, 6, 7.) Arethas, another Bishop of Cæsarea, shows, like one of his predecessors, that the apostles could have had no successors. (50. 2.) Primacius, Bishop of Adrumetum, reiterates the same sentiments with additions. (51. 2, 9.)

28. Gregory the Great, chronologically considered, is the last witness on this point we have to adduce as of the yet undivided Church of antiquity.

Strong as is the testimony already given against the assumptions of these Anglicans, that now to be given is stronger still ; and it is all the more remarkable from the circumstance that in point of fact he exercised a more extensive jurisdiction in the Church than any one of the apostles appears to have done, except perhaps St. Paul. But for these holy twelve apostles Gregory finds no successors,—at least not to their office. The reader will perhaps be astonished when he reads the opinions of Gregory adduced on Christian orders from the ancient book of Job. However, in this, as in almost every other case with respect to the Fathers as quoted in this volume, we have more to do with the *conclusions* to which they come than with the *grounds* on which they are based. But only conceive if these Anglican notions had but once entered into the convolutions of Gregory's brain, and taken hold of his heart, how his enormous allegorising powers would have been brought into play on the book of Job, to develope, illustrate, and establish the theories peculiar to these Anglicans. But this great Gregory seems to have been quite as ignorant of nonentities as all his predecessors up to the time of the apostles, and the result is, that instead of bringing out of the book of Job anything on Christian orders to comfort and strengthen these Anglicans, he has with very considerable skill deduced evidence (negative of course, for what else could we expect from the book of Job?) which by anticipation refutes and rebukes their alien notions. He says:—

‘ By the seven sons of Job is represented the order of the preachers (that is, the apostles), and by the three daughters the multitude of the hearers.’ (54. 2.)

He divides the whole Christian Church into two classes :—1. The twelve apostles. 2. All those who are not so. These latter are again subdivided into—1. Pastors ; 2. The unmarried, that is, monks and nuns ; 3. The married. He says :—

‘ The sons call their sisters to the feast in that the holy apostles . . . feed the pastors—bishops and presbyters, and the two other classes, “ with the feast of God's word.” ’ (54. 1, 2, 3.)

He especially designates the apostles clouds (54. 5), and he says :—

‘ By these words of preachers (apostles), that is, drops of the clouds (apostles). Because in truth Almighty God first reproveth and rouses

us from our evil deeds by means of His preachers (apostles). . . . For if the Divine dispensation did not act the part of a judge by these clouds, He never would have said to these same clouds, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, &c." . . . For what does Peter effect, when he speaks by his epistles? . . . What are Paul and John labouring at when speaking by their epistles?' (54. 10.)

He represents the twelve apostles as doors of the Church, and speaks of them as still retaining that office.

'What is designated by "doors," but holy preachers (apostles), and what by the "bar," except the Lord incarnate? For because these doors of holy Church are strengthened by this bar being placed against them, they could be battered indeed by the waves, but they could not be broken through. . . . Let us consider what a door of the Church was Peter. . . . What are all the apostles but doors of holy Church, when they hear by the voice of the Redeemer, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c.? . . . As if it were plainly said to them, "By you those to whom ye open yourselves shall come in to me; and those to whom ye close yourselves shall be rejected."' (54. 11, 12, 13.)

Again he says:—

'Who else are designated in this place by the name of the cock, but these same holy preachers (apostles) mentioned in another way, who strive amid the darkness of this present life to announce by their preaching, as if by their notes, the approaching light? For they say, "The night is far spent, but the day is at hand." Who by their voices, &c.? . . . The cock girt in the loins, that is, holy preachers (apostles) announcing the true morn. . . . Whom else in this place do we understand by a ram, but the first rank of priests in the Church? The lion is therefore placed first, the cock second, the ram last. For Christ appeared, next the holy preachers, the apostles, and then at length the spiritual fathers, the rulers of the churches, the leaders, &c.' (54. 14, 15, 16.)

See also 54. 19, 30, 31.

Bede, our English presbyter, who flourished at the beginning of the eighth century, gives similar testimony to that of his predecessors. (55. 1, 5, 7.)

29. We shall conclude this chapter by giving a fraction of the testimony of the learned Barrow. On this point, 'The Apostolic Office,' he says:—

'As such was personal and temporary and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendance from them. . . . It was not designed to continue by derivation; for it contained in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself. Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate it.'—*Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, pp. 113, 115.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANALOGY, OR SUPPOSED ANALOGY, BETWEEN THE ORDERS OF THE JEWISH PRIESTHOOD AND THE ORDERS OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, AS TAUGHT BY SOME OF THE FATHERS, FORMS NO REAL FOUNDATION FOR CERTAIN ANGLICAN TEACHING ON THE THREE ORDERS OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY. ALSO THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD, AS HELD BY THE FATHERS.

1. DR. WORDSWORTH, in chapter ix. Part I. of his *Theophilus Anglicanus*, 'On the Three Orders of Ministers in the Church,' states the subject, in question and answer, thus:—

'Q. Are all ordained ministers of *equal* rank and dignity? A. No.
Q. How many degrees are there of them? A. There are *three orders* in the Christian Church, as there were three in the Church of the Jews.
Q. What are they called? A. The orders of *bishops, priests, and deacons*, corresponding to those of high-priests, priests, and Levites.

'S. IGNAT. "Without these (bishop, presbyters, and deacons) a church is not called."

'OPTATUS. (For the extract see 22. 2.)

'S. HIERON. "And as we know that the apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament, that what Aaron and his sons and Levites were in the Temple, bishops, presbyters, and deacons claim for themselves in the Church."

'S. CLEM., cap. xi. "The chief-priest (bishop) has his proper services, and to the priests (presbyters) their own place is appointed, and to Levites (deacons) appertain their proper ministries; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded laymen."

'THEOPHYLACT. In S. Luc. xix. on the differences and various functions of the *Three Orders*.' (pp. 83, 84.)

2. Mr. Perceval, one of Dean Hook's authorities on apostolical succession, has quoted Clement for the same purpose as follows:—

'It will behove us (Christians), looking into the depths of the Divine knowledge, to do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. He *has ordained*, by His supreme will and authority, both where and *by what persons* they [the sacred services and oblations] are to be performed. For the chief-priest has his proper services, and to the priests their proper place is appointed; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.'—*Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, pp. 90, 91.

3. Ignatius certainly mentions three orders, but only one out

of the three corresponds to the orders as required by these Anglicans. (See chap. iv. 27-30.) Optatus names the three orders. Of course, in the fourth century, the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, as they now exist, were universal; but he says nothing respecting the origin of the distinction, as it then existed, between a bishop and presbyter. (See **22.** 1, 2.) 'The differences and various functions of the three orders,' as given by Theophylact, and referred to by Dr. Wordsworth, are as follows:—

'We see that there are these three things in the Church, viz. purification, illumination, and perfection. For the orders take these three offices:—the deacons purify by instruction and teaching, the presbyters illuminate by baptism, and the bishops appoint and complete sacerdotal orders.'—*On Luke xix.* Lat. Trans. f. 255.

Such are the orders as described by Theophylact. If this influential Greek Father knew anything of Dr. Wordsworth's teaching on clerical orders, would he have given such an account as that above? We think not. But Clement and Jerome are the more important witnesses on the subject of this chapter, and their testimony shall now be considered.

4. Dr. Wordsworth, by placing the term bishop after chief priest, and presbyters after priests, and deacons after Levites, in the above extract, makes Clement teach what he really does not teach. Mr. Perceval, by a judicious use of italics, and the connection in which he has placed the extract in his book, perverts Clement after the same manner.

But let the extract be considered in connection with the context, and it will be found that Clement is not by that language representing Christian orders at all, but the Jewish, and the Jewish only; for throughout his epistle he uniformly describes the Christian orders as being two only, and uniformly speaks of them as being of that number. If the extract be considered and interpreted by the context, as given in **1.** 1—5, it will be seen that he has not referred to the Jewish orders as representing the Christian orders in number and in office, for the language he uses forbids any such conclusion. After having stated the Jewish orders, and the strictness of the rules under which they were held, he concludes thus:—

‘They, then, which do anything not agreeable to his will are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that the greater the knowledge is which hath been vouchsafed to us, the greater is the danger to which we are exposed. The apostles have preached to us, &c.; they appointed their first-fruits for bishops and deacons, &c.; their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.’ (1. 2, 3.)

Here he describes the Christian orders as being two, and so far from drawing any analogy between them and the Jewish, he grounds both their origin and number on a prophecy of Isaiah. He then describes the means adopted by Moses to prevent any emulation respecting the office of the priesthood, and concludes by showing that the apostles also adopted measures to prevent similar emulation in the Christian ministry.

‘So likewise our apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ that contention would arise on account of the name of the episcopate, and therefore, having a perfect knowledge of this, they appointed the bishops and deacons before mentioned, and afterwards gave directions how;’ &c. (1. 5.)

The argument of Clement is, that as the Jewish priesthood was taught to discharge their functions in order and with regularity, so should the Christian ministry. That as means were adopted and observed to prevent emulation and strife in the one case, so also was it in the other. This is all that can be legitimately inferred from the teaching of Clement.

Through the whole of his long epistle he does not give the remotest hint of any rulers in the Church superior to presbyters; nor can it be discovered from this epistle that there were any ministers in the Church higher than presbyters, called sometimes presbyters and sometimes bishops. We shall have to revert to Clement again in a subsequent chapter.

5. Other Fathers, later in the Church, regarded the Christian orders as in some measure analogous to the Jewish; Jerome especially. He also represents this analogy as an apostolical tradition, which the learned Barrow explains as an ‘immemorial custom.’ But Jerome no more serves the purpose of Dr. Wordsworth than Clement does. His teaching, and that of some other of the Fathers on this point, is absolutely fatal to the exalted position which these Anglicans assign to their bishop.

6. The successors of Aaron, in all essential particulars, were

identically the same as their fellow-priests; for all had one and the same anointing, and were of one and the same priesthood. The high-priest neither conferred anything on his successor nor communicated anything to him. The priest who took the place of the high-priest had the dignity conferred on him by his junior fellow-priests. Dean Hook, an impartial authority on this point, says:—

‘It has been well remarked, that Christ Jesus has taken more abundant care to ascertain the succession of pastors in His Church, than ever was taken in relation to the Aaronical priesthood. For, in this case, the succession is transmitted from seniors to juniors, by the most public and solemn action, or rather, series of actions that is ever performed in a Christian Church.’—*Succession. Ch. Dict.*

7. The succession of the high-priest is altogether dissimilar to the supposed succession of bishops as held by certain Anglo-catholics; and consequently, if the Fathers regarded the two successions as being analogous, then the succession will be found in both cases to be with the second, and not with the first order. The high-priest was not an order distinct from the priests, but was a single individual, and himself a priest. Our version, however, in one place represents the high-priest and the other priests as if they were two distinct orders. Thus, we read in 2 Kings xxiii. 4: ‘Hilkiah the high-priest, and the priests of the second order.’ But there is nothing in the original to correspond to the term ‘order.’ We are taught here that the ordinary priests were *next* or *second* to the high-priest. The same phrase is so translated in 2 Kings xxv. 18: ‘The chief-priest and Zephaniah the second priest.’ But in this case the second priest denotes a vice high-priest—one who could perform all the functions of the high-priest, when circumstances so required. The same language is used to denote the same functionary in Jeremiah lii. 24.

8. Before adducing abundant testimonies on this point from the Fathers, it will not be out of place, in this instance, to refer to Holy Scripture, and in part to the rabbinical and patristic interpretation of the same, in relation to the point in question. The word *priest* occurs upwards of 600 times in the Old Testament; the phrase *high-priest* about a dozen times, and in most

instances in relation to his death; the phrase *chief-priest* only a few times; and this seems to designate the leading priest of a course. These Jewish orders are very frequently spoken of, referred to, and described, never as high-priest, priests, and Levites, but always as 'priests and Levites.' Bishop Beveridge says:—

'Aaron is never, in the books of Moses, styled anything more than simply priest. In these books, neither Aaron, nor Eleazar who succeeded him in the high-priest's office, is ever any otherwise denominated than by the term priest, as common with him and all the other priests.'

Isaiah foretells the calling of the Gentiles to be priests and Levites in the days of the Messiah, which necessarily implied that the law of Moses should be abrogated; for while that was in force, none could be priests but the lineal descendants of Aaron, and none could be Levites but such as were of the tribe of Levi. 'And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord.' (Isaiah lxvi. 21.) If the Jewish orders in any proper sense could represent the Christian orders as maintained by these Anglo-catholics generally, then the language of Isaiah is unaccountable. Augustine applies this text to the two Christian orders: 'He electeth priests and Levites as we now see,' &c. (33. 23.)

9. We have not the remotest hint in Holy Scripture that the high-priest had that pre-eminence, or authority over his brethren which these Anglo-catholics claim for the bishop over the presbyters. 'And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the iniquity of *your priesthood.*' (Numb. xviii. 1.) Of course the priesthood of Aaron and his sons is one and the same. In Leviticus we read, 'And he that is the high-priest *among* his brethren,' &c. (xxi. 10.) Jerome translates it thus: 'The high-priest, that is to say, the priest, is the greatest among his brethren' (*maximus inter fratres suos*). The Septuagint: 'High-priest from among his brethren.' The Chaldee Paraphrase by Onkelos: 'The high-priest who is anointed by his brethren.' Syriac version: 'The priest greater than his brethren.' We learn from these renderings the sentiments of the ancients in regard to the relation in which the high-priest stood to his fellow-priests. Onkelos shows how a

priest became high-priest, by being anointed by his equals, or juniors.

10. We come now to the direct teaching of the Fathers on this question. On the anointing of the priests and the installing of the high-priest, Augustine speaks thus :—

‘It may be asked if anyone after the death of Moses anointed a successor to the high-priest, who certainly could not succeed him unless he were dead? If he was one who had been already anointed among the second priests, it surely was the same oil with which both the high-priests and the second priests were anointed, the high-priest only took the vestment, by which his chief-priesthood might be known, and if it were thus, whether he himself took the robe, or another put it on him, just as after his death Moses put it on the son of his brother? If, therefore, the robe were put on by another, could a high-priest be made by a second one, especially as it was such a robe as was necessary to be put on him by another? Was he thus robed before even as also afterwards? For it was not that, when once robed, he never laid aside the vestment, nor, when he had laid it aside, never resumed it. Therefore, perhaps, it might happen that the second priests might robe a first one by favour, not by merit. Whence might it appear which one of the sons should succeed the high-priest? For Scripture has not determined the first-born, or the elder, unless we understand by some divine indication how it is accustomed to come to pass, either by prophets or by whatever other mode in which God is accustomed to be consulted. Although from contention it would appear that it came to pass, as that afterwards there were many high-priests, because, when more excellent persons contended, for the sake of putting an end to the strife, the honour itself was conferred on many.’—*Quæstionum super Leviticum lib. iii. tom. iv. f. 44.*

The whole of this extract from Augustine, though written in the interrogative style, is to be understood in the affirmative sense.

11. Again Augustine says :—

‘In reference to those who had been high-priests, not succeeding their fathers who had been high-priests, but were however of the sons of Aaron, that is, of his posterity. If it happened that the high-priest either had no sons, or had those who were so reprobate, that no one of them ought to succeed his father, as Samuel succeeded Eli the high-priest, when he himself was not the son of a priest; but however he was of the sons of Aaron, that is, of his posterity.’—*Retractationum lib. ii. tom. i. f. 13.*

Here Augustine teaches very definitely that the high-priest and his fellow-priests had one and the same anointing. That wherein a high-priest differed from another priest was not by

succession, as the honour might be conferred by inferiors or equals; that in fact priests often made the high-priest. To carry out the analogy, then, between the two sets of orders, the Jewish and the Christian, the bishop would not be superior to the presbyter by succession, but by some other means; and in fact this is what Augustine and many of the Fathers, as we shall have occasion to notice, teach. Augustine has carried out the analogy, if we take him to be the author of the following remark: 'For what is a bishop but the first presbyter, that is, a chief-priest?' (**33. 21.**)

Nicolas de Lyra, a Roman Catholic commentator, has quoted in his commentary on Lev. viii. the above remarks of Augustine on the consecration of a high-priest, and confirms them by adding the following note:—

'It is asked, how were high-priests to be consecrated afterwards? Some say, by putting on of the pontifical robes after the death of a predecessor, nor was anything else required, as appears respecting Eleazar, Numb. xx. Others say he was consecrated by the ordinary priests, as the Pope is by those inferior to himself.'

According to Augustine and this Roman Catholic author of the fourteenth century, these Anglicans obtain no help from the Jewish orders. The Papists, however, it would seem, have some analogy in their manner of promoting the Pope. It should be noticed that the Roman Catholic view of apostolical succession is essentially different from that of these Anglicans. The Romanists believe the apostleship not to be transmissible from one to another, but derived by office. (See Chap. IV. 246, 247.)

12. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the consecration of the high-priest and the other priests as being one and the same, though he represents Aaron as being first. (**25. 8.**) And speaking of his own consecration by Basil, he represents it as if he had been installed a Jewish high-priest. (**25. 2.**) And we shall find when we come to our chapter on ordination that in nearly all the ancient ordinals, as well as some in use in more modern times, in the consecration of a bishop the prayer and ceremonial are particularly characterised by the rites prescribed in the Levitical law and practised in the installation of a Jewish high-priest.

The ceremony of anointing the priests by Moses for ever separated them from all other Israelites, not excepting the Levites; so that there was subsequently no need of any further consecration, either for themselves or their posterity: any anointing subsequently used in reference to the installing of the high-priest was by inferiors or equals, and could add nothing to the original unction.

13. Origen notices the difference between the ordinary priests and the high-priests, but he finds the correspondence in the Christian Church, not in the Anglican distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, but between one duly qualified minister and another not so. (**10. 1.**) Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, regards Christians generally as answering to the Jewish priesthood, and so interprets the Jewish orders. (**37. 9, 10.**) Like Origen, and nearly in his words, he interprets the difference between a first and a second priest of the Jews as finding its correspondence in the Church between a mere officially qualified minister and a spiritually qualified one. (**37. 11.**) Theodoret, on the other hand, regards the Jewish high-priest as representing the Lord Jesus, our High-priest; and the other priests as representing all Christians. (**39. 8.**) Amalarius, an author of the eighth century, in a special treatise on the order of a priest (presbyter), and that of a high-priest (bishop), founds that distinction not on any apostolical precedent, or New Testament authority, but directly on the distinction as it existed in the Jewish priesthood. And as there was but one consecration or ordination, properly so called, of the Jewish priests, so he taught that there was but one ordination to the priesthood in the Christian Church. He states:—

‘According to the authority of the Fathers, that is to say, the Apostle Paul, Ambrose the Archbishop, and Jerome the Presbyter, the consecration for a bishop to sacrifice was made in the ordination of a presbyter.’ (**56. 9.**)

See also **56. 1–9.** The author whom he calls Ambrose expressly states:—

‘The ordination of a bishop and a presbyter is one and the same, for each is a priest, but the bishop is chief.’ (**31. 10.**)

Jerome says :—

‘Bishops should know that they are priests, not lords.’ ‘But we know this, that Aaron and his sons are the same as a bishop and presbyters.’ (29. 4, 5, 30.)

Tertullian calls the presiding presbyter or bishop a chief-priest. (8. 11.) Lactantius, speaking of some who desired to be rulers, represents them as seeking to be chief-priests, literally the greatest of the priests. (15. 3.) The Fathers almost invariably assign the same position to the bishops in regard to their fellow-presbyters that the Scriptures and Jewish interpreters assign to the high-priest in regard to his fellow-priests. And hence, as will be seen from the Catena appended, in more primitive times the chief presbyter almost always bore the title of high-priest.

14. It is manifest, then, that the high-priest was nothing beyond a *primus inter pares*, in regard to his fellow-priests, and the early Fathers generally claim no more for the bishop in regard to his fellow-presbyters. It is true that in the time of Jerome bishops claimed much more; and as some abused their power, he therefore, to humble the bishop and exalt the presbyter, referred to the case of Aaron and his sons. Jerome’s allusions to the case of Aaron and his sons will be best understood by considering them in connection with their contexts. See 29. 4, 5, and compare 29. 30, the part quoted by Dr. Wordsworth as given at sect. 1 of this chapter, with the preceding part of that epistle to Evagrius, and the conclusion will be inevitable that Dr. Wordsworth has made a great mistake in quoting it to support his notions of what a Christian bishop is, or should be, in the Church in regard to his power and authority in comparison with a presbyter. Dean Hook states :—

‘It has been well remarked that CHRIST JESUS has taken more abundant care to ascertain the succession of pastors in His Church than ever was taken in relation to the Aaronical priesthood.’—*Succession. Ch. Dict.*

It has already been shown in a previous chapter that these Anglicans admit that the succession is not at all revealed in Scripture, or very obscurely so. How could the Dean have the assurance to state, ‘It has *well* been remarked,’ &c. ? If our Lord had taken such abundant care for this Anglican succession, how is

it that these Anglicans cannot tell us where in His Word He has revealed it? and how in all the world did it come to pass that the early Fathers, as we have seen, did not know it; but when the Church had attained to some position of pomp and power in the world, we find them running to the Levitical law for Christian orders, and having adopted them in the Church, vaguely, but conveniently ascribing them to 'apostolical tradition,' and when they consecrated or installed a bishop, they robed him, put upon him a mitre, and filled his hands, &c., as if they were installing a veritable Jewish high-priest, and in their early ordinations have little or no reference to any New Testament precedent? This is an interesting question for the acute Anglo-catholics to answer.

15. Another point of analogy between the high-priest and the bishop of these Anglo-catholics is wanting in regard to the importance of an *uninterrupted* succession, and the consequences dependent upon it.

Both Dean Hook and Dr. Wordsworth claim an *uninterrupted* succession of bishops for our Church, and without *such* succession they conclude that there can be no true Church and no valid sacraments. Hence those churches admitted not to have this succession are branded as schisms, and the members of the same are regarded as being without any revealed means of salvation. According to the law of Moses, the succession of the Jewish high-priest should have been a lineal and uninterrupted one. But it is notorious that in fact it was not so. Without referring to a multitude of authorities on this point, Dr. Hammond, used as a link of the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession, will be sufficient:—

'At this time, the land being under the Roman emperor, the succession of the high-priests was now changed, the one lineal descendant in the family of Aaron, which was to continue for life, being not permitted to succeed, but some other, whom he pleased, named to that office by the Roman procurator every year, or renewed as often as he pleased. To which purpose is that of Theophylact: "They who were at that time high-priests of the Jews invaded that dignity, bought it, and so destroyed the law," which prescribed a succession in the family of Aaron. . . . For 't is manifest, that at this time the Roman præfect did, *ad libitum*, when he would, and that sometimes once a year, put in whom he pleased into the pontificate, to officiate in Aaron's office,

instead of the lineal descendant from him. And that is it of which Josephus so frequently makes mention.'—*Hammond on Luke iii. 2.*

16. It is needless to remark, that in consequence of this undoubted departure from the law of Moses, the Jewish Church was not destroyed, nor its ordinances rendered invalid. Dean Hook and others should console themselves with the thought, that if their supposed fact of the succession should be a fiction—and a thousand to one but that it is so—yet the Church is a Church, and the sacraments valid notwithstanding; that is, if we carry out the analogy which is supposed to exist by these Anglo-catholics between the Jewish and the Christian orders. But Dean Hook, great in puerilities, is often very small in matters of supreme importance; and, according to his own argument, it almost amounts to an absolute certainty that, although he belongs to a very ancient community called a church, with equally ancient ordinances, yet, for want of the *uninterrupted* succession, this said community is only a church in name, and its ordinances of mere human authority; and, in consequence hereof, we, like other schismatics, must be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God. He states:—

'The line in which the ministry of the Church is handed on from age to age; the *corporate* lineage of the Christian clergy, just as in the Jewish Church there was a *family* lineage. . . . Those are said to be in apostolical succession who have been sent to labour in the Lord's vineyard by bishops who were consecrated by those who, in their turn, were consecrated by others, and these by others, until the derived authority is traced to the apostles, and through them to the great Head of the Church. The apostolical succession of the ministry is *essential* to the right administration of the Holy Sacraments. The clergy of the Church of England can trace their connection with the apostles, by links not one of which is wanting, from the times of St. Paul and St. Peter to our own.'—*Apostolical Succession.*

'And as the validity of the ministry depended on the legitimacy of its derivation (by an "*uninterrupted succession*") from the apostles, &c. . . . Without this (*uninterrupted succession*), all distinction between a clergyman and a layman is utterly vain, for no security exists that Heaven will ratify the acts of an illegally constituted minister on earth. Without it, ordination confers none but humanly derived powers.'—*Succession, Apostolical. Ch. Dict.*

17. On the Dean's hypothesis, it is almost certain that the Church to which he belongs is simply of human appointment,

with sacraments and ordinances originating from the same source, being absolutely without any authority, or promised blessing from Christ. On the Dean's hypothesis, every Church has long since been banished from the earth, if ever there was one after the time of the apostles, constituted after the Dean's fashion.

18. The reader should note well that Clement, the most distinguished of all the apostolical Fathers, does not give the slightest ground for us to suppose that he regarded the orders of the Old Testament as at all analogous to those of the New; and that although Jerome and other Fathers regarded the one set of orders as, in some measure, analogous to the other, yet the way in which they speak of the appointment of the high-priest, and the position he held, precludes his representing, in any proper sense, the bishop of these Anglo-catholics, who must have a succession independent of his fellow-presbyters, derived from another distinct and higher order; whereas, according to Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Augustine, and other Fathers, it was not the case with the high-priest in contrast with his fellow-priests. The interrupted succession of the Jewish high-priest did not invalidate or destroy the ordinances of the Jewish Church; and supposing a similar succession to be revealed in the New Testament, we are not to conclude that its interruption, judging from the analogy of the Jewish Church, would render null and void the ordinances of the Christian Church.

19. Before concluding this chapter, it will be suitable to notice what the Fathers generally have taught respecting the Christian priesthood. In our research for information on the subject of this book, we have no recollection of noticing any attempt on their part to justify from Scripture their very common practice of designating the Christian ministry a priesthood, and the several ranks or orders of it as high-priests, priests, and Levites. We know that there is no foundation for this in the Holy Scriptures; and, notwithstanding the marvelous facility with which the Fathers generally can accommodate the Scriptures to suit their convenience, they do not appear to have done so in this instance. They give ample proof from

Scripture for the priesthood of the Christian laity, whether men, women, or children; but none, so far as we have seen, for what they call the priesthood of the clergy as distinct from the laity. These Anglicans of our Church are very zealous for what they consider the priesthood of the bishop or presbyter, in contradistinction to the laity; that a presbyter has a sacrifice to offer, and is a sacrificer in a sense which they are not. Dean Hook maintains this in his Church Dictionary. It is true the distinction held by him is exceedingly attenuated; still, however, it may be sufficient for those who take the Dean as their instructor, to induce them to believe that he, and every priest or presbyter in our Church, is a sacrificer in a sense that a baptised layman is not.

20. As Dr. Wordsworth has given his young student an explicit account of the priesthood and its sacrifices, as generally held by these Anglicans, he shall represent them:—

‘Q. But it is asked, since the Church cannot exist without a *priesthood* (S. Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. 8. “*Ecclesia non est quæ non habet sacerdotes*”), nor a priesthood without a sacrifice, can it be said that there is any sacrifice in the Church of England; and if not, has she a true priesthood, and is she a true Church?’

In answer to this question, we are informed that the Church of England has the following sacrifices: ‘a sacrificium *primitivum*, a sacrificium *eucharisticum*, a sacrificium *votivum*, a sacrificium *commemorativum*, a sacrificium *representativum*, a sacrificium *impetrativum*, and sacrificium *applicativum*.’ (Part II. ch. vi. pp. 215, 216.) Truly a goodly, and withal a perfect number, just seven, and neither more nor less! All these so-called sacrifices, as explained by Dr. Wordsworth, Christian laymen have the same scriptural right to offer as any order of clergy; and but for one single reference of his, it might have been concluded that that was his meaning. But in proof that ‘a Church cannot exist without a *priesthood*,’ we are referred to Jerome: ‘There is no Church which has not priests.’ In our edition it is ‘has not a priest.’ Jerome is referring to Hilary the deacon, who, he said, could not prepare the Eucharist, not having bishops and presbyters. And he goes on to say, ‘A deacon cannot ordain a clergyman. But there is no Church which has not a priest

(*sacerdotem*).' By the term priest, Jerome means that every Church should have at least a bishop or a presbyter, but has no reference to a *sacrificing* priest.

21. In the same treatise from which Dr. Wordsworth made the above extract, Jerome represents every baptised person as having a priesthood, and quotes Scripture in proof of it:—

‘Let him lay aside the priesthood of a layman, that is baptism. . . . For it is written, “he hath made us a kingdom and priests unto his Father.” And again, “A holy nation, a royal priesthood.” (29. 18, 19.) “A chosen race, royal and priestly, which properly belongs to Christians who are anointed with spiritual oil; concerning whom it is written, ‘God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’” (29. 45.) “All who have been baptised into Christ are a priestly and royal race.” (29. 49.)

Justin Martyr represents all those who have put away their sins as high-priests of God, as God Himself testifies, saying:—

‘That in every place among the Gentiles they offer sacrifices pure and well pleasing to Him. But God accepts not sacrifices from any except through His priests; God has therefore beforehand declared that all who through this name offer those sacrifices which Jesus, who is the Christ, commanded to be offered, that is to say, in the Eucharist of the bread and of the cup, which are offered in every part of the world by us Christians.’ (5. 6, 7.)

Irenæus says, ‘All righteous men hold the priestly order,’ &c. (6. 10.)

Tertullian is most express on the priesthood of the laity. He says, ‘Are not we laymen priests? It is written, “He hath made us a kingdom, and priests to God and His Father.”’ (8. 16.)

Cyprian teaches that the people are as much sacrificers as the priests:—

‘When we come together into one place with the brethren, and celebrate divine sacrifices *with* the priest of God (“*cum Dei sacerdote*”).’ —*De orat. Dom.* p. 100.

He also states,—

‘Christians become partners as well of the anointing (of Christ) as of the name, and are called Christians from Christ . . . ordained of God the priests of holiness.’ (11. 41.)

Victorinus maintains that the entire Church are priests of God. (26.) Ambrose states, ‘All the sons of the Church are priests, for we are anointed to be a holy priesthood.’ (30. 4.) Again, in a work commonly attributed to him, he regards all the

elect of God as priests, because they are members of the High-priest. (30. 15, 17.) Hilary the deacon says, 'Is not our faith a heavenly altar on which we offer our prayers daily?' (31. 14.) Augustine says:—

'Every Christian is sanctified, that he may understand that he is not only the participator of priestly and royal dignity,' &c. (33. 17.) 'Scarcely any one of the faithful doubts that the priesthood of the Jews was a figure of the royal priesthood to come, which is in the Church, to which priesthood all are consecrated who belong to the body of Christ.' (33. 18.) 'But as we all are called Christians on account of our mystical chrism, so also all are priests, since they are the members of One Priest.' (33. 22, 23.)

Chrysostom states:—

'In old times these three sorts were anointed; but we have not now one of these dignities, but all three pre-eminently. For we are both to enjoy a kingdom and are made priests by offering our bodies for a sacrifice, for He saith, "present your members a living sacrifice acceptable to God."' (34. 38.)

Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, regards the literal Jewish priesthood as having its correspondence or fulfilment in the spiritual priesthood of all Christians. (37. 12.) Remigius states:—

'In the New Testament all the faithful are anointed, not so much with visible oil as invisible grace, that is to say, with the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the imposition of hands, and they become kings of souls and priests of peoples, to sanctify those, according to which Peter says, "ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood."' (46. 5.)

The testimony of Bede is very express upon this point. He says:—

'Peter instructs us that we ourselves are a holy priesthood, . . . that he calls every Church a holy priesthood, that which under the law the house of Aaron had in office and in name; because doubtless we are all members of the High Priest.' (55. 10.) 'No one of the saints who is spiritual is without the office of the priesthood, since he becomes a member of the Eternal Priest.' (55. 11.) 'But as we are all called Christians by reason of the mystical chrism, so we are all priests, we are members of One Priest.' (55. 12.)

22. In proof that the presbyter offers a sacrifice in the Lord's Supper which the people do not, Dr. Wordsworth has adduced the testimony of Archbishop Laud:—

'In the Eucharist we offer up to God three sacrifices; one by the priest only, that is the *commemorative* sacrifice of Christ's death, *represented* in bread broken and wine poured.'—*Ibid.* p. 216.

He has also made, in his notes on Hebrews viii. 4, a quotation from Theodoret, which at first sight seems to confirm this view. The passage is given in **39. 25, 26.** It is true, he says,

‘The priests of the New Testament perform the mystical service (Lord’s Supper). For the Lord Himself commanded us, saying, “Do this in remembrance of me;” and this we do, in order that by contemplation we may call to mind the figure of the sufferings of Christ which He underwent for us, and may stir up our love.’

Now, who are to call to mind these sufferings of Christ? And when he says, ‘and may stir up our love,’ whom does he mean? Plainly in both cases not exclusively the ministers, but the laity of both sexes. For the blessed command, ‘Do this in remembrance of me,’ applies alike to all believers. But elsewhere Theodoret has so spoken upon this point that we cannot mistake his meaning:—

‘For He calls the Church His body, and by this Church the priesthood is discharged as a man, but He receives those things which are offered as God. The Church offers the symbols of His body and blood,’ &c. (**39. 8, 9.**)

Chrysostom confirms this view of the case: ‘The offering (sacrament of the Lord’s Supper) is the same, whether a common man or Paul or Peter offer it.’ (**34. 49.**) He also teaches that the voice of the laity in no slight degree accoutres those that are ordained:—

‘But there are occasions in which there is no difference at all between the priest and those under him; for instance, when we partake of the awful mysteries,’ &c. (**34. 40.**)

The opinions of these Fathers will be found more fully expressed in the *Catena* in the several places from which the extracts have been made, and to which references have been given.

23. Bishop Jewel, in rebuking the elder cousins of these Anglicans, in their assumptions of a priesthood peculiar to themselves, has by anticipation done the same thing to all who may hold similar notions; and as the rebuke is singularly applicable in the present case, we shall conclude this point by referring to him. (See **73. 20-22.**)

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANGLICAN TEACHING ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK STATED, AS GIVEN BY DR. WORDSWORTH AND MR. PERCEVAL, AND THE PRINCIPAL EVIDENCE THEY HAVE ADDUCED FROM VARIOUS FATHERS GIVEN. AN EXAMINATION OF THE LEADING FATHERS OF THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES IN RELATION TO THEIR TESTIMONY ON THE CHURCH, AND ESPECIALLY ON ITS MINISTRY, IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY STAND IN THE FIRST PART OF THE CATENA PATRUM, TOGETHER WITH THE EVIDENCE ADDUCED FROM THEM BY THE ABOVE-NAMED AUTHORS AND DR. PUSEY AND OTHERS.

1. THAT the teaching of these Anglicans on the subject of our book may not appear to a disadvantage in being broken up into scattered fragments, it has been determined to give at the beginning of this chapter some of the principal arguments and chief evidence adduced by Dr. Wordsworth in favour of the doctrine of his school; and nearly the whole of the evidence as adduced direct from the Fathers, for the same purpose, by Mr. Perceval.

The book 'Theophilus Anglicanus; or, Instruction for the Young Student,' from which we shall give extracts relating to this Anglican teaching, is of considerable importance, arising from the fact that it has been, and we believe is now, used in St. Bees' College, and other places where young men are trained for the Christian ministry.

The main evidence adduced by Mr. Perceval in his book entitled 'An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession,' will be given, and treated after the same manner. The chief importance of this book is that it was written at the request of Dean Hook, and year after year it is referred to by him as an authority on the subject on which it treats.

Dr. Wordsworth:—

'Q. Whom do bishops succeed and represent?

'A. The holy apostles.

‘S. IREN. iii. 3. “Habemus enumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et *successores eorum* usque ad nos.”

2. ‘TERTULLIAN, Præscr. Hæret. 32. “Edant (sc. hæretici) origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum ita *per successiones* ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.”

3. ‘S. CYPRIAN., Ep. 66. “Episcopi sunt præpositi qui apostolis vicaria *ordinatione succedunt.*”

4. ‘S. HIERON., Ep. ad. Evag. “Omnes episcopi apostolorum *successores sunt.*” Ad Marcellam, Ep. 5. “Apud nos apostolorum Episcopi locum tenent.”

5. ‘S. AUG. in Ps. xliv. “*Patres* missi sunt apostoli, pro apostolis *fili* nati sunt ecclesiæ, constituti sunt episcopi.”

6. ‘EPIPHAN., Hæres. 79. ἐξ Ἰακώβου καὶ τῶν προειρημένων Ἀποστόλων κατεστάθησαν διαδοχαὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.

7. ‘Q. But does not St. Jerome (*S. Hieron.* in Tit. i. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evagrium) say that, even in the *apostolic* times, the churches were *governed* by several presbyters, who were also called episcopi, “antequam instinctu diaboli studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, *ego sum Apollo, ego sum Cephæ; postquam autem unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos esse putabat non Christi, tum in toto orbe decretum est ut UNUS de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis cura ecclesiæ pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur*” ?

8. ‘A. Yes, he does; but in another place (*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis.* “Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini,—post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus.” In Lucif. c. 4. “Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate consistit, cui si non exors quædam et eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine Chrismate et *episcopi jussione neque presbyter neque diaconus habeat jus baptizandi.*” In Evagr. lxxxv. “Quid enim facit, *excepta ordinatione*, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat ?” See also sect. 4 above), he says that bishops are the ordained successors of the apostles; that St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem immediately after the ascension of Christ; that episcopacy is an apostolic ordinance; that presbyters cannot ordain; that the safety of the Church consists in the dignity of its bishop; and his assertion, just quoted, does, when examined, tend rather to confirm the doctrine of the apostolic and divine institution of episcopacy.

9. ‘Q. You say that they (bishops) were not apostles; was then their power apostolic ?

‘A. Yes; their office was similar to, and in the place of, that of the apostles.

‘Q. How do you show this ?

‘A. St. Paul tells Titus that he had left him in Crete, that he might *perfect* the things which he (St. Paul himself) had left *incomplete.*

‘S. HIERON. ad Tit. c. i. “Reliquit Titum Cretæ, ut rudimenta nascentis ecclesiæ confirmaret, ‘*ut ea quæ deerant corrigeres.*’ Omne autem quod corrigitur imperfectum est. Et in Græco præpositionis adjectio qua scribitur ἐπιδιορθώσης non id ipsum sonat quod διορθώσης corrigeres, sed

super corrigeres; ut quæ a me correctæ sunt nedum ad plenam veri lineam retracta a te corrigantur et normam æqualitatis accipiant."

10. 'Q. What additional proof is there of the Divine institution of episcopacy from ancient practice?

'A. There is a strong confirmation of it in the fact that not only Catholics, but also heretics and schismatics, differing from the Church and from each other in many other respects, all agreed in recognising the necessity of episcopal government, with one single exception, that of Aerius (of Sebastia, in Pontus), in the fourth century, who, on that special account, as well as for other reasons, is placed among heretics by the Fathers of the Church, and whose doctrine on that point was condemned as sacrilegious.

'S. AUG. de Hæres. i. 33. "Aerius dicebat Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni." (EPIPHAN. de Hæreticis, 75.)—*Theoph. Ang.* chap. x. pp. 87, 91, 95, 98.

These extracts from the Fathers will be found translated and considered in various parts of this chapter.

Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval:—

11. 'I proceed, therefore, to cite the witnesses from Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity in support of the episcopal scheme; that is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, before His bodily departure from the world, and from the Church which He had chosen out of it, did, for the well-being and good government of this His spiritual kingdom, and for the work of the ministry, grant a commission of regency, which He placed in the hands of one class of His ministers, the chief pastors of His Church, designing it to be a perpetual commission until His own return. That this commission, which He left in the hands of the chief pastors, has ever since continued, and must continue till the world's end, in their hands, they only being competent to exercise it who have been admitted to the order of chief pastors by those who were chief pastors before them. . . . For positive proof of the same, let the following extracts suffice—a few out of the many with which it would be easy to crowd these pages, if it were desirable to make a display.'

Here follows an extract from Clement of Rome, which has been quoted and considered in the preceding chapter.

12. 'IGNATIUS, the friend and disciple of St. John, Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 107. "The bishops appointed to the utmost bounds of the earth are the mind of Jesus Christ." "I think you happy who are so joined to your bishop as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in unity." (*Epistle to the Church at Ephesus.*) "I exhort you that ye study to do all things in a divine concord. Your bishop presiding in the place of God; your presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons, most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ." "Do nothing without your bishop and presbyters." "He that does anything without

bishop, and presbytery, and deacons, is not pure in conscience." "Attend to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons." "Do nothing without the bishop." "As many as are of Jesus Christ are also with their bishop." "Follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ (followed) the Father; and the presbytery, as the apostles: as for the deacons, reverence them as the command of God. Let no man do anything of what belongs to the Church without the bishop. Let that Eucharist be looked upon as firm and right which is offered either by the bishop or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic Church. It is not lawful without the bishop, neither to baptise, nor to celebrate the holy communion; but, whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God, that so whatever is done may be secure and well done."

13. 'IRENÆUS, ordained by Polycarp the disciple of St. John, Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178. "Those elders in the Church are to be obeyed who have a succession from the apostles, as we have shown [in a former place he had given in the instance of the bishops of Rome the succession from St. Peter], who together with the succession have received a certain true gift, [or gift of truth], according to the decree of the Father; but the rest who shun the chief succession, and are gathered together in any place, are to be suspected as heretics and persons of bad opinions; or as schismatics and conceited persons, pleasing themselves; or, again, as hypocrites, doing this for the sake of gain and vain glory, and all these have fallen from the truth."—*Work against Heresies*, book iv. "The doctrine of the apostles is true knowledge; and the ancient state of the Church and the character of the body of Christ, is according to the succession of bishops, to whom, in every place, they delivered the Church."—*Ibid.*

14. 'CLEMENT, Presbyter of Alexandria, A.D. 194. "In the Church, the orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons are, I think, imitations of the angelic glory."—*Stromata*, book vi.

15. 'TERTULLIAN, supposed by many to have been a layman of the Church of Carthage, in Africa, A.D. 200. "Let the heretics set forth the origin of their churches; let them turn over the order of their bishops, so descending by succession from the beginning, that he who was the first bishop had one of the apostles, or of the apostolical men who was in full communion with the apostles, for his author and predecessor. For in this manner the apostolical churches bring down their registers; as the Church of Smyrna had Polycarp placed over them by John; as the Church of Rome had Clement ordained by Peter; as the other churches also set forth those who were made bishops over them by the apostles."—*Of Heretical Prescriptions*, C. 32.

16. 'ORIGEN, catechist of the Church of Alexandria, in Egypt, A.D. 230. "Shall I not be subject to my bishop, who is ordained of God to be my Father? Shall I not be subject to the presbyter, who, by the Divine condescension, is placed over me?"—*20th Homily on St. Matthew*.

17. 'CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 250. "This, brother, is and ought to be our principal labour and study, to the utmost of our power,

to take care that the unity may still obtain which was delivered by our Lord and by His apostles to us, their successors." (*Epistle to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome.*) "From thence [from our Lord's appointment of St. Peter], through the course of times and successions, the ordination of bishops, and the frame of the Church, is transmitted, so that the Church is built upon the bishops, and all her affairs are ordered by the chief rulers; and, therefore, seeing this is God's appointment, I must needs wonder at the audacious daring of some who have chosen to write to me, as if in the name of a church, whereas a church is only constituted in the bishop, clergy, and faithful Christians."—*Epistle to the Lapsed.*

18. 'FIRMILIAN, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, A.D. 250. "The power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they founded, and to the bishops who succeeded to the apostles by a vicarious ordination."—*Epistle to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.*

19. 'CLARUS A MUSCULA, Bishop in the province of Carthage, A.D. 250. "The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, sending His apostles, and to them alone committing the power given Him by His Father; to whom we [bishops] have succeeded, governing the Church of our Lord with the same power."—*In the Council of Carthage.*

20. 'I will not tire my reader's patience by pursuing the list of individual witnesses. I will only desire him to observe, that, among the few I have cited, we have witnesses, not from one church or one country, only, but from Europe, Asia, and Africa, the only quarters of the globe then known; from France, from Italy, from Cappadocia, from Asia Minor, from Egypt, from Carthage.'—*Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, chap. vii. pp. 88-96.

21. Having thus given at length the doctrines advocated by Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Perceval respectively, and the authorities which they have adduced in their support, we shall now examine in detail the testimony of the Fathers of the first six centuries on the doctrines in question, and we undertake to show that they do not teach what Dr. Wordsworth, Mr. Perceval, and others of these Anglo-catholics maintain they do.

CLEMENS ROMANUS.

22. Jerome speaks thus of this ancient Father:—

'Clement, of whom the apostle Paul, writing to the Philippians, says, "with Clement also, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life," was the fourth Roman bishop after Peter. If indeed Linus was the second, and Anacletus the third. Many of the Latins, however, think that Clement was second after the apostle Peter. He wrote a very useful epistle from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, which in some places is read publicly.'—*Cat. Scrip. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 272.

Of him Eusebius thus writes:—

‘Of this Clement there is one epistle extant, acknowledged as genuine, of considerable length and great merit, which he wrote in the name of the Church at Rome, to that of Corinth, at the time when there was a dissension in the latter. This we know to have been publicly read for common benefit, in most of the churches, both in former times and in our own; and that at the time mentioned a sedition did take place at Corinth, is abundantly attested by Hegeppus.’—Lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 165.

23. The testimony of Clement on the subject under discussion is of singular value, and next in importance to inspired authority. His testimony relating to Jewish and Christian orders has already been considered in Chap. III. 4. We have now to examine what he has recorded relating to presbyters and their office. This will be found at the commencement of the *Catena I.* If, as these Anglo-catholics state, there can be no Church, no sacraments, and no salvation, without a bishop who possesses the powers and authority they ascribe to him, how is it that we can learn nothing of such a person from this long and almost canonical epistle of Clement, in which, from the occasion he has to speak of the Church and its rulers, he must have spoken of such a person if there had been one? So far is he from supposing that a Church and its presbyters are under the absolute control of a bishop, that he seems to speak as if the presbyters, who are described as having an episcopate, were under the control of the lay members of the Church. He, instead of impressing upon the minds of the Corinthians that their presbyters obtained their authority from the apostles through the bishop, and that they were responsible to him alone as a ruler of the Church, addresses them thus, and, after the style of St. Paul, introduces himself as if he were one of the laity among them:—

‘For it would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from their episcopate (or bishopric) who holily and without blame fulfil the duties of it. Blessed are those presbyters who having finished their course before these times, have obtained a fruitful and perfect dissolution, for they have no fear, lest anyone should turn them out of their place which is now appointed for them. But we see how you have put out some, who lived reputably among you, from the ministry which by their innocency they had adorned.’ (1. 6.)

24. Clement, no doubt, regarded the office of a presbyter as

a divine appointment; but then he describes, as we have seen, the Christian orders as being two only—those of bishops and deacons. Like the New Testament writers, and most of the Fathers, he treated the office of bishop and presbyter as being substantially one and the same.

We have given all the evidence contained in Clement's epistle in any way relating to the clerical office. This will be found at the beginning of the *Catena*, and from which it will be seen that Clement was an utter stranger to these Anglican assumptions respecting bishops.

HERMAS.

25. Our next Father is *Hermas*. The Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. xvi. 14, salutes a person of this name. But he is not believed to have been the author of the book, although it has often been ascribed to him. Nevertheless it is a very ancient document, and a piece of very legitimate evidence on the subject under discussion. In the time of Ruffinus it was considered to be an apocryphal part of the New Testament, and as such it was read in the churches. (See **32. 3.**) Eusebius, Athanasius, and Jerome give a similar account of it. Like Clement, this pseudo-*Hermas* considered bishop and presbyter as different titles for the same office. He speaks of elders as presiding over the Church at Rome. (**2. 2.**) He also represents a plurality of persons, whether bishops or elders, as presiding over the Church of Rome, and as loving the chief seats. (**2. 4.**) He, in his time, knew only of two orders in the Church: bishops or elders as governors of churches, and deacons as governors of ministries, and as protecting the poor and widows. (**2. 9.**) All the evidence relating to clerical orders contained in the writings of this person will be found in **2.**

IGNATIUS.

26. The next Father that comes under our notice is *Ignatius*, respecting whose writings there is extreme uncertainty. Dr. Wordsworth claims seven of the fifteen epistles ascribed to *Ignatius* as authentic and uninterpolated, and has quoted from

them some of the strongest passages in favour of what he considers the peculiar office of a bishop. Instead, then, of wearying the reader with a dissertation to prove that nearly all the writings ascribed to Ignatius are either spurious or interpolated, especially what he has stated respecting bishops, it has been determined to accept seven of the epistles, as given both in the Shorter and Longer Recensions, as if they were genuine, and accept the testimony for what it is worth. Perhaps, in justice to this bishop and most noted martyr, we ought to state that we do not believe that he could have been so wanting in reverence to Almighty God and His blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, as almost to confound a mortal, called a bishop, with these Ineffable Persons. Had this pseudo-Ignatius been content to have claimed for his bishop what he has done for his presbyters, viz., the place of the apostles, and the honour due to them, he would have saved himself from profanity, and would have much better served these Anglo-catholics.

27. If the three epistles which have come down to us in Syriac can be relied upon as genuine, of which there is little if any doubt, then we have evidence from early antiquity in favour of the bishop being in some manner distinct from, and superior to, the presbyter. The whole of the evidence relating to this point, contained in the three genuine epistles, is given in **3.** 1, 4, 7. Whatever passages have any relation to clerical orders in the seven epistles, whether of the Longer or Shorter Recensions, whether more or less interpolated, are given in **Cat. 3.** and are commended to the candid attention of the reader.

The claims urged by these Anglo-catholics in behalf of their bishop is not whether he is in the place of Almighty God, or is to be honoured as Jesus Christ, but whether he belongs to an order of men who are exclusively the successors of the apostles, having their place, power, and authority in the Church. Neither Ignatius, nor pseudo-Ignatius ever claim this for the bishop, but pseudo-Ignatius does assign presbyters the place of the apostles.

‘The bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles.’ (**3.** 23, 24.) ‘Be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ.’ (**3.** 33, 34.) ‘Let all reverence

. . . . the presbyters as the council of God, and college of apostles.' (3. 35, 36.) 'All follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father, and the presbytery as the apostles.' (3. 49, 50.)

28. Bingham says :—

'Ignatius, whose writings, as a learned man (Bishop Pearson) observes, speak as much for the honour of the presbyters as they do for the superiority of episcopacy, no ancient author having given so many great and noble characters of the presbytery as he does.' (91. 9.)

That presbyters may have the place of apostles is not utterly incredible, but that bishops are superior to apostles, and have a place above them, and, therefore, superior to presbyters on that account, is incredible. If this pseudo-Ignatius can be of any service to these Anglo-catholics, this must be the line of argument, which, if they can receive, might give rise to an interesting question, viz., which of the two things is the more incredible—the doctrine to be believed, or the evidence on which they would rest it?

29. We shall consider the testimony of pseudo-Ignatius, as given by Mr. Perceval, and quoted at sec. 12 of this chapter. Dean Hook stated what he considers to be the three orders of the Christian ministry, both in the times of the apostles and immediately subsequent thereto, as given at Chap. II. 2. But Mr. Perceval, by giving with approval the teaching of pseudo-Ignatius on the three orders, contradicts the Dean. Mr. Perceval quotes the following :—

'Your bishops presiding in the place of God: your presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons, most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ.'

Here, be it observed, the *presbyters* have the place of the apostles; and, as we have seen, this author uniformly assigns them that position, and never assigns it to the bishop. The three orders then, as given by pseudo-Ignatius and as adopted by Mr. Perceval, and apparently approved by Dean Hook, stand thus: 1st Order—bishop, formerly God; 2nd Order—presbyter or elder, formerly apostles; 3rd Order, deacon. But as we have noticed, the Dean places the first order as succeeding apostles, thus: '1st Order — bishop, formerly apostle.' The Dean, however, cannot believe both theories, and

he and these other Anglicans must adopt one, and of necessity reject the other. No father, so far as we have seen, has held that the bishop is in the place of God, beside Ignatius, except an unknown author under the name of Jerome. (29. 40.)

But nearly all the Fathers do, with him, though in a somewhat modified sense, assign the place of the apostles to the presbyters.

30. Here may be noticed the very questionable use Dr. Wordsworth has made of his pseudo-Ignatius. It occurs in the 9th chapter of his *Theophilus Anglicanus*:—

‘That there are these three orders in the Church, and that a religious community is not *duly* and *fully* a church without them, is evident “from Scripture and ancient authors;” especially from the writings of St. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, and bishop of Antioch, and martyr.’—p. 86.

In this sentence we do not for a moment question the statement as given from the preface of the Ordinal, but more of this in a subsequent chapter, but we do question the application of the extract from the pseudo-Ignatius as a case in point, which is as follows: ‘Without these a church is not called.’ Now, if we enquire into the nature of these three orders, and the kind of church to which they appear to have been essential, we shall find that there is scarcely any resemblance between the orders of the church of this pseudo-Ignatius and the kind of orders Dr. Wordsworth claims for the Church of England, and that there is the greatest possible difference between the churches. Dr. Wordsworth, as we have seen, maintains that a bishop succeeds and represents the holy apostles; that presbyters do not do so, but are of a lower order and under the control of bishops. But the three orders of this Ignatius, without which a church is said not to be called, are essentially different; for in this case, presbyters are said to succeed and represent the holy apostles, though it is true the bishop is represented as being above them. The words to which Dr. Wordsworth refers are:—

‘Let all reverence the bishop, as Jesus Christ being son of the Father, but the presbyters as the college of the apostles: without these a church is not called.’ (3. 35.)

According to the uniform teaching of pseudo-Ignatius, presby-

ters have the place of the apostles, and the bishop a higher place than the apostles. These two pseudo-Ignatian orders cannot surely be of any avail to these Anglicans. It is strange they should refer to them as if they were, for such a practice can only tend to deceive the unlearned reader.

31. Then as to this Ignatian church, the Church of the New Testament and that of the first two centuries were of a congregational character, if not absolutely so. To accept with approval the extract as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth from this Ignatius, and to regard it as of any worth, actually tends to unchurch our own Church.

Every congregation of our Church in which the Lord's Supper is administered without the three orders is condemned by the statement of pseudo-Ignatius. He defines a Church or Christian assembly as having but 'one temple,' 'one house of prayer,' and 'into which all came together,' and as having 'one cup,' 'one Eucharist,' 'one altar,' and 'one bishop, with presbyters and deacons.' 'Without these (orders) a church is not called, nor is there a gathering of saints, nor any assembly of religious persons.' (3. 27, 28, 36, 44, 45, 49, 50.)

32. The early Fathers cannot be rightly understood without we fully appreciate the style in which they speak of the visible Church, which is altogether different from that of modern times, and especially that of these Anglicans. Their style, however, is that of Holy Scripture. Barrow says:—

'The word church is ambiguous, having both in Holy Scripture and common use divers senses, somewhat different.'

And after quoting a long list of texts from the New Testament, where the church is for the most part of a congregational character, he states:—

'According to which notions Saint Cyprian saith, that there is a church where there is a people united to a priest, and a flock adhering to their shepherd; and so Ignatius saith without the orders of clergy a church is not called.'—*Treatise concerning the Unity of the Church*, p. 2.

33. Clement of Rome writes thus:—

'The Church of God which sojourneth at Rome, to the Church of God which sojourneth at Corinth.' (1. 1.)

Pseudo-Ignatius writes after the same manner :—

‘ Now as concerning the Church which is *in* Antioch of Syria’ (the Church of which Ignatius was the presiding presbyter or bishop) ‘ It will become you, as a Church of God, &c.’ ‘ The other neighbouring Churches have sent them,—some bishops, some presbyters and deacons.’ —*Ad Philadel.* cap. x. p. 106.

In the same epistle to the Philadelphians he says :—

‘ But come altogether into the same place, with an undivided heart.’ —Cap. vi. p. 104.

34. It would appear as if both in the time of Tertullian and Cyprian that the faithful were gathered together in small communities, each community having a primate of presbyters or a bishop, who usually baptised and presided at the Lord’s table. We shall begin first with Tertullian. He says :—

‘ We come together in a meeting and congregation as before God. . . . The most approved elders preside over us.’ (8. 1, 2.)

The language here is rather equivocal. Does Tertullian mean to say that more than one approved elder presided over a single congregation, or does he mean by approved elders the primates of several synods of presbyters, viz. the bishops of that part of the universal Church on whose behalf he was writing a defence? It is probable the latter was his meaning, and if so, we obtain nothing directly in support of our point. But the extract, taken with this view of it, in connection with another, shows that Tertullian as well as pseudo-Ignatius held that there were as many approved elders, or bishops, as eucharists, and no more eucharists than bishops; for in another part of his writings he says :—

‘ We do in the Church testify under the hand of a chief minister that we renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels. . . . The sacrament of the Eucharist, commanded by the Lord at the time of supper, and to all, we receive even at our meetings before day-break, and from the hands of no others than the heads of the Church.’ (8. 3.)

The translation used in the two extracts from Tertullian is the one approved by these Anglicans, and from which we understand, that in both cases primates of presbyters are denoted, and not simply presbyters. And from which we conclude that in

this early period of the Church its members were gathered into very small communities, so that one Lord's table, or one place where they celebrated the Lord's Supper, was sufficient for each community, which had one primate of presbyters who presided on the occasion, and also baptised all the candidates for baptism. An ancient author, under the name of Dionisius the Areopagite, gives us an account of the ancient rite of baptism. The entire congregation assisted in the ceremony, and the bishop, or chief-priest as he calls him, performed the chief part of the sacrament, being assisted by his fellow-priests. (24. 1.)

Dean Hook states very truly that

'From the time of the apostles, the office of public teaching in the Church, and of administering the sacraments, was always performed by the bishop, unless in cases of great necessity.'—*Presbyter, Ch. Dic.*

35. Cyprian speaks in the same style of the visible Church as Tertullian does, which may be seen from the extracts of his writings as given in the *Catena*. In Africa alone there were nearly seven hundred episcopal sees or seats, as appears from a list given of them, usually published with Cyprian's writings. The faithful, over whom Gregory Thaumaturgus (the wonder-worker) was bishop, according to the account given by Basil, consisted only of seventeen souls. (23. 6.)

Even after the Council of Sardica had decreed that it should

'not be lawful to place a bishop in a village . . . for in such places there is no need to set a bishop; lest the name and authority of bishops be brought into contempt,'

we find in the time of Augustine that there were 466 bishoprics in North Africa alone.

Sozomen says, that in some 'nations, a bishop is appointed even over a village, as I myself observed (about A.D. 440) in Arabia and in Cyprus.' (Lib. vii. cap. 19, p. 734.)

Burn in his 'Ecclesiastical Law' represents our cathedrals in ancient times as being parish churches. He says:—

'While the bishops thus lived amongst their clergy, residing with them in their proper seats or cathedral churches, the stated services, or public offices of religion, were performed only in those single choirs to which the people of each whole diocese resorted, especially at the more solemn times and seasons of devotion.'—*Appropriation*, vol. i. p. 60.

This will account for the language of Hooker when he says :—

‘Many things there are in the state of bishops, which times have changed; many a parsonage at this day is larger than some ancient bishoprics.’—B. vii. 2.

36. We conclude our remarks on the writings of pseudo-Ignatius by observing that there is entire silence in them on the doctrine of apostolic succession as held by these Anglicans. He nowhere informs us that the bishop obtains his commission from Christ through the apostles in an uninterrupted succession; nor does he anywhere intimate through what source the bishop obtains his extraordinary power, nor have we the remotest hint how he was appointed. This Ignatius gives his bishop an authority the apostles themselves never claimed, while at the same time he assigns presbyters the place of the apostles. According to him presbyters, and presbyters only, chronologically considered, succeeded the apostles.

The common opinion of the Fathers, viz. that St. Peter had a primacy over the other apostles, and that in this respect he represented bishops, and the other apostles of whom he was the leader represented presbyters, certainly receives some countenance from the writings of this Ignatius. He says :—

‘What is the presbytery, but a sacred congregation, counsellors of the bishop, and sitting together with him?’ (3. 39.)

POLYCARP.

37. The next and last of the Apostolic Fathers from whom any testimony can be obtained on the subject of clerical orders, is Polycarp. He, in the same style as Clement and Ignatius, thus addresses the Philippians :—

‘Polycarp, and the Presbyters who are with him, to the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi,’ &c.

He exhorts them to be subject to the presbyters, and the presbyters to be compassionate and merciful to all. (See 4.) This is all that can be obtained from Polycarp. Where at this time was the bishop of Philippi, that ideal person possessed of such power and entrusted with such absolute authority as pictured in the imagination of these Anglicans? Verily when St. Paul

wrote to the Church there, as we have seen, there was no such person, nor when Polycarp wrote to them. If there were a presiding bishop at all he must be found among the presbyters, not of another but of the same order. Is it conceivable that Clement, Hermas, and Polycarp could have had any idea of the doctrine of apostolic succession as held by some persons in these modern times, and yet not give a particle of evidence of the same; of a doctrine too which not only involves the well-being of a Church, but its very existence? or that at the very time when they were addressing themselves to the different orders of the clergy, they should so express themselves as to afford positive evidence against the doctrine in question? These Fathers knew no more of this doctrine than they did of Dean Hook's dictionary which contains it.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

38. Justin, while he distinctly alludes to what at a subsequent time were called clerical orders, only names two, those of presidents or rulers, and deacons. He refers to these in an interesting account which he gives of public Christian worship in church assembled. He speaks very definitely of Christian baptism, of the pious behaviour of the brethren, and that, after one part of Christian worship was concluded, the reading of Holy Scripture and a sermon or homily on the same, the elements of the Lord's Supper were brought to the president of the brethren, and after having given thanks, in which all united, they celebrated the holy communion. We are also informed that persons called deacons were employed in distributing the elements to those present. (5. 2, 3.) The account of public worship and the ministers taking leading part therein, are so circumstantially given by Justin to Antoninus Pius, that had he possessed only a fraction of the notions of these Anglicans respecting a bishop, he could not have passed him by, in the way which he has done.

39. Dr. Pusey is struck with his ominous silence on this point, and apologises for him thus:—

‘ There is no mention of bishops, or of the constitution of the Christian Society, or of the distinction of clergy and laity. We know indeed from

other sources what the Christians of this age believed on these subjects. And while S. Justin says nothing to contravene what we learn from them, it is idle to argue from his silence.'—*Preface to the Works of Justin*, p. v. *Library of the Fathers*.)

Idle or not idle, we do argue from his silence, which is all the more significant from the fact that Clement of Rome, Hermas of the same place, and Polycarp, are equally silent respecting this Anglican theory of Christian orders, but like his predecessors above named he distinctly speaks of two orders, presidents and deacons. (5. 2, 3.) Like the other Fathers, Justin represents the holy apostles as not being succeeded by any particular class of men, but rather as continued to us by their writings; for he speaks of their voices as having filled the whole world. (5. 4.) The reader will notice how he regards all Christians as priests, 5. 6, 7. All that can be collected from the writings of Justin will be found in 5. 1-7.

IRENÆUS.

40. This father stands first on the list as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth in favour of his teaching on apostolical succession. But, before we examine any of these isolated scraps of Greek and Latin, as placed at the beginning of this chapter, it will be necessary to give the reader a distinct account of the purpose for which Dr. Wordsworth has introduced them to his 'young student.'

The extracts, taken as they stand in connection with the other parts of his book, are well adapted to initiate and confirm the confiding pupil in this modern Anglican doctrine concerning the Church and its ministry.

41. It is important to the devout and well-instructed member of the Holy Catholic Church, to know that he is personally interested in several kinds of succession. There is a *succession* or transmission of what the apostles taught and instituted in the Christian Church. There is, in this sense the *succession of divine truth*, transmitted from the apostles in the imperishable record of Holy Scripture. There is the *succession of divine ordinances*, the preaching of the Word, the administration of sacraments, and the

exercise of discipline, which have their warrant in the Holy Scriptures, and have been observed, with greater or less purity, from the apostolic age till now. There is the *succession of the Church*, the body of Christ, the society of the faithful, including all, in every age and country, who have been gathered into his fold; and finally, there is a *ministerial succession*, or that stated ministry of the Church which will continue to the end of the world. These receive their message from the Word, their commission from Christ, their inward call from the Holy Spirit, their outward call from the Church.

The succession, however, which Dr. Wordsworth wants to establish, is an exclusive, personal, uninterrupted succession of an order of men as distinct from presbyters or elders as presbyters were from the inspired apostles who first ordained them, or from the deacons who were appointed to serve under them. This kind of succession is not that to which any of the Fathers refer; nor does it appear from any portion of their writings that they had any knowledge of this comparatively modern notion of apostolical succession.

42. The kind of succession held by Dr. Wordsworth, and these Anglo-catholics generally, is well described by Archbishop Whately:—

‘And they (these Anglo-catholics) make our membership of the Church of Christ, and our hopes of the gospel-salvation, depend on an exact adherence to every thing that is proved or believed, or even suspected to be an apostolical usage; and on our possessing what they call apostolical succession; that is, on our having a ministry whose descent can be traced up, through an unbroken and undoubted chain to the apostles themselves, through men regularly ordained by them or their successors, according to the exact forms originally appointed. And all Christians (so called) who do not come under this description, are to be regarded either as outcasts from “the household of faith,” or at best as in a condition “analogous to that of the Samaritans of old” who worshipped on Mount Gerizim, or as in “an intermediate state between Christianity and Heathenism,” and as “left to the uncovenanted mercies of God.”’—*Kingdom of Christ*. Essay ii. 17.

43. It is not to be doubted that there has been a succession of bishops and presbyters, and deacons and laity, from the time that some apostle or apostolic man laid the foundation of a Christian Church in this country. But this is not what these

Anglicans mean by succession. There has been in these realms, from a very remote period, a succession of kings, with more or less interruption. But this is not the kind of succession which is held by these Anglicans. For this, in the strictest sense, is hereditary, whereas, in the succession of bishops, there is no hereditary title to the office; for the series of bishops has not followed the line of any family, or class of Christians, but has been taken indiscriminately from the mass. If then none of these senses can be attributed to this Anglican mode of succession, what does it really mean? As far as its meaning can be obtained from the mist of confusion and the mazes of sophistry, it denotes an unbroken continuation of the commission first given to the apostles, accompanied with a certain exclusive spiritual aptitude contained in the transferred commission to discharge the office of an apostle, in modern times called a bishop; and this aptitude, or spiritual qualification, is supposed to be transmitted in unbroken continuity from one bishop to another, through the channel of a certain form called ordination. It will be found that the Fathers, though they occasionally use the terms equivalent to 'succession' and 'successors,' have not given the remotest hint that by these terms they mean what these Anglicans mean by them. It should be noticed how Dr. Wordsworth, in the very short extracts he has quoted from the Fathers, given at the head of this chapter, has marked the terms in question.

44. Dean Hook has told us what were the three orders in the time of the apostles:—'1, apostle; 2, bishop, presbyter, or elder; 3, deacon.' Afterwards, when the apostles had left the world, he says, the orders of the church were designated thus:—'1st order, bishop; 2nd order, presbyter; 3rd order, deacon.'

But about a hundred years after the apostles had left the world, according to the express teaching of Irenæus, there were but two orders. Those succeeding or coming after the apostles, and in any measure representing them, are promiscuously called presbyters and bishops; and when we come to consider the testimony of Eusebius, we shall find that this was universally the case during the first and second centuries. 'The young student' might receive a very different impression from the

isolated extract given from Irenæus, and part of it italicised by Dr. Wordsworth (sec. 1. of this chapter). We shall here translate it, supplying in brackets a few words left out:—

‘We can reckon those who were appointed by the apostles, bishops, (in the churches), and *their successors* even to us.’ (6. 4.)

In this sentence there is not a syllable about any successors of the apostles, but of bishops whom the apostles constituted or appointed. But whatever is affirmed of succession, successions, and successors, in regard to bishops, is also affirmed of presbyters:—

‘But when again we summon them to that tradition, which is from the apostles, and which is guarded in the churches by the *succession of the presbyters*, they oppose tradition, saying that they have found the simple truth, that they are wiser not only than *the presbyters*, but even than the apostles.’ (6. 3.) ‘Wherefore we ought to obey *the presbyters* who are in the church *who have the succession from the apostles*, as we have shown, who with the succession of the episcopate, &c.’ (6. 11.)

‘As we have shown.’ Where had he shown this? In a former book of his writing, of which the above sentence, as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth, forms a part, the whole of which will be found in 6. 4, where it will be seen that bishops are said to be successors of the apostles. Irenæus, in referring to the same thing again, said, ‘Presbyters who have their succession from the apostles, as we have shown,’ &c. But he also informs us, that to these presbyters or bishops the apostles delivered their office of teaching. Mr. Palmer translates part of the sentence thus: ‘their own place of government.’ (Vol. ii. p. 291.) *Magisterium* in patristic use almost always denotes lesson, teaching, instruction. *Magister*, the term from which it is derived, is used in the Latin translation of the Greek of Irenæus as equivalent to *διδάσκαλος*. (Lib. i. cap. 4, p. 38.) Cyprian, a bishop, said, when asking for the writings of Tertullian, a presbyter, ‘Give me my master.’ He did not mean governor but teacher. And the term given in Latin is *Magister*, and in Greek *διδάσκαλος*.—*Cat. Scrip. Eccle. Hierono.*, tom. i. p. 284.

45. Whatever the place or office was, it was alike delivered to presbyters as to bishops. It is extremely doubtful, whether in

the mind of Irenæus there was any distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, unless we have some proof of it in the following instance, where he says—‘Bishops and presbyters (*episcopis et presbyteris*) being called together at Miletus.’ (6. 9.) Whether we call these ministers presbyters (Acts xx. 17) or bishops (ver. 28), they were all of one and the same order. If we admit that in the mind of Irenæus any distinction did exist between these two, it is certain from the manner in which he has spoken of both, that he was ignorant of the distinction as taught by Dr. Wordsworth and other Anglo-catholics of the same school. Irenæus calls the rulers of the Church at Rome presbyters. (6. 16, 17.)

46. We have not, however, quite finished with Dr. Wordsworth’s extract. As quoted by him it would appear as if Irenæus referred to a succession or line of presbyters or bishops from the apostles to his time for its own sake. Now, had Dr. Wordsworth quoted the whole sentence, his ‘young student’ would have seen the real object Irenæus had in view in thus referring to succession. We shall restate the extract from Irenæus, with as much of the context as will make a sentence, placing the extract in question in brackets:—

‘Therefore that the tradition of the apostles was made evident in the whole world, there is the opportunity of seeing in every church, to every one who wishes to see the truth, (and we can reckon those who were appointed by the apostle bishops in the churches, and *their successors*, even to us), who neither taught, nor knew, any such things as these (heretics) madly prate about.’ (6. 4.)

We learn distinctly from this sentence the use made of succession by Irenæus, in contrast with the use made of it by these Anglo-catholics; a use, in fact, altogether different.

47. The extracts taken by Dr. Wordsworth from Tertullian and Epiphanius out of their writings in answer to heretics, as we shall see, make the very same use of succession. These Fathers did not place the validity of the Christian ministry upon the supposed uninterrupted succession of any class of men from the apostles, which, in fact, is a fanciful and comparatively modern notion, and was unknown to the Fathers of the first six centuries. Irenæus and Tertullian, who lived within two

centuries of the apostles, were in a better position than those who live in subsequent times, to describe the line of succession, though they differ from each other, and Epiphanius from both, in the order they give of the first Roman bishops or presbyters, as Irenæus sometimes calls them. These early Fathers believed they could look back over the bishops or presbyters of the most ancient churches, and could give the line of succession—what bishop or presbyter entered into the place of his predecessor, for this is what the Fathers for the most part mean by succession; and not what these Anglicans mean by it, namely, that a successor succeeds to the office he holds through his ordainers, and is considered to be a successor to his ordainer, rather than to him whose vacant post he occupies. These Fathers then, looking along the line of presbyters, each one of whom entered into the office of his predecessor, until they came to the apostles; and not finding any of the heresies of their times, they made use of this as a popular argument against heretics; but it is easy to see that although this argument is something like that of certain Anglicans, yet it is far from being the same; because the succession they appealed to in the apostolic churches, was not a succession of men deriving a commission from the apostles through an unbroken line of ordainers, but a succession of pastors, each one entering into the vacated charge of his predecessor, and all maintaining the Christian doctrine; and this fact of succession they used as an argument against the novel opinions of the heretics of their time. But certain Anglo-catholics lay the whole stress upon a succession of men receiving a commission from the apostles in an unbroken line, and suppose an indelible character fixed upon them, which neither heresy in doctrine, idolatry in worship, immorality in life, nor schism in practice, can efface. The Fathers, and Irenæus in particular, did not consider even their own kind of succession as a necessary mark of a true, or Catholic *Church*, they rather urged it as an argument of the truth of their *doctrine*.

48. Dr. Wordsworth, under a chapter headed ‘Uninterrupted Succession of Holy Orders in the Church of England,’ in his *Instruction for the Young Student*, quotes Irenæus to serve his purpose after the following manner:—

‘We ought to obey those who have the *succession from the apostles*, who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the sure gift of truth, according to the Father’s good pleasure.’ (P. 208.)

Who are ‘*those* whom we ought to obey?’ The young student would, of course, take the antecedent to be bishops, but herein he would be deceived, for it is presbyters.

49. Mr. Perceval has quoted Irenæus (sect. 13) much after the same fashion, which we shall again give, placing in italics the words he has omitted.

‘Those elders in the church are to be obeyed who have a succession from the apostles, as we have shown (in a former place he had given, in the instance of the bishops of Rome, the succession from St. Peter), who, together with the succession of the *episcopate (or bishopric)* have received a certain true gift, according to the decree of the Father.’ (6. 11.)

Did Mr. Perceval think it would sound strange to certain Anglicans for an ancient Father to speak of *elders*, or *presbyters*, having an *episcopate*, or *bishopric*, from the apostles, and did he therefore leave it out? This passage undoubtedly teaches that presbyters are successors to the apostles, and that they have a *bishopric*; and Mr. Perceval refers his readers to the part where Irenæus affirms the same things of bishops, as we have already done. (Compare 6. 11 with sects. 3-8.)

50. That Irenæus did not attach the same meaning to the term succession which these Anglicans do is certain from the manner in which he applies it to the church; thus he says, ‘that succession of the church which is from the apostles.’ (6. 13.) By which he means a line, or list, of believers from his day up to the time of the apostles. A succession of bishops or presbyters from the apostles means no more than that there has been a list, or, as Tertullian calls it, an *ordo*, of such persons, chronologically considered, from the apostles. Hence he says:—

‘We should adhere indeed to those who, as we have said before, keep the *doctrine* of the apostles and the *order* of the presbytership (*presbyterii ordine*).’ (6. 12, and sect. 8.)

He also speaks of presbyters being—

‘elated with the pride of the principal seat, &c. From all such we should keep at a distance.’ (6. 12.)

If the reader will consult the whole passage, as given in the

Catena, he will notice that there were two kinds of presbyters, or bishops, who were successors of the apostles; and that such as were not sound in doctrine and holy in life were to be rejected as nothing worth. If we treat some of the popes of Rome after this fashion, what becomes of Dean Hook's boasted uninterrupted succession?

51. The second extract quoted by Mr. Perceval from Irenæus, given at the beginning of this chapter, sect. 13, cannot be misunderstood when considered in connection with its context, as given in 6. 14, and with the general teaching of Irenæus. He is arguing against heretics on the ground that the churches he there describes never held nor taught any of the heresies of his time. It should be especially noticed that in the fourth century, when Arianism had taken possession of nearly all the apostolical churches, this argument was abandoned. (See 34. 22, 23.)

We have given all, or nearly all, the evidence of Irenæus on the ministry of the Christian Church, and we recommend the reader to examine it for himself; but he will look in vain for this Anglican doctrine of apostolical succession. We have not the remotest hint in his writings of *an episcopal commission* from an apostle either immediately or by *successive transmission* through either bishops or presbyters.

THEOPHILUS.

52. This earliest Christian commentator on Scripture so speaks of the apostles and their doctrine as plainly to teach that the twelve had no successors to their apostleship, and that their authority was not handed on through any class of men, but recorded in the canonical Scriptures, so that, if devout men desired infallible guidance, according to Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, they 'ought to flee to the doctrine of the apostles.' (7. 1, 2.)

TERTULLIAN.

53. Tertullian is a most important witness on the subject of this book. He speaks of a church in the most ancient style. 'We come together,' he says, 'in a meeting and congregation as

before God.' 'The most approved elders preside over us.' (8. 1, 2.) It is probable, as in the time of Cyprian, one of these elders presided in the congregation, and in reference to his fellow-presbyters was a *primus inter pares*. He distinctly admits that all disciples are, in their own right, priests, and he teaches that the ministerial office, as it existed in his day, was originated by the church :—

'The authority of the church constituted the difference between order (clergy) and the people.' (8. 16.) 'Laymen have also the right (of baptising), for that which is equally received may equally be given, unless the name of disciples denote at once bishops, or priests, or deacons.' (8. 11.)

It is not necessary for us to accept the teaching of this black presbyter or layman on this point. He was indeed a low churchman. He speaks of a bishop and defines his position by representing him as a chief priest. But the office this bishop holds he represents as being for the honour of the church, not as any right or power descending in uninterrupted succession from the apostles; and the prerogatives of the bishop and obedience to him are not placed on the authority of law, but on the simple ground of expediency, and the Apostle Paul is quoted to that effect. (8. 11.) With Tertullian a bishop was no necessary mark of a true or Catholic Church; or, if it were, the following language as used by him is utterly unaccountable :—

'If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest that the doctrine which agreeth with these apostolic churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the churches have received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, &c. We have communion with the apostolic churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them. This is the evidence of truth.' (8. 6.)

54. It will be seen in the *Catena Patrum*, on the doctrine of apostolical succession, as published in the *Tracts for the Times*, what importance they attach to the bishop having the keys of St. Peter, by which is generally meant his apostolic authority. According to the teaching of Tertullian, the keys of St. Peter were left to the laity of the church, and we shall find that Augustine teaches the same thing. Tertullian's words are :—

'He left them to the church, which keys everyone here, being interrogated, and making a good confession, shall carry with him.' (8. 15.)

Tertullian makes a very important distinction between what he calls the *teaching* of an apostle and his *power*; the latter, he maintains, was not transferable, and holds that the power to bind and loose was not communicated to any successor. His teaching on this point is much the same as that of Bishop Horsley. (Compare **8.** 18, 19, with **94.** 1-3.) Tertullian, and Cyprian for the most part after him, considered that certain sins after baptism could not be pardoned, or at least that there was no one in the church that had power or authority to accept or treat such sinners as if they were pardoned. The leading pastors of Carthage and those of Rome were divided on this point. A bishop of Rome, however, especially held and taught that persons after baptism, even though they had committed sins which brought them into condemnation, yet on their repentance might be pardoned, and accordingly accepted such, and pronounced them absolved, &c. contrary to the authorities of the African churches. On this account Tertullian called him, ironically, no doubt, 'the highest pontiff,' 'the bishop of bishops, &c.' (**8.** 17.) But as yet there was no such person in the church. Fifty years afterwards, Cyprian, by far the most influential bishop of those times, publicly disclaimed any such title. (**13.** 2.) Without admitting that Tertullian was right in his opinion respecting sinners not being absolved after baptism, the arguments he uses in support of it do bear very strongly against the assumptions of these Anglicans in regard to priestly power; as the reader cannot fail to notice who considers with care the whole extract. (**8.** 17-19.)

55. We shall now translate and consider the extract as made by Dr. Wordsworth, and as given at the beginning of this chapter. (Sect. 2.)

'Let them (heretics) make known "the roll of their bishops so coming down *in succession* from the beginning, that their first bishop had for his author and predecessor some one of the apostles, or of apostolic men."'

Dr. Wordsworth refers to the succession taught by Tertullian for one thing, Tertullian himself for another, and different, thing. Tertullian, so far from believing that succession, whatever meaning may be attached to it, is essential to a church's

being true or Catholic (the very doctrine of these Anglo-catholics), maintains that a church may be not the less apostolical without it. He says:—

‘Although churches can bring forward as their founder no one of the apostles or of apostolical men, as being of much later date, and indeed being founded daily, nevertheless, since they agree in the same faith, are by reason of their *consanguinity in doctrine counted not the less apostolical.*’

This quotation is a continuation of the paragraph of which the extract, as given above by Dr. Wordsworth, forms a part, as may be seen by referring to **8.** 7, 8, 9. In the time of Tertullian, living, as he did, in the second century, there were many churches that could, or thought they could, trace their origin through a ministerial succession of bishops or presbyters even to the apostles’ time. But suppose a church existed which could not trace its origin after that manner: was it therefore in the mind of Tertullian no church, without sacraments, and without salvation? No such thing; this sable presbyter lived long before such an alien doctrine was invented. Such a church, by reason of agreeing in the same faith, and ‘by reason of its consanguinity in doctrine, was counted not the less apostolical.’

56. But Dr. Wordsworth, as in the case of Irenæus so in that of Tertullian, has stopped in the middle of a sentence, which we shall here add, ‘*so he were one that continued steadfast with the apostles.*’ Unless there was steadfastness in the apostles’ doctrine, for this, as we shall see, is what Tertullian means, it would be of no avail to be one in the line of those who had extended from that time up to the apostles. Have the links of that chain, by which Dr. Wordsworth and his brethren hold so fast, ‘continued steadfast with the apostles,’ in faith and practice? If not, most certainly he and his brethren cannot get any support for his chain in Irenæus and Tertullian; the very extracts he has quoted, when given with the context, ruin many of the links, and therefore break the chain.

57. The words of Tertullian relating to succession appear very precious to these Anglicans. Mr. Perceval has quoted them with a little more of the context. But to translate *part* of a passage, and end it in the middle of a sentence, when by so doing an important point is kept from view, is anything but

satisfactory. We shall quote the extract, and that part of it not properly translated will be given in italics, and the portion of the sentence omitted will be placed in brackets.

‘Let the heretics set forth the origin of their churches; let them turn over the order of their bishops, so descending by succession from the beginning that he who was the first bishop had one of the apostles, or of the apostolic men *who was in full communion* with the apostles, for his author and predecessor. For in this manner the apostolical churches bring down their registers; as the church of Smyrna had Polycarp placed over them by John; as the church of Rome had Clement ordained by Peter; as other churches also set forth those who were made bishops over them by the apostles, [they have as transmitters of the apostolic seed.]’

(See **8. 7**, where there is another translation of the same passage.) In the above extract the part left out by Dr. Wordsworth is almost rendered without point by the translation given by Mr. Perceval, and had he not concluded the extract by leaving off in the middle of a sentence, but had given it entire, there would have been a key to unlock the truth of the whole of the extract. ‘They (the churches) have as transmitters (those appointed to the episcopate, presbyters, or bishops) of the apostolic seed. What is meant by the apostolic *seed*? The apostolic doctrine or teaching. But Tertullian shall be his own commentator. In the same treatise he says:—

‘The word of God is compared unto *seed*. (Cap. xxxi. p. 210.) The apostles . . . preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded churches in every city, from whence the other churches thence forward borrowed the tradition of the faith (the faith handed down) and the *seeds* of doctrine, and are daily borrowing them, that they may become churches.’ (**8. 4.**)

Did these bishops of Tertullian, these successors of the apostles, transmit ‘the same rights and authority’ the apostles had? No such thing. Tertullian, as we have seen, denies this. These bishops were not in any sense fellow-proprietors with the apostles in their power and authority, but were ministers, and in a subordinate ministerial manner handed down the apostolic doctrine. The apostolic men of Tertullian must be persons who at least hold ‘the faith once delivered to the saints.’ If then a church suspected of heresy wish to prove themselves orthodox, it would not avail merely to have had for their first bishop one

who had as his authority and predecessor one of the apostles or apostolic men, but he himself must be 'one that continued steadfast with the apostles.' Mr. Perceval translates it thus, 'who was in full communion with the apostles,' which is a *convenient* paraphrase and not a translation. The original is 'qui tamen cum apostolis *perseveravit*.' It would appear Tertullian was alluding to Acts ii. 42, which Jerome in his Latin Vulgate has rendered thus, 'Erant *perseverantes* in doctrinam apostolorum,' which in our version is translated, 'They *continued steadfastly* in the apostles' doctrine.' It is quite certain that this is what Tertullian means. He says:—

'We have communion with the apostolic churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them.' (8. 6.) 'But why are heretics aliens and enemies to the apostles, if not from the difference of doctrine.' (Cap. xxxvii. p. 212.) 'They (heretics) are in no way apostolical, by reason of the difference of the doctrine which they teach.' (8. 9.)

Tertullian certainly teaches in the extract, and in the paragraph of which it forms part (8. 7-9), a succession of sound doctrines and a succession of men who ministerially brought it down to his times, but he also teaches that any church having the doctrine of the apostles without such a ministerial succession *was not the less apostolical on that account*.

58. It is very humiliating to think that we should have men in our Church who deal so largely in the counterfeit coin of the papists, coin too which has been proved to be counterfeit by Bishop Jewel, the illustrious and most able defender of our Church against the papists, and by Fulke, the defender of the Church's version of Holy Scripture against the attacks of the same parties. (See 73. 14, 19, and 75. 9, 10.) In the one case it will be only necessary to substitute, in the place of the name M. Harding, either Wilberforce, Hook, Perceval, Wordsworth, or any other name of the same school. In the other case, in the place of the term Papists, supply Puseyites or any other name which denotes the same thing; and what was written nearly 300 years ago to defend our Church against papists will now be found most apposite to defend it against their imitators, who now in this 19th century audaciously claim to be true representatives of the Church.

As we have not by any means exhausted the evidence of Tertullian, as contained in the extracts given from his writings, we especially request the reader to study that portion of the *Catena* for himself.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

59. Clement of Alexandria is the next witness to be examined. Mr. Perceval has adduced him as an authority on his side. 'In the church, the orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are, I think, imitations of the angelic glory.' (Sect. 14.) Well, here are three orders, but what of that? The question is, not whether episcopalianism or presbyterianism is more in accordance with antiquity. It is not whether the Fathers held the episcopal form of church government, but whether they held the *scheme* of episcopacy as taught by certain Anglicans. Mr. Perceval quotes the Fathers with the intent to prove that they do, and it is desirable to keep him to his intentions as recorded in his preamble to his quotations from the Fathers. (Sect. 11. of this chap.) He, with a view, no doubt, not to hamper himself by using inconvenient terms, has given up the nomenclature of Holy Scripture and antiquity, and has adopted a private one of his own to represent a class of men whom he believes to be the only successors of the apostles. Of course by these 'chief pastors' we must understand a class of men as distinct from, and superior to, presbyters or elders as these are from deacons, and that this class alone represents the apostles. Clement knew of no such class of men, least of all that this class had a 'commission of regency.' The context, in connection with the extract in question, is decidedly hostile to any such notion. Clement follows these three orders to a happier world, and where, if the first was not lost on the way, it must be found in the second order.

'For these, the apostle says, shall be taken up in the clouds; and first, as deacons, attend, and then, according to the process, or next station of glory, be admitted into the presbytery.' (9. 4.)

60. In another part of his book he describes the orders on earth as being two only.

'In most things there are two offices, one superior, the other subordi-

nate. It is equally so as to the Church; the presbyters preserve the better form; the deacons the subordinate. Both these ministrations angels perform to God, in the dispensation of terrene affairs.' (9. 5.)

Clement does not contradict himself; he gives the key by which both statements may be reconciled.

'And though upon earth he (presbyter) be not honoured with sitting in the first throne yet he shall sit on those four-and-twenty thrones judging the people.' (9. 4.)

The chief presbyter, or bishop, sat on the first throne, but the presbyters sat on the second thrones, but these different thrones did not represent two actually different orders of men, but substantially one and the same order. Clement, in describing the Christian orders, adopts the general style of the Fathers, and speaks of the presbyters as the Fathers often speak of the apostles. Almost all the Fathers represent St. Peter as 'the head,' 'the first,' 'the prince,' 'the primate,' 'the leader,' of the other apostles, and consider him to have had the first seat or throne among them. From this circumstance some infer that St. Peter was of a superior order to the other apostles, the papists, for instance, and on this assumption the papacy rests. But it is manifest from the writings of the Fathers that they entertained no such notion; if we make an exception of Cyprian, who held some incomprehensible opinions regarding St. Peter, we may safely say there is not the semblance of proof of it. That the Fathers regarded the apostles, including St. Paul, as of one and the same order, notwithstanding the way in which they sometimes speak of St. Peter, is sufficiently plain from the general evidence contained in the first part of the *Catena Patrum*.

61. Clement, although only a presbyter, applies to himself the title of 'leader' in the Church (9. 1.), which makes it certain he did not consider that there was any essential difference between a bishop and a presbyter. This will account for him and contemporary Fathers applying the terms bishop and presbyter commonly to one and the same person. (9. 7.) Clement maintained that deceit might be practised in the promotion of a good cause (9. 6), which also Chrysostom (34. 2, 3) and other Fathers were not slow to imitate. If these Anglicans had stated that in the defence of their views they acted on *this* principle in the

absence of a better, it would have enabled us to account for a good deal in their writings which otherwise must be left in secret.

ORIGEN.

62. Another witness adduced by Mr. Perceval is Origen : but if the testimony of Clement damages the case of Mr. Perceval much, Origen, Clement's neighbour, will be found to damage it more.

'Shall I not be subject to my bishop, who is ordained of God to be my father? Shall I not be subject to the presbyter, who, by the Divine condescension, is placed over me?' (Sect. 16 of this chap.)

Judging from this extract, this learned catechist pays almost equal honours to bishop and presbyter, and it would appear not to have been without its reward, for, while he yet was but a catechist, bishops invited him to preach publicly in the church, and condescended to be his hearers. Eusebius says:—

'There (Cæsarea) Origen was requested by the bishops in that parish to interpret publicly in the church, although he had not yet been ordained to the presbytery or presbytership. This also might be shown from what was written to Demetrius respecting him, by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea, who defended him in the following manner: "He (Demetrius) has added to his letter that this was never before seen or done, that laymen should deliver discourses in the presence of the bishops. I know not how it happens that he is here evidently so far from the truth. For, indeed, wheresoever there are found those qualified to benefit the brethren, these are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. Thus at Laranda, Euelpis was exhorted by Neon, and at Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus, and at Synada, Theodore by Atticus, our blessed brethren."'—Lib. vi. cap. xix. pp. 424, 425.

Subsequently Origen was ordained presbyter, and Eusebius says:—

'The most distinguished bishops of Palestine, and those of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, judging Origen worthy of the *first and highest honour* (τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς) they laid hands on him for the presbytery.'—Lib. vi. cap. viii. p. 407.

63. Let it be noted well how Origen speaks of himself and others in that office.

'The Holy Spirit was given to the Church, which the apostles having first received conferred it on those who had rightly believed: of whom we being the *successors*, and partaking of the same grace and *chief priest*—

hood and doctrine, and being reckoned guardians of the Church, have not slept at our post, or withheld right instruction.' (10. 12.)

Origen, like most of the Fathers, held that presbyters were as much successors of the apostles as any other class of men, and it is certain that in his mind those who were called bishops were not the only successors of the apostles, if as bishops they were successors at all.

64. It may be seen from the evidence contained in **10.** that in his time bishops and presbyters must have been substantially of one and the same order. He thus speaks of deacons—

'going about to obtain the chief seats of those who are called presbyters. The bishops and presbyters of the people who have been entrusted with the chief seats.' (10. 9.)

It would seem he makes no distinction between the seats of bishops and presbyters. It is not necessary to make him contradict Clement; no doubt the legs of the chair of the bishop were rather longer than those of the chairs of presbyters, though Origen has not thought it of sufficient importance to tell us so. He does speak of some who intrigued to be called bishops, but for the encouragement of holy and learned presbyters who have the qualifications of a bishop, he says that they may be bishops before God, although they have not reached that degree by ordination of men. Origen regarded the priesthood of a bishop and a presbyter as being one and the same. (10. 2.)

65. Origen has given us a very elaborate exposition of St. Peter and the rock. (10. 3-7.) His own exposition of the passage, and the expositions of others to which he refers, but which he does not appear to admit, are alike against the assumptions of these Anglicans.

'The rock is every disciple of Christ, from whom they drank, who drank of the Spiritual Rock that followed them, and on every such rock every ecclesiastical word is built, and the system of life instituted accordingly; and in every such perfect man, having the combination of words, and works, and thoughts, perfecting holiness, the Church built by God is found.' (10. 3.)

66. Lest anyone should come to the conclusion that the whole Church is built upon Peter alone, he asks how it was in regard to all the other apostles, and goes on to state that our

Lord gave the Holy Spirit to all his apostles. From this gift of the Holy Ghost he argues that all believers generally will be taught to say :—

‘Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God . . . and if anyone say this to Him, the revelation being made not by flesh and blood, but by the Father which is in heaven, that will follow which, the letter of the Gospel declares, was said to Peter : for His Spirit teaches him that *whosoever becomes such is the same as Peter.*’ (10. 4.)

Origen, referring to another interpretation, says :—

‘But since there are some who interpret this passage of the episcopacy, as being Peter, and teach that by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, received from the Saviour, those things which are bound by them, that is, condemned, are bound in heaven, &c.’ (10. 7.)

That Peter represented bishops, we shall find was a very common opinion of the Fathers ; that, as he was believed to have a sort of primacy over the rest of the apostles, so in regard to those who came after the apostles, in each college or synod of presbyters, there was a *primate*, or *primus inter pares*. But, contrary to Roman Catholics, and their would-be brethren, these Anglicans, Origen teaches that, if such a bishop should be ‘bound with the cords of his sins, he binds and looses in vain.’ (10. 7.)

If the succession, as held by Mr. Perceval and his patron, is a fact, and, as such, one of almost infinite moment, how is it that this most learned and most illustrious Greek Father has so expressed himself on the subject of clerical orders as to make it certain that he knew nothing of it?

CYPRIAN.

67. The next Father to be considered is Cyprian, who, of all patristic witnesses is the most important on the subject under discussion, arising from the fact that he, of all other Fathers before him, has spoken most explicitly of a certain distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, as being of Divine authority. He appears to have attached very little importance to the human tradition of his day. Discarding that, he appeals to Divine tradition, which is a title he frequently gives to the canonical Scriptures. The peculiar use he has made of our Lord’s

address to Peter has favoured the papists with plausible grounds on which to rest all the claims of the pope as the only personal successor of St. Peter, as the vicar, and only vicar, of Christ and the supreme head of the universal Church. Puseyites accept Cyprian as their chief authority, to whom they appeal for their principles and practices respecting the office of the bishop.

68. Thus Dr. Pusey says:—

‘The epistles of St. Cyprian are the more deeply interesting to us in that he, who has been called “the ideal of a Christian bishop,” has been almost involuntarily chosen as the model of our Church. We seem to have felt how much we owe to God through him, as mitigating to us the difficulties of a position as yet unavoidable, and justifying our adherence to it . . . He has been honoured, almost, as it were, as the apostle of our Church. His writings present the theory of the episcopate, which bears out our position on one side and the other; with an intense feeling of the responsibility of bishops to their Lord, he claimed for each the right of acting with no human responsibility, and disclaimed for himself, as primate, the right of controlling others. Consulted by others, in his own province, he puts off from himself any right of judgment, and with humility responds to the humility which applies to him.’—*Preface to the Epistles of Cyprian*, p. xvii. *Library of the Fathers*.

69. If anyone should infer from the above language that Cyprian was a primate of a certain number of bishops of a given province after the manner of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, we just notice in passing that such a person would be deceived. It seems as if Dr. Pusey would make Cyprian a bishop, or primate of bishops, against his own protestations in regard both to himself and to any other bishop. Cyprian taught that a bishop was a primate of presbyters, and that St. Peter was a primate of apostles (sects. 96 and 97 of this chap.), but he did not hold that there was any human primate of bishops. In fact, had he done so, it would have destroyed his own argument respecting the office of Peter, or rendered it absurd; it would have been putting Peter over Peter.

70. Again Dr. Pusey says, and we give it as part of the argument on the side of these Anglicans:—

‘Episcopal authority, apart from the doctrine of the mystical unity of the Church, would be liable to be secular, arbitrary, despotic; in connection with it, it derives its qualities from Him of whom it is, and is essentially spiritual, parental, self-sacrificing. The bishop, as conceived

by St. Cyprian, though set over the Church, is yet in and of her; not, like a secular power, external to those it rules, nor, again, deriving authority from it, yet "set in her" (1 Cor. xii. 28. Ep. 48, fin.—**11.** 23), the visible representative of the invisible Head; the joint, compacting the members together, yet one with the Church, as the Church with him; on the one hand, deriving his authority by vicarious succession (Eps. 33, 45, 66, 69, 75.—**11.** 15, 22, 31, 35. **12.** 2) from the apostles, "chosen," "ordained," "ruled," "inspired," "strengthened," "protected," by Christ (Ep. 48, fin.—**11.** 23); on the other, by the unity of the Spirit which holds together invisibly each part of the Church and its whole, "in the Church, as the Church in the bishop." (Ep. 66, 7.—**11.** 32.) The bishop, independent in authority, was one organic whole with the Church. It belonged, then, to the oneness of the Church that whatever was done should emanate from her oneness and love, as the result of a concordant will, not be accepted only by a cold unparticipating obedience. The maxim, accordingly, of St. Ignatius for the people, "to do nothing without the bishop," finds in St. Cyprian the counterpart for the bishop, "do nothing without the presbyters and the concurrence of the people," in his well-known words, "from the beginning of my episcopate, I resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the people." If possible, he abated from his right (Ep. 14, 5.—**11.** 11), in order to gain the more loving concurrence to what he saw to be right. In the abstract he asserted his right to exercise alone the authority committed to him of God: held it back (Ep. 35.—**11.** 17) while he might; when necessary, he exercised it. (Ep. 34.—**11.** 16.) But in proportion as he felt the intensity of the episcopal authority, from which, until compelled by the anxiety of the people, he had shrunk, he was tender in wielding that whose weight he knew. He revered his own authority, and His Majesty "Who maketh bishops" (**11.** 32), and could not use lightly what could not fall lightly, powers given him "to edification, and not destruction."—*Preface*, &c., pp. xiv. xv.

71. Dr. Pusey has made a goodly claim for a bishop in the person of Cyprian, which, as we shall see, Cyprian never made for himself. Dr. Pusey, however, has referred us for proofs of his statements to the epistles of Cyprian. The parts referred to are contained in the *Catena*, to which references have been given as above, all of which will be considered in due course. Extracts have already been given from Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Perceval at the commencement of this chapter, which, in connection with those of Dr. Pusey, will now be discussed.

72. Dr. Wordsworth states that bishops succeed and represent the holy apostles. He means, of course, bishops such as we now have, and bishops only: and by the holy apostles he means the twelve, and not the seventy. In proof of his statement he gives

one extract from Cyprian, which, translated, stands thus: 'Bishops are rulers who by a vicarious ordination are successors of the apostles.' (For the context of the extract see **11. 31.**) Dr. Wordsworth, by inserting the term 'bishops' in the above extract, deprives the statement of half its truth. Had the whole truth been stated for the 'young student,' without giving the context, it would have been stated thus: 'Bishops *and presbyters* are rulers who by a vicarious ordination are successors of *the seventy* apostles.' It is enough to state here that Cyprian uses the term ruler (*præpositus*) in his writings as common to bishops and presbyters. Proof of it will be given shortly. If Cyprian had possessed these modern Anglican theories respecting a bishop, he never would have used a term inclusive of presbyters, and he never would have claimed bishops such as he himself was to be successors of the seventy disciples, or apostles, as they were called by nearly all the Fathers. We refer the reader to Ch. II. 14–20, where the subject has been fully considered.

73. The reader must note well the statement of Dr. Pusey, namely, that the bishop derives his authority by vicarious *succession* from the apostles. In proof of this we are referred to the passage we have just considered.

Firmilian also is referred to (**12. 2**) where he uses the phrase 'vicarious ordination,' but as he echoes, as Dr. Pusey says, the maxims of Cyprian, we may leave him for the present. But Cyprian does not use the phrase 'vicarious *succession*,' but 'vicarious *ordination*;' the distinction is a most important one. In the mind of Cyprian it is plain, as we shall show, that rulers, whether called bishops or presbyters, succeeded, that is, came after, or took the office of, the seventy disciples, or that part of the office of the twelve apostles which was common to them and to the seventy, and which was to be perpetuated in others. But he does not say that these rulers received the authority they had by a vicarious succession; they did not, to use Dean Hook's phraseology, receive—

'a perfect and unbroken transmission of the original ministerial commission from the apostles to their successors by the progressive and perpetual conveyance of their powers from one race of bishops to another.'

74. But what does Cyprian mean by the term ordination (*ordinatio*)? Not what we mean by it. He uses it in the sense of appointment, in which the laity took an essential and fundamental part. If bishops and presbyters succeed the seventy disciples by a vicarious ordination, as he says they do, then they are sent as if Christ had sent them. The ordainers, or persons who appoint, choose, send, or elect them, act in the place of Christ, and those thus ordained have the same credentials as if Christ himself had sent them.

75. It is of great importance that we have a distinct conception of what Cyprian means by the phrase 'vicarious ordination,' as contrasted with the phrase 'vicarious succession,' which Dr. Pusey substitutes for it. According to the theory of succession as propounded by these Anglicans, and as already considered in Ch. I. 31-47, and sect. 40 of this chapter, a vicarious succession must be somewhat as follows. The apostleship was conferred by God Almighty on His Son the Lord Jesus Christ; He then became Vicar to Almighty God. As God conferred the apostleship on Christ so Christ conferred it upon the eleven disciples, and these became vicars to Christ. These eleven disciples conferred the apostleship on others, and these others became their vicars. For instance, suppose Peter ever was at Rome, and, what is still more unlikely, that he was resident bishop there, and (to follow one out of the half dozen conflicting lines of succession as given of the early bishops or presbyters of Rome, that of Irenæus) suppose St. Peter confers the apostleship on Linus, and he becomes vicar to St. Peter, Anacletus becomes vicar to Linus, Clement to Anacletus, and so on, down to the present pope of Rome, who must perhaps, if in any sense at all, be a remote vicar of Christ, or, more strictly speaking, of God Almighty, for these Anglicans make Christ a kind of apostolic vicar among the bishops. But the question arises, how could these vicarious successors receive the apostolical succession from their 'antecessors,' as Cyprian and his master Tertullian call them? These Anglicans admit that men spiritually dead can effectually confer the apostolical commission which they are supposed to possess, but so far as we have seen, they have never maintained that men dead as to their bodies as well as respecting their moral nature

could confer the apostolical commission. How then did these vicarious successors get the supposed apostolical commission?

76. It is certain that Cyprian by the term succession meant in common language what we mean by it: not a person succeeding to a mysterious incomprehensible influence originally emanating from God the Father, and through Christ the Son, thence to the holy apostles, thence to their successors down through an unbroken series of links, good, bad, and indifferent, and some admitted to be consecrated monsters, but integral links in the same chain. If such a chain is of the strength of its weakest or worst link, what an awful thing for bishops who claim to succeed by vicarious succession to the same power and authority which the apostles possessed, for deans who occupy the vacated literal chair of an ancient bishop, and who sit in his place *primi inter pares* among their fellow-presbyters; for doctors of divinity, royal professors, and reputed biblical scholars, to hang the eternal destinies of man, redeemed by the blood of Christ, upon such a chain! For, according to the accurately adjusted and published theology of these Anglicans, if this said chain is faulty, we have no orders, no Church, no Sacraments, and consequently no revealed means of salvation. With all the foibles and faults and remarkable superstition of good Cyprian, for whom every allowance should be made, as he was converted late in life from the grossest heathenism, he did not hold, certainly did not teach, this Anglican theory of succession.

77. He speaks of one bishop going before another, and calls him an antecessor, and one bishop coming after another, and calls him a successor. Thus in an epistle to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, he says:—

‘For the glorious honour of our antecessors, the blessed martyrs Cornelius and Lucius, must be upheld; whose memory, since we honour, much more ought you, dearest brother, to honour and uphold it, by your weight and authority, who have been made their vicar and successor (*qui vicarius et successor eorum factus es*).’—*Epis.* 68, p. 293.

The question is, by what means, according to the teaching of Cyprian, did Stephen become a vicarious successor to Lucius? The answer is, by a vicarious ordination, or appointment. He, by the will of Christ, was made bishop. His ordainers, or

those who appointed him, having complied with certain recognised rules in such cases, might, in effect, be considered as acting in the place of Christ, and of those thus sent Cyprian says, 'who by a vicarious ordination are successors of the apostles, "He that heareth you, heareth me, &c."' (Luke x. 16.—**11.** 31.)

78. We shall have occasion to notice that the principal actors in the appointment of Christian rulers in the time of Cyprian were the laity. It is not supposable, then, that they could confer any divine commission, or episcopal grace, as it is called, on those whom they appointed. It was considered that the office was ordained by Christ, but the human medium by which the candidate was appointed to the office was not supposed to convey any intrinsic qualification for the office, or, to use the language of Dean Hook, it did not confer 'a perfect and unbroken transmission of the original ministerial commission.' Whence, then, did these Christian rulers receive the peculiar, spiritual, qualification of their office? From Him who appointed the office, but not necessarily through any human medium whatever. These Anglicans trace their so-called uninterrupted succession through the popes of Rome. But the authentic teaching and practice even of the Church of Rome gives no ground for the teaching of these Anglicans. When the pope dies there is an interregnum of the apostolical successor, though, they maintain, the office remains. None of the bishops of the Romish Church profess to hold the office, or pretend to confer it. How, then, does the new pope become what they call the apostolical successor? If he gets anything at all in a spiritual point of view, it is by what we may term, according to Romish practice, a vicarious ordination or election. The cardinals who elect the pope, and are the principal human medium in promoting him to his office are not supposed to have the apostolical office; they cannot, therefore, directly confer what they do not possess.

79. Whence, then, does the pope receive the peculiar endowments supposed to be requisite to constitute him a successor to St. Peter? Not through any human medium of any kind, but direct from Him who is supposed to have instituted the office. Thus writes a Roman Catholic authority :—

‘When a bishop, a prince, or a judge, is no more, we say, nevertheless, that the see, the throne, the tribunal, still exists; because the attributes of the vacant dignity remain stable, although no person is at present in possession of them; so, likewise, at the death of the sovereign pontiff, the apostolic see still exists, inasmuch as the prerogatives of supremacy are ever in full rigour, according to the institution of Jesus Christ.’—*The Apostolical Succession Explained, &c. by a Priest of the Order of Charity*, pp. 102, 103.

Again the same author states:—

‘The Roman pontiff succeeds therefore to the apostles in apostleship, because he possesses jurisdiction over the whole world and over all Christians, not by concession from any mortal, but by office, as occupying St. Peter’s chair.’—*Ibid.* p. 32.

If in the place of these cardinals we had had the laity and the clergy, we should have had an exact illustration of the form of a Cyprianic ordination both in theory and in practice. These cardinal bishops and deacons, however, are innovators upon the early practice of the Christian Church in the promotion of bishops, and in all probability are the offspring of those pocket-proud deacons of Rome who wished to have an undue share in the ordination of presbyters, and who were snubbed by the eloquence of Jerome and Augustine. (See **29.** 24–30, **33.** 20, 21.)

80. What we have now to consider is, to whom was intrusted the right of appointing the rulers of the Church in the time of Cyprian? A little above, the names of two Roman bishops occur as quoted from Cyprian, Cornelius and Lucius, of whom he speaks in the most approving terms, as he also does of their antecessor and his colleague Fabian. Of the promotion of this person to be Bishop of Rome we have a full account recorded by the Church historian Eusebius, which is given in **16.** 3. Dr. Pusey, in the extract we have already given, states that ‘the bishop, as conceived by Cyprian, derives his authority by vicarious succession [ordination] from the apostles, chosen, ordained by Christ.’ Be it so, and let us regard Fabian, the worthy Bishop of Rome, and also a martyr, as a case in point. But who were the vicarious ordainers? Manifestly all the brethren, including presbyters, and any bishops who might be present on the occasion. In this case the laity were the chief ordainers. Ordination, in the sense we now use the term, is not alluded to by Eusebius in regard to the promotion of Fabian.

‘Upon this,’ he says, ‘the whole body exclaimed with all eagerness, and with one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy; and, without delay they took and placed him upon the throne of the bishop.’ (16. 3.)

Eusebius does not give a syllable about any ordination in our sense of the term, and we shall look in vain in all the writings of the early Fathers for any statement to the effect that the apostolical commission is conferred after this modern Anglican theory. We have reason, however, to believe, that the election of Fabian as a layman to be a bishop, was completed by prayer and the laying on of hands. After the martyrdom of Fabian the see of Rome was vacant for upwards of a year. How the presbyters of Rome speak of constituting another in his place, and the part he would have to take among them in moderating the affairs of the Church, may be seen in **11. 14.**

81. But as Cyprian informs us that rulers (*præpositi*) of the Church are ordained by a vicarious ordination, we must especially examine what he means by the term ordination. An episcopal ordination, or consecration in which is supposed to be conferred the apostolical commission by those who have previously received it by succession from the apostles, as held by these Anglicans, is not so much as alluded to or named by Cyprian. Nor, as far as we have examined, do they even attempt to quote anything in proof of their opinion from his writings. Dr. Pusey has, in his preface to Cyprian’s epistles, referred his readers to such parts of them as might best aid this modern Anglican theory of episcopal ordination, but we find no reference to any passage that teaches it. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is a passage to which he refers, and which is given in **11. 22;** but that most certainly does not touch the question. In **11. 24,** Cyprian gives an account of the *making* of Cornelius a bishop. The *making* is effected by a large majority of the clergy, the whole of the people being present, together with a college of priests (16 bishops), and the thing was so orderly and legitimately done that Cyprian says, ‘Cornelius was made bishop by the sanction of God and His Christ.’ This is called the *ordination* of Cornelius. That thing which is of such paramount importance in the estimation of these Anglicans in the ordina-

tion of a bishop does not appear to be noticed, although Cyprian is stating all he possibly can to convince Antonianus that Cornelius was the legitimate bishop of Rome, and not Novatian, his rival.

82. In the time of Cyprian, a bishop could not have a valid ordination without the suffrages of the people; this was regarded as essential, and Cyprian, as we shall see, held it to be of Divine authority. With him what might be considered the Divine part in the constitution of a bishop was the election by the people. In his opinion, *vox populi, vox Dei*. Writing to his people, he says:—

‘Certain presbyters, mindful of their old conspiracy, and retaining their ancient venom against my episcopate, yea, rather against your suffrage and the sanction of God.’ (11. 20.)

His meaning is, that their suffrage intimated the Divine will; and referring to the voluntary excommunication of these presbyters, he says:—

‘They have from their own consciences passed sentence upon themselves, in accordance with *your Divine suffrages*.’ (11. 20.)

83. In this very epistle, addressed to the whole of the laity, he emphatically declares that *they made* him bishop, ‘the priest whom *you made*.’ (11. 21.) By priest he includes his rank as a bishop. He was promoted to that degree soon after he was baptised, without being made either deacon or presbyter; this appears to be the opinion of Pontus, his deacon, who wrote his life.

‘By the judgment of God and the *good will of the people*, he was chosen for the office of the priesthood, and the rank of the episcopate, while yet a neophyte, and, as was considered, a novice.’—*Cypriani Vita*, p. 2.

Whenever Cyprian refers to his own promotion, the part the people took in the affair is that on which he lays the greatest stress. Hence he says, the people ‘themselves have the power of choosing worthy priests, and rejecting the unworthy.’ (11. 34.) He distinctly maintains that this power ‘has been derived from *Divine authority*;

‘that such a practice was ‘received from *Divine tradition* and *apostolic observance*.’

‘This too,’ he says, ‘was done among you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, so that by the suffrages of the whole brotherhood, and by the judgment of the bishops who had met together in their presence, and who had written to you concerning him, the episcopate was conferred upon him, and hands were laid on him in the room of Basilides.’ (11. 34.)

It should be noticed that, when Cyprian alludes to his own promotion to be bishop, he never includes the clergy; the fact is that five out of the eight presbyters were against him. In referring to the like promotion of Cornelius, he includes the clergy, because a majority of them were in his favour. The bishop, or bishops, would lay hands on the elected bishop, and by solemn prayer consecrate him to his office. But this was by no means the chief part in the appointment of a bishop, as is plain from the writings of Cyprian. Thus, in the above case, the laying on of hands appears as of secondary importance in the constituting of a bishop.

84. In peculiar circumstances, which it will be well to consider, Cyprian wrote another letter to the Bishop of Rome. Privatus, Bishop of Lambesa, in Numidia, came to Carthage for the settlement of his grievances, but not meeting with a favourable reception, he acted a very bold part and ordained Fortunatus, one of the five presbyters who were enemies of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in opposition to him.

Fortunatus was no sooner ordained than he sent his agents to Rome with notice of it, to see if he could obtain a brotherly recognition by the bishop there. Felicissimus, an old enemy of Cyprian, headed this embassy; whom the Bishop of Rome happened to know, and at once rejected him. He and his party, being repulsed, informed the Bishop of Rome that Fortunatus had been ordained in the presence of twenty-five bishops, and so threatened the bishop that he began to stagger; he wrote to Cyprian respecting this affair, and the extracts which are given in 11. 25-28 are taken from the letter which Cyprian sent in reply. He says:—

‘No one, after the Divine sanction, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of our fellow-bishops, would make himself a judge, not of a bishop, but of God.’ (11. 26.)

It would seem from such a statement that, in the estimation

of Cyprian, his fellow-bishops occupied but a very secondary part in constituting him a bishop; the people, in this as in other instances, were the parties that more especially intimated the Divine sanction. There is not the remotest hint that bishops can confer Divine authority, yet Cyprian believed he had that authority. He regarded the means by which he had been made bishop, more especially the election of the people, an affair of Divine Providence, and quotes a text accordingly:—

“Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them does not fall on the ground without the will of your Father.” (Matt. x. 29.) When he saith that not even the least things are done without the will of God, does anyone think that the highest and chief things are done in the Church of God without either God’s knowledge or permission, and that priests, that is, his stewards, are not ordained by his decision? (11. 27.)

85. Another very important letter is that to Florentinus, or Pupianus, a bishop, it would seem, of Africa, and a confessor in the Decian persecution, who had taken part with Novatian, the rival bishop to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome. Florentinus wrote his mind to Cyprian upon the subject of that quarrel, and, in terms of contempt, signified to him that he held him as unworthy of his station and dignity in the Church. He wanted to have a scruple removed: how any who communicated with Cyprian could reasonably be considered to communicate with the Church; accusing him also of the schism which the claims of Novatian to the episcopate at Rome had occasioned. To all which Cyprian returns an answer of great severity. Extracts from that letter are given in 11. 30–33. The claims which Cyprian puts forth for his episcopate are fully given, but the reader will notice the entire absence of such as are peculiar to these Anglo-catholics. Again he quotes his favourite text respecting the two sparrows, to justify his position as an affair of Divine Providence, and to show that the manner in which he had been constituted bishop was a distinct intimation of the Divine sanction (11. 30); in fact, what he calls a ‘vicarious ordination.’

Now, this was the occasion, of all others, when Cyprian might be expected to state the grounds of his authority for being a bishop; and this most distinguished Christian of his age has

done so. But it would be interesting to think how very different a letter he would have written if he had had such a man as Dean Hook, or Dr. Pusey, for his secretary or chaplain, or if such a bishop as the one of Oxford had been his kind assisting neighbour. We may be sure, however, that Cyprian, having been originally by profession a rhetorician, and being a man of great attainments, did the best that could be done in his own defence; and had he possessed the modern argument in its most developed stage in favour of a bishop in contradistinction to a presbyter, having a 'regency in the place of Christ,' or 'being sovereign and supreme over his own portion of the flock of Christ, and the presbyters,' and had he urged it in that early age, when in such like matters they were more influenced by facts than theories, he would have been laughed at for his folly; or, if a more serious view had been taken of the case, his fellow-presbyters, as he called them, would probably have sent him about his business for usurping a right which, whatever it was, equally belonged to each member of the presbytery, without whom, or a majority of them, he could do nothing of importance. In accordance with the practice of the age in which he lived, he has recourse to revelations and dreams to convince Florentinus, and at the same time to alarm him; a method of reasoning about as conclusive as if he had put forth the extraordinary modern claims of these Anglo-catholics. (**11. 33.**)

86. Let a competent but impartial reader make himself acquainted with the writings of Cyprian, or even with the evidence as given in C. **11.** and he will be prepared to admit that the human medium through which Cyprian believed he received his episcopate was his own Church, principally the laity, and not bishops; though these, according to the custom of the times, partly borrowed, as we shall see when we come to the chapter on ordination, from the installation of a chief-priest, and the making of an elder or presbyter among the Jews, solemnly took an impressive part in completing his appointment. Had Cyprian, like these Anglicans, believed that the bishops who consecrated him conferred on him a 'Divine commission,' 'a commission of a regency in the place of Christ,' &c. &c. it would have been a very inconvenient doctrine for him. For his rival

Fortunatus had received all that bishops could give. Nevertheless, Cyprian called him a false bishop, and made a practical use of his rhetoric to prove from Scripture that there could be but one bishop in one church; that Fortunatus was incapable of performing any Church act, and that he and his presbyters, and all his adherents, were no better than vile apostates, or unclean heathens.

87. The place Cyprian assigns to the laity in the appointment of bishops receives additional confirmation from the important testimony of Mason, an author not unacceptable to these Anglicans, as their preceptors, the Tractarians, have made use of him as a link in the chain of their Fathers on their doctrine of apostolical succession. In his treatise on *The Consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England, &c.* under the heading 'Of the Election of Bishops in the Primitive Church, before there were any Christian Princes,' he says:—

'Let us begin with the election of ministers, concerning which we find three varieties in the New Testament. The first by lots; the second by voices; the third by the spirit of prophecy. Matthias was chosen by lots; the deacons by voices; Timothy and others by the spirit of prophecy. For as Chryostom saith: "In those days the pastors were made by prophecy; what is by prophecy? by the Holy Ghost: as Saul was showed by prophecy when he lay hid among the stuff; as the Holy Ghost said, 'Separate unto me Paul and Barnabas,' so was Timothy chosen." (*Chry. in 1 ad Tim. i. Hom. 5.*) Theodoret: "Thou hast not thy calling from men, but thou receivedest that order by Divine revelation." (*Theod. in 1 ad Tim. i.*) Oecumenius: "By revelation of the spirit Timothy was chosen of Paul to be a disciple, and ordained a bishop." (*Oec. in 1 ad Tim. i.*) This kind of election seemeth to be usual in the apostles' times, and to have continued so long as the gift of prophecy and discerning of spirits remained. Now of these three: the first and the third were by God himself; the second by all the faithful. This is all we find in Scripture; yet here is no precept, but only example. Wherefore it seemeth that the Lord hath left this point as a thing indifferent to be ordered by the discretion of the Church, so all things be done honestly and in order. From the Scripture, if we come to the ages following, they referred it to the clergy and people.'—P. 158, ed. 1613.

This is illustrated and confirmed by quotations from Cyprian, which have already been given. He also gives the testimony of other Fathers to the same thing.

88. Affect not to be shocked at this, ye Anglo-Catholics, for even

Hooker, whose fair fame as a true Churchman ye do grievously wrong by giving simple folk to understand, from the manner in which ye quote him, that he was a friend of yours, says :—

‘Lest bishops forget themselves, as if none on earth had authority to touch their states, let them continually bear in mind that it is rather *the force of custom*, whereby the Church (having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops) doth still uphold, maintain, and honour, them in that respect, than that any such true and *heavenly law* can be showed by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops.’ (83. 13.) ‘The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power.’ (83. 15.)

89. This is the place to notice the chief human instrumentality in *making* of bishops in the time of Cyprian, and at the present day. Dr. Wordsworth states that—

‘no earthly power can make a bishop. Kings do not *make*, but only do *place*, bishops.’—*Theoph. Ang.* p. 321.

And the proof he gives that in our Church the civil authorities do not make bishops is as follows :—

‘The English *ordinal* is entitled “The Form and Manner of *making*, &c. of *bishops*, &c.”—*Ibid.* p. 322.

If a bishop or a presbyter is what he ought to be, he must be made of God. But by what human instrumentality does a man become a bishop in the sight of men? The answer of these Anglo-catholics is, that bishops alone can make bishops, and unless they are so made, they are not bishops before God, and, therefore, not rightly so before men. But will it be believed that this learned doctor, in quoting the ordinal in emphatic type for proof that bishops are *made* by others than kings, has referred to what cannot be found, namely, that bishops are there *said* to be *made* at all? In proof of this, it is only necessary to give the general heading of the ordinal, and the three several headings of deacons, priests, and bishops, and the reader can judge for himself :—

‘The form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons.’ ‘The form and manner of *making* of deacons.’ ‘The form and manner of ordering of priests.’ ‘The form of ordaining or consecrating of an archbishop.’

The only ministers who are said to be *made*, in the ordinal, are the deacons. When it is considered that Dr. Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus, or Instruction for the Young Student*, is used in St. Bees College as a class-book for candidates for the Christian ministry, who have but two years for their studies, it seems like a cruel wrong to waste their precious time by making such a reference, and that the only one, for such a purpose.

90. Cyprian, in his epistle to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, speaking of Novatus, then an excommunicated presbyter from his Church, says:—

‘He it is who, without my permission or knowledge, of his own factiousness and ambition, made Felicissimus, his follower, a deacon.’

In this case, Novatus was not only the chief instrument in getting this enemy of Cyprian appointed to the office of a deacon, but in all probability he ordained him. Cyprian goes on to say:—

‘He who *here* made a deacon against the Church, *there* (in Rome) made a bishop.’—*Epis.* 52, p. 238.

Novatus was the chief instrument in the appointment of Novatian as bishop in opposition to Cornelius, and Cyprian, taking a practical view of things, said that at Rome he made a bishop. In a letter written especially to his people, in which he speaks of their suffrages as being Divine (**11.** 20.), he says, ‘The priest whom *you made* with so great love and zeal.’ (**11.** 21.) According to the style in which Cyprian speaks of making bishops, we should beyond a doubt say, and say most correctly, that Her Gracious Majesty, or Her Majesty’s government, *makes* our bishops. What was the opinion of one of the reformers of our Church on this point, and of others who with him compiled our liturgy, made the offices, and framed the articles, may be seen in **61.** 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, more especially the last two sections.

91. From the fact that Cyprian attached so much importance to the share the people had in his ordination, he must, on principle, attach the same importance to their suffrages in the ordination of the clergy generally, and so we find he did. Dean Hook informs us that—

‘to confer the grace of God by the imposition of human hands would clearly be blasphemous, except there existed a commission from God to do so, which commission, without the apostolical succession, cannot be proved, unless by miracle.’—*Ch. Dict. Ordinal*.

Cyprian, however, believed that, before he could ordain even a Scripture-reader, he must have a commission from the laity of his Church, which commission he could not dispense with except by miracle. (See **11.** 18, 19.) Nothing less than Divine suffrages could, according to the teaching of Cyprian, supersede the necessity of those of the people in the ordination of the clergy. Passing over presbyter, deacon, and sub-deacon, we come to the order of Scripture-readers, of which class we have a particular account of the ordination of two. Cyprian had so little conception of the enormous power with which he was entrusted, as standing in the place of Jesus Christ, according to the teaching of these Anglicans, that he appears to have believed that he got his power through his people, and that without their election he could not duly ordain even a Scripture-reader, and that, when he did ordain two without their election and sanction, he did it by the authority of a miracle, or a heavenly vision. He dispensed with the human suffrages of his people only on the ground that he had received Divine ones. (**11.** 19.) The Church, by a vision, did that which it probably would have done in an ordinary way, and Cyprian represents one of these readers as being ‘joined to the clergy, not by human suffrage, but by Divine favour.’ And even after he had ordained these readers under the direct and immediate sanction of God, he submitted their ordination to his people for their approval and ratification. In doing this, Cyprian used a legal phrase in common use among the Romans. When the prince or chief magistrate laid anything before the senate to have their approbation, and to enact it thence into a law, he was said, ‘*Referre ad senatum,*’ to refer it to the senate. In the case of Cyprian, he referred these ordinations to the *presbyters, deacons, and to all the people*. (See **11.** 19.)

92. On a similar but previous occasion, Cyprian had, by the common advice of the whole Church, for the most part determined upon appointing two persons to be next in rank to the clergy, one

to be a reader, the other to be a sub-deacon, but this had not been formally done. Cyprian completes this while in exile, and knowing the mind of his Church, he acted more upon the spirit than upon the letter of the rule, which, as laid down by himself, was a Divine law, namely, the consent of the people in such matters.

‘I have done nothing new, then, in your absence; only, what had been long since begun by the common advice of us all has, on an urgent occasion, been set forth or completed.’ (11. 13.)

93. We now come to consider the extent of Cyprian’s power as a bishop, and his mode of exercising it. Happily his writings give complete information on these points. It is necessary first, however, to have a definite conception of the Church of which Cyprian was bishop; he is not unfrequently represented as though he were an archbishop, a primate of bishops of a considerable province. Gregory Nazianzen must have been in a position to know the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cyprian, and although he has spoken of his prodigious influence, it is represented as of a moral and not of a judicial kind. In fact, Cyprian had no official jurisdiction over any Church but his own, and a primate of bishops, or of a province, was not then known. Barrow’s testimony on this point is conclusive.

‘The truth is, all ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, or dependencies, of some bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs were introduced merely by human ordinance, and established by law or custom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things; hence the prerogatives of other sees did proceed, and hereto whatever dignity, privilege, or authority, the pope with equity might at any time claim is to be imputed.’—*Treatise of the Pope’s Sup.* p. 240.

But this human arrangement did not exist in the time of Cyprian, as may be seen from what is here further added from Barrow:—

‘At first each Church was settled apart, under its own bishop and presbyters, so as independently and separately to manage its own concerns; each was *governed by its own head, and had its own laws*. Every bishop, as a prince in his own church, did act freely, according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his *ecclesiastical senate*, and with the *consent of his people* (the which he did use to consult), without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to

maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches, did require ; in which regard, if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be disclaimed by them as no good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it did adhere to him in his misdemeanours. This may be collected from the remainders of state in the times of Saint Cyprian.'—*Ibid.* pp. 240, 241.

Here Barrow, to confirm his remarks, refers to five different epistles of Cyprian, and gives the following extracts from some others :—

'All this business was to have been imparted to the people.' 'To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all.' 'And the reason is more thoroughly to be examined, not only with my colleagues, but with the whole people.' 'I dare not therefore prejudge, nor assume to myself alone, a matter which is common to all.'—*Ibid.* pp. 240, 241.

94. Had Cyprian, exclusive of, and distinct from, the presbyters, 'the same rights and authority' of an apostle? As a 'chief pastor,' had there been granted to him 'a commission of regency' in the place of Christ? Was he 'sovereign and supreme over the flock of Christ, as if there were none other but himself?' Dr. Pusey states that—

'Cyprian asserted his right to exercise alone the authority committed to him by God ; held it back while he might ; when necessary, he exercised it.'

Such are the claims of these Anglicans for their bishop in the nineteenth century. Let us now see what were the claims of the bishop of the Church at Carthage in the third century. Dr. Pusey claims for Cyprian an absolute authority ; but we have not the remotest proof that he ever claimed it for himself. Dr. Pusey, in his preface to the epistles of Cyprian, only refers to them for one instance in which Cyprian held back his authority, and one other where he exercised it. But in both these instances the authority, whether exercised or restrained, was rather of influence than of power, and in no respect independent. The proof which Dr. Pusey adduces that he kept back his authority will be found in **11. 17**. But in the translation to which he refers, instead of the words 'we shall take' (*agemus*), these are the words, 'I shall take.' Now, what were the steps to be taken, whether we take the singular I (Cyprian) or the

plural we (Cyprian and others)? On the authority of Bishop Fell, to whom Dr. Pusey refers with approval, these were the steps to be taken. '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.' Let us suppose, then, that Cyprian did tell it to the Church, and that these lapsed Christians neglected to hear it, and were excommunicated. Where in all this do we get the peculiar authority of a bishop? Dr. Pusey must indeed be a very acute Anglo-catholic to find it. According to the teaching of Augustine, this was an affair of the laity as well as of the bishop and presbyters. (33. 44, 72.) But the question is, how would Cyprian have acted in such a case? or how did he propose to act in a similar case? The instance to which Dr. Pusey refers us, where Cyprian is said to have exercised his authority, is a case in point. (11. 16.) Which ever of the two translations we adopt, we must come to the conclusion that Cyprian's authority was very much circumscribed, and that he only could exercise it in conjunction with his fellow-presbyters and people, or at least a majority of them.

95. But this is a point which we must more fully investigate. Cyprian's own language accurately defines his position as a minister of Christ.

'There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the word of the Lord on Peter. Another altar cannot be set up, nor a new priesthood made, besides the one altar and one priesthood.' (11. 21.)

The term priesthood, as here used, cannot denote the exclusive office of a bishop distinct from that of the presbyters. It is true Cyprian called himself a priest, and he called the episcopate of the Bishop of Rome a priesthood (11. 22), and referring to the same thing elsewhere, he says:—

'They set sail, &c. to Rome and to the chair of Peter, and to the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood takes its rise.' (11. 27.)

'Unity' (*unitas*) here cannot be applied with propriety to one person, but to the bishop and his fellow-presbyters, as Cyprian calls them. But we need not be left in doubt upon this point, as Cyprian expressly represents certain presbyters of Rome as

being joined in the priesthood of the bishop, for, writing to congratulate Lucius, Bishop of Rome, successor to Cornelius, he states:—

‘Who was its one bishop: which presbyters are *joined with the bishop in priestly honour.*’ (11. 29.)

The bishop of Rome was at that time a *primus inter pares* in regard to his fellow-presbyters. Cyprian was nothing more. In his epistle to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, he speaks of ‘the dignity and sanctity of the priestly office.’ And alluding to those who sustained that office, he says, ‘when the priests of God were sitting together.’ (11. 22.) Here he included himself, of course, though no doubt sitting on a higher seat. In the same epistle he also says, ‘Wherefore, dearest brother, when such things were written to me concerning you and your *fellow-presbyters sitting with you.*’ (11. 22.) In another letter to the Bishop of Rome, he says, ‘The very eminent clergy who there *preside with you.*’ (11. 28.) In the same letter he states:—

‘What remains but that the Church give way to the Capitol, and the priests withdrawing and removing the altar of the Lord, the images and idols with their altars pass into the sacred and venerable consistory of the clergy, and a wider and fuller scope be afforded Novatian for declaiming against us, and reviling us.’ (11. 28.)

If the bishop of Rome at this time claimed what some of his successors have done, Cyprian could not have known of it, or how could he have ranked him among his fellow-priests or presbyters? Cyprian, of course, would not claim for himself, as the bishop, or the presiding presbyter or priest, of the Church at Carthage, a higher position than the bishop, or presiding presbyter, of the Church of Rome with its—

‘forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, exorcists, readers, and janitors, in all fifty-two; widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than fifteen-hundred; all which the goodness and love of God doth support and nourish, the number of the people was very great.’—*Eusebius*, lib. vi. cap. xliii. pp. 468, 469.

Pseudo-Ignatius asks:—

‘What is the presbytery, but a sacred congregation, counsellors of the bishop, and sitting together, or presiding with him?’ (3. 39.)

96. It can be shown exactly that what an archbishop, or *primate*, is amongst the bishops *now*, such only was a bishop or presiding presbyter among the presbyters in the early Church.—Cyprian, in his letter to his son Magnus, in which he especially alludes to Novatian, the rival of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, and such like men who assume themselves to be bishops, says:—

‘And yet those men (Corah, Dathan, and Abiram) proceeded not quite so far as to make a schism, nor utterly to forsake the Church of God, nor to declare open war against his priests, as these dividers of the Church do, and who are rebels against the peace and unity of Christ, and constitute for themselves a chair, and assume the *primacy* (*primatum*).’ (11. 35.)

Here primacy means, as Rigaltius says, ‘the place of a bishop.’ Augustine, speaking of wicked bishops, says:—

‘They were thought to have the *primacy* who were deceivers, robbers, usurers, enemies, drunkards, and others of the same kind, such as were in the Church in the time of Cyprian whom in his letters he bewails.’—*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. v. cap. xvi. tom. vii. f. 90, 91.

Hilary, the Deacon, represents the presiding presbyter, or bishop, as having a primacy. (31. 9.)

Jerome, or some ancient writer in his name, gives an account of the primate of presbyters, and the primate of bishops, thus:—

‘Solely on account of the honour of the chief-priest (bishop) were the ordination of the clergy and the consecration of virgins, &c. reserved to him, lest the discipline of the Church, being claimed by the many, might disturb the peace of the priests and generate scandals. For this cause also the election of the bishop has latterly been referred to the metropolitan, and when the chief power is given to him that power is taken away from others, and now the chief-priests (bishops) begin to endure another priest (primate or archbishop), not of right, but of necessity.’ (29. 34, 35.)

97. But the distinction between what Cyprian called a primate of presbyters and a presbyter is exactly the same as between Peter the primate of the apostles and an apostle. He speaks, as we have seen, of presbyters ‘assuming the primacy’ of presbyters, and describes Peter as having the primacy of the apostles; his words are:—

‘For neither did Peter, whom our Lord chose, first assume anything to

himself, so as to say that he had the primacy, and should rather be obeyed of those (apostles) lately and newly come.' (11. 36.)

Dodwell, a most zealous and extreme partisan in the defence of episcopacy, which he believed to be essential to the very being of a church, in his elaborate dissertations on Cyprian, states:—

'It suffices abundantly that Cyprian at the least obtained that primacy (*primatum*) which he gave to Peter among the rest of the apostles, whom otherwise he acknowledged as equals.'—*Diss.* vii. 15, p. 46, *Opera Cypriani*.

But Peter's primacy consisted in mere order or place, for Cyprian distinctly held the equality of all the apostles in honour and power. He says:—

'Certainly the other apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power.' (11. 3.)

Cyprian says that 'Peter was chosen first.' He is represented as being *first* Matt. x. 2, and is named first in order Mark iii. 16, Luke vi. 14, John xxi. 2, and Acts i. 13. In general he acted as a *primus inter pares* in assemblies and public transactions. But this was such a precedency of mere order in the mind of Cyprian as not to make the other apostles either inferior in honour or power. The teaching of Cyprian, from the tenour of his writings, and, in this case, in the most exact form of speech, is that bishops *ought* to have (but it does not appear that they generally *had* in his day) the same place among their fellow-presbyters as Peter had among his fellow-apostles.

98. The testimony of Dean Hook respecting the way in which Cyprian and other early bishops exercised their power is worthy of our notice; he says:—

'From the time of the apostles, the office of public teaching in the Church, and of administering the Sacraments, was always performed by the bishop, unless in cases of great necessity. The power of spiritual jurisdiction in each church, of regulating its affairs generally, and especially its discipline, was shared by the bishop with the presbyters, who also instructed and admonished the people in private. The presbyters sat on seats, or thrones, at the *east end* of the church, and the bishop on a higher throne in the midst of them. In some churches they laid their hands with the bishop on the head of those who were ordained presbyters, and in others administered confirmation. The wealth and temporal power of bishops during the middle ages may have induced some of the ignorant to suppose that presbyters were exceedingly

inferior to bishops; but the Catholic Church, which sees with the eye of faith, as she acknowledges the same sacred dignity of the priesthood in every bishop, whether oppressed with extreme poverty, or whether invested with princely dignity and wealth, also views the greatness and the sanctity of the office of presbyter as little inferior to those even of the chief pastors who succeed the apostles; and the Church has never flourished more, nor has the episcopate ever been held in truer reverence, than under the guidance of those apostolical prelates who, like St. Cyprian, resolved to do nothing without the consent of the Church, and who have sedulously avoided, even the appearance of "being lords over God's heritage."—*Ch. Dic. Presbyters*; ed. 1842.

99. Before noticing more especially the testimony of the Dean respecting Cyprian's consulting his congregation, there are one or two other points to be noticed, and we hope the reader will note them well. He says, 'the Catholic Church views the greatness and the sanctity of the office of presbyter as little inferior to those even of the chief pastors who succeed the apostles.' This is very true if confined to the churches of the first three centuries, and we hope to convince the Dean that, according to the general teaching of the Fathers, Cyprian not excepted, the presbyter is just as much a successor of apostles as a bishop is. This will account, of course, for the thrones of the presbyters being nearly as high as that of the bishop, but as now, so then, a president or chairman was placed a little higher, and in a more central position, not because he was of a superior order, but for the more convenient discharge of his functions as president or chairman. The Dean states very truly:—

'From the time of the apostles, the office of public teaching in the Church, and of administering the Sacraments, was always performed by the bishop; unless in cases of great necessity.'

In fact, in the early Church, till after the time of Cyprian, a bishop had no larger charge than that of a single congregation, which he ruled in conjunction with his presbyters, among whom he was a *primus inter pares*. The Dean regards Titus as a representative of a bishop, but by the accurate account which he has given of the bishops of the early Church he has left Titus without any successor, that is, without anyone exercising the same kind of jurisdiction, or to the same extent, for 250 years after the apostolic times. Titus, by the appointment of the Apostle Paul, acted much after the same manner as a bishop

at the present day, and was directed to ‘ordain (literally place or set) presbyters in every city’—a plurality of presbyters in every city. Now, Crete, in ancient times, had its hundred cities (‘hundred-citied isle’). It is not necessary to conclude that Titus placed in everyone of these so-called cities a plurality of presbyters. Let us suppose that Christians might be found in ten of them, and that in each of these Titus placed a plurality of presbyters. Bingham states:—

‘The apostles, in first planting and establishing the Church, wherever they found a civil magistracy settled in any place, there they endeavoured to settle an ecclesiastical one, consisting of a senate or presbytery, a common council of presbyters, and one chief president above the rest, commonly called the *προεστῶς*, or the apostle, or bishop, or angel of the church; . . . according to this model, most probably, St. Paul directed Titus to ordain elders in Crete, *κατὰ πόλιν*, in every city, that is, to settle an ecclesiastical senate and government in every place where there was a civil one: which, from the subsequent history of the church, we learn, was a bishop and his presbytery, who were conjunctly called the elders and senate of the church.’—Bk. ix. ch. i. sect. 2.

Where, then, are we to find the Dean’s bishops in the isle of Crete who performed the office of public teaching in the Church, and of administering the Sacraments? Manifestly, if anywhere, in each plurality of presbyters. The Dean has well said, speaking of the practice of the early Church, that ‘the office of administering the Sacraments was always performed by the bishop; unless in cases of great necessity.’ The fact is, as we have seen, each of the early churches consisted of a single congregation, or of the Christians of a parish, and all the communicants met in one and the same place to receive the Lord’s Supper. (See sects. 30-35, above.) The case of a bishop baptising, as recorded by Dionisius, is given in **24**.

100. The Dean’s superstitious reverence for the east must have misled him when he conceives that the presbyters and their thrones were placed in the east end of the early churches. We shall find on investigation that this would have been too near the doors or entrances for these important functionaries to sit there. In placing them at that end of the church, he must have been influenced by modern antiquity. It is matter of certainty that, as late as the fifth century, the aspect of the church, the position of the chancel or presbyterium, and the place of

the communion-table were exactly the opposite of the several positions in which these Anglicans now contend they should be placed.

The early Christians, in building their churches, to a considerable extent made the Jewish temple their model, but in more subsequent times, as the heathen in their worship performed their devotions toward the rising sun, or the east, and as Christians retained the love of this practice (44.2), the churches were built and the Lord's table placed, so as to accommodate their superstition; and, strange as it may appear, the Dean advocates this gross superstition, for, according to what he states in his *Church Dictionary*, churches should be built, graves dug, and Christian worship directed, by the compass. Be it distinctly observed that, in giving the following evidence, we are not advocating the use of the compass in such matters; we think it would be better to lay it aside. The Holy Temple was built so as to be entered at the east, and the Holy of Holies was at the west, but this was, no doubt, done to counteract the all but universal practice of heathens worshipping towards the east. (Ezekiel, viii. 16.) Eusebius, in an extravagant panegyric on the building of churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, on the occasion of his building a magnificent church there, describes the church as being built with the entrances at the east, and the place where the presbyters sat as being in the west part of the building, and the communion-table so placed that it might be surrounded.—*Eusebius*, lib. x. cap. iv. pp. 734, 735, 736.

The magnificence of this church was far surpassed by that built at Jerusalem, which was constructed after the same manner. Of this church Eusebius gives a very full account.—*De Vita Const.* lib. iii. cap. xxxvii.—xl. pp. 942, 943.

101. In a volume containing the catechetical lectures of Cyril, said to have been delivered in this church, edited by Pusey, Keble, and Newman, a plan is given of the building. The three gates or doors are placed at the east; at the west end of the building is placed the communion-table, behind which is the bishop's throne; in the centre of a semicircle on either side are the thrones for the presbyters, each point of the semicircle

coming parallel with the communion-table. This will explain the position of the like thrones in the other church, that is, they extended half round the table; the table might therefore be said to be in the midst. St. Peter's Church, in Rome, in ancient times, if not now, stood the reverse of modern churches, as appears from a sermon of Leo the Great, on The Nativity. Condemning the practice of worshipping toward the east, he represents certain of his congregation as '*turning themselves back toward the rising sun*' after they had '*passed the steps to the ascent of the upper court*' of St. Peter's. (44. 2.) It is plain that in the fifth century, like the two magnificent churches described by Eusebius, St. Peter's had its main entrance at the east end. A hundred years after the churches were built as described by Eusebius, Socrates gives an exception to the rule, and has thought it of sufficient importance to record it in his history of the Church. He says:—

'At Antioch, in Syria, the site of the church is inverted; so that the altar, instead of looking towards the east, faces the west.'—Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 287.

This notable exception to the general rule in the fifth century is now the rule as contended for by Dean Hook, and others who attach much importance to such matters. All our modern churches, for the most part, are now so built that the so-called altar looks towards the west. There need be no dispute as to which is the front or back of the table. Dean Hook speaks correctly in describing the '*altar screen*.' He says, '*a screen behind the altar, bounding the presbytery eastward*.' The communion-table, then, looks towards the west, just the reverse of what it did in nearly all the churches of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. Bishop Jewel, describing the place of the bishop and presbyters in the church, in answer to Harding, a papist, on this point of the same opinion as Dean Hook, proves that it was not in the east end of the church, but that the holy table was so placed that it might be surrounded, and concludes by stating:—

'Even at this day, in the great churches of Milan, Naples, Lyons, Mentz, and Rome, and in the church of St. Laurence, in Florence, the priest at his service standeth toward the west, and so hath his face

still upon the people, and therefore Durandus saith: "In such places the priest needeth not to turn himself round when he saith, 'Dominus vobiscum' (the Lord be with you), and saluteth the people."—*Controversy with Harding; Works*, vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

102. The reader must pardon this digression, and now especially notice the point for which the extract from Dean Hook was made. He informs us that 'St. Cyprian resolved to do nothing without the consent of the church.' Here he is candid, and gives the whole truth on that point, but in a subsequent edition he suppresses three parts of it, by putting the term *clergy* in the place of the term *church*, 'did nothing without the consent of the clergy.' In a court of justice and in a mere secular affair to suppress so much of the truth would not have passed without reproof.

We shall now show how Cyprian exercised his power, by giving the whole truth as stated by himself. In writing to his presbyters and deacons, he says, 'I entreat you . . . to perform in the city both your parts and mine.' (11. 8.) Writing to the same persons, he states:—

'As regards our fellow-presbyters, &c. I could give no answer by myself. . . . Resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the people. . . . We will consult in common concerning the things which either have been, or are to be, done, as mutual honour demands.' (11. 11.)

The presbyters of Rome represent their bishop, or chief presbyter, as one who *moderates* in the assembly. (11. 14.) They also represent it as a matter of importance to have the judgment of many persons rather than the sentence of one bishop, which they speak of as being invidious. It is certain the presbyters of Rome were in entire ignorance of the power and authority which these Anglicans suppose the bishop to possess as transmitted from the apostles. (11. 14.) Those Roman presbyters represent themselves as rulers in the stead of Christ. (11. 10.) Cyprian, in writing to his presbyters, being asked by them concerning certain sub-deacons, says:—

'In this matter I cannot make myself sole judge, &c. The case of each must be considered separately, and decided more fully, not only with my colleagues (including his presbyters), but *with all the people themselves.*' (11. 16.)

Writing exclusively to his laity, he states:—

‘I shall be again restored to you with my colleagues, in whose presence we shall be able to arrange and perfect the things that are to be done, both according to your judgment and the common counsel of us all.’ (11. 21.)

103. Having considered Cyprian’s doctrine in relation to the succession of the Christian ministry, and the manner in which he discharged his own office as bishop, we shall now consider the Church officers whom he believed to succeed the apostles. Mr. Perceval cites two passages from Cyprian, and one from Firmilian, to prove that bishops succeed the apostles. These will be found at the beginning of this chapter. Dr. Pusey refers to the same passages, namely, 11. 15, 22, 12. 2, and two additional ones, 11. 31, 35, for the same purpose. (See sect. 70 of this chap.)

‘Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 250, “This, brother, is and ought to be our principal labour and study, to the utmost of our power to take care that the unity may still obtain which was delivered by our Lord and by his apostles to us, their successors.”—*Epistle to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome.*—11. 22.

This extract, as given by Mr. Perceval, apart from the context, seems to answer his purpose very well. As thus given, the personal pronoun *us* seems to include only the bishop of the Church at Rome, and the bishop of the Church at Carthage; but if the reader will look at the context, it will appear most probable, if not certain, that the senate or council of presbyters of each church is included. Both bishops are there represented as part of a council holding a session. And the letter sent by Cyprian did not only concern the Bishop of Rome but the presbyters also; for he says, ‘when such things were written to me concerning you and your fellow-presbyters sitting with you.’ (11. 22.) Whatever might be predicated of the president of such a senate as a part of the same in all substantial points might be predicated of anyone of its members. We have already seen that the fellow-presbyters of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, were said by Cyprian to be *joined with him in priestly honour.* (11. 29.) Cyprian, in the letter from which Mr. Perceval quotes, affirms that it is the duty, not only of rulers (bishops), but of

priests (presbyters), to reject certain things in council. ‘Assuredly, as becomes rulers and priests, pains must be taken that such things, when they are written by any, be rejected by us’ (bishops and presbyters). Would not Cyprian equally regard it to be the duty of presbyters as that of bishops ‘to take care that the unity may still obtain which was delivered by our Lord and by his apostles to us, their successors, and, as much as in us lies, that we gather into the Church the straying and wandering sheep’? most certainly he would; and whether or not his fellow-presbyters would not allow themselves to be thus ignored. The extract illustrated by the context and the inevitable logic of circumstances would stand thus:—

‘For this, brother, very especially we (ecclesiastical senates) both do and ought to labour; that we (including our fellow-presbyters) strive to hold fast, as much as we can, the unity appointed by the Lord, and through the apostles delivered to *us, their successors*, and as much as in us lies, that we gather into the Church the straying and wandering sheep, &c.’ (11. 22.)

104. The inferential evidence of presbyters in the time of Cyprian being regarded as successors of apostles is perhaps as strong as such evidence can be. But we now advance to something like direct proof. A certain bishop, having received no little insolence from one of his deacons, conferred with Cyprian and his fellow-presbyters how he was to act in this case, hoping, no doubt, that the official counsel of such an ecclesiastical senate as that of Cyprian and his fellow-presbyters would be of great service to him in such an extremity. To this bishop, Cyprian gives answer, and, among other things, gives a reason why deacons should be subject to the rulers of a church:—

‘But deacons should remember that the apostles, that is, bishops and rulers, the Lord chose; but deacons the apostles, after the Lord’s ascension into heaven, constituted for themselves, as ministers to their episcopate, and to the Church.’ (11. 6.)

105. The question here is, what position do presbyters occupy? were they chosen by Christ as rulers, or constituted after the manner of deacons? If the latter is what Cyprian teaches, the extract would have been a valuable one for the mutual purpose of Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Perceval. They have not, however,

ventured to give it. Dr. Wordsworth says, ‘As the apostles are succeeded by *bishops* in the Church so the *seventy* by *presbyters*.’ He refers us to Bishop Andrewes as an authority on this point, who says, ‘that these two orders were by our Lord appointed in these two.’ (Chap. ii. 14.) Beyond a doubt Cyprian held that presbyters were equally appointed by the Lord even as bishops were; but evidently he did not consider that there was that degree of distinction between them which is represented by Dr. Wordsworth and Bishop Andrewes, because, as we have seen, he ranked himself as one of the rulers who had succeeded the seventy apostles, as he called them, by a vicarious ordination. We shall see that in the mind of Cyprian there was precisely the same distinction between a bishop as a primate of his fellow-presbyters (**11. 35**), as Cyprian calls them, as there was between St. Peter as primate of his fellow-apostles. (**11. 36.**) Cyprian says, ‘that the apostles, that is, bishops and rulers, the Lord chose.’ Of what ministers are these two titles descriptive? It is extremely doubtful whether he ever applies the term bishop to a presbyter; it is certain that he applies the term ruler (*præpositus*) commonly to both bishops and presbyters. In the translation of his epistles, as published in the *Library of the Fathers*, the reader would have a difficulty in discovering this fact, as the term ruler (*præpositus*) is translated six different ways; and by a judicious use of capitals, and a convenient selection of renderings, the modern distinction between a bishop and a presbyter is forced upon him.

106. One or two cases will be as good as many to show that Cyprian applied the term ruler (*præpositus*, one set over) to presbyters. In his epistle to some martyrs and confessors, alluding to ‘certain presbyters,’ who had admitted some lapsed Christians on too easy terms to the communion of the Church, he says:—

‘But it belongs to rulers (*præpositorum est*) to observe the commandment, and to instruct their haste or their ignorance, lest they who should be shepherds of the sheep become their slayers.’—*Epist.* 15, p. 193.

Again, alluding to the presbyters of Rome who were without a bishop, he says:—

‘When their cause was lately heard, the rulers (*præpositi*) bade them wait, until a bishop be appointed.’—*Epis.* 21, p. 202.

But we refer to another passage in the writings of Cyprian, where it is plain he speaks of presbyters and bishops as alike having the place of, or in some manner representing, apostles. In his letter to Jubaianus, after referring to St. Peter, in his usual style, as the first of the apostles, as he on whom the Church was built, and from whom unity should spring, he quotes the commission our Lord gave to all his apostles after his resurrection, and remarks :—

‘Whence we learn that it is not allowed to any to baptise, or to confer the remission of sins, except to *rulers* within the Church, and who are appointed by the law of the Gospel (how they were to be appointed has already been shown) and the ordinance of the Lord; but without (the Church) nothing can be bound or loosed; and that no one can usurp to himself, against bishops and priests, what is not in his own right and power.’ (11. 38.)

Here it is evident that the term rulers, used a little above, is subdivided into bishops and priests or presbyters. But what was the amount of distinction between them in the mind of Cyprian? Evidently, from his allusion to St. Peter, and the way he speaks of him and all the other apostles, the same distinction as he considered there was between St. Peter and his fellow-apostles. Augustine, in refuting Cyprian, has quoted part of the extract, and he manifestly applies the term both to presbyters and to bishops. (33. 39.) He alludes to the epistle to Titus, where it is plain bishop and presbyter are terms which are used interchangeably, and it is plain more than one such bishop could be in a city.

107. Dr. Pusey refers to another part of Cyprian’s writings in proof that a bishop, in the modern sense of the term, derives his authority by vicarious succession from the apostles. The part referred to is given in 11. 35. But here it is certain Cyprian just as much refers to presbyters as bishops, who, it is manifest, according to the universal teaching of the Fathers, received the Holy Ghost as well as bishops.

In the letter to the bishop in trouble about his unruly deacon, Cyprian speaks of ‘deacons as ministers to the episcopate or

bishopric of bishops and rulers.' (**11. 6.**) An objector might ask, have presbyters an episcopate or bishopric? Yes; both as revealed in Holy Scripture and as held by the Fathers. In the Acts of the Apostles presbyters are called bishops, 'and called the presbyters of the Church.' 'Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops.' (Acts xx. 17, 28.) Presbyters are called bishops in Phil. i. 1. In 1 Peter v. 1, 2, presbyters are said to exercise the episcopate or bishopric. 'The presbyters which are among you I exhort,' &c. 'Feed the flock of God which is among you, *taking the oversight thereof*,' that is, acting as bishops. The apostles are called presbyters in the New Testament (1 Peter v. 1, 2 John 1, 3 John 1); they are never called bishops; it is implied, however, that they had an episcopate or bishopric (Acts i. 20.) The Fathers teach that presbyters have an episcopate. Clement of Rome does. (**1. 6.**) So does Irenæus. (**6. 11.**) Hilary, the Deacon, calls Timothy a presbyter. (**31. 8, 9.**) So also did Augustine. (**33. 21.**)

108. The next passage quoted from Cyprian by Mr. Perceval, and alluded to by Dr. Pusey, is:—

'From thence [from our Lord's appointment of St. Peter], through the course of times and successions, the ordination of bishops, and the frame of the Church, is transmitted so that the Church is built upon the bishops, and all her affairs are ordered by the chief rulers; and, therefore, seeing this is God's appointment, I must needs wonder at the audacious daring of some who have chosen to write to me as if in the name of a Church, whereas a Church is only constituted in the bishop, clergy, and faithful Christians.'—*Epistle to the Lapsed.*

The reader will find a more uniform and just translation of the passage in **11. 15**, and may notice the important point omitted, viz. that upon which the whole of the conclusion rests—the building of the Church on St. Peter. It is possible Mr. Perceval did not believe Cyprian's doctrine on this point, for these Anglicans generally deny it. So he accepted what he considered to be Cyprian's conclusion, viz. that there had been a line of bishops from Peter's time on whom the Church was built, while he denies the premises on which it rests, viz. that it was first built on Peter. Whether this is the case with Mr. Perceval or not, it certainly is with Dr. Pusey. He and most of these

Anglicans deny that the Church was built on Peter. And from these premises, which he denies, he comes to a conclusion to which Cyprian does not so much as allude, viz. that there had been a vicarious succession of bishops from Peter to his time. We shall prove both these points, taking the last first. We affirm then that Cyprian has no reference whatever in this passage to a visible local succession, but simply to the fact that the text he quoted had been handed down to his times. Any one not reading with considerable attention Mr. Perceval's translation would conclude that Cyprian was referring to a personal succession of bishops from the time of St. Peter to his own times. Dr. Pusey has also referred to the passage in question in proof that a bishop 'derives his authority by a vicarious succession from the apostles.' The passage to which he refers us is translated thus:—

'Thence the ordination of bishops, and the ordering of the Church, runs down along the course of time and line of succession, so that the Church is settled upon the bishops; and every act of the Church is regulated by the same prelates.'

Cyprian says:—

'Our Lord, whose precepts we ought to follow, determining the honour of a bishop, and the constitution of his Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter, "I say unto thee, &c."'

Here Cyprian is not referring to a practice, but to a doctrine founded upon what our Lord said to Peter. 'Thence' this doctrine, that is—

'The ordination of a bishop, and the constitution of a Church, runs down through the course of times and successions, so that the Church *should be* constituted upon the bishops, and every act of the Church *should be* regulated by the same rulers. Since then this (doctrine) is founded on the Divine law, &c.'

Cyprian is not here referring to any practice of the Church in his time. He does not state, or mean to say, that there had been a succession of bishops, of the kind he wished to establish, from his time up to that of the Apostle Peter. He referred to what our Lord said to Peter, and regarding that as a Divine model, both as respects the bishop and the Church, he argued

that, as that was left on record in the Scriptures, or, to use his own words, 'founded on the Divine law,' a Church *should be* constituted (*ut . . . constituatur*) upon a bishop, and *should be* 'regulated or governed (*gubernetur*) by him.' (See sect. 123, below.) Cyprian, in fact, was not much enamoured with the ecclesiastical practices and human tradition of his time, and he laid it down as a principle that under particular circumstances they might be abandoned, and truth derived direct from the fountain-head of Holy Scripture. (11. 39, 40.)

109. *Human* tradition was of no intrinsic value in the estimation of Cyprian, either respecting the baptism of heretics or the government of the Church; in either case he preferred making a short but direct cut to the canonical Scriptures, 'that so,' he says, 'the grounds of our action might spring thence, whence both our order and origin took its rise.' Cyprian was against the human tradition of his times, and in his judgment rather preferred the doctrine of Scripture on the ministry and constitution of the Church than a certain tradition which was prevalent in his day. Thus he says:—

'The Lord admonisheth us in his Gospel, saying, "Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may establish your own tradition." Let those who reject the commandment of God, and attempt to establish their own tradition, be firmly and resolutely repelled by you.'—*Epist.* 43, p. 229.

This language was addressed to the whole of his people in a letter in which he especially guarded them against the five presbyters who were disposed to dispense with him, as he was elected contrary to their will, and to conduct the affairs of the Church at Carthage independently of him, and no doubt justified themselves on the ground that Cyprian was introducing a new order of things in comparison with the tradition of their ancestors.

110. It is true Cyprian has a peculiar way of expressing the succession of Divine truth, as contained in the Scriptures. 'The ordination of bishops, and the constitution of the Church, runs down through the course of times and successions.' Cyprian often refers to the canonical Scriptures in such terms as the following:—'the tradition of the Lord,' 'Divine tra-

dition,' 'evangelical tradition,' 'apostolical tradition,' &c. He states:—

“Be there no innovation,” he (Stephen, Bishop of Rome) says, “beyond what has been handed down (*traditum est*) to us.” Whence is that tradition? Whether does it descend from the authority of the Lord and the Gospel, or does it come from the injunctions and epistles of the apostles? For that we are to do what is written God testifieth and admonisheth, saying to Joshua, “This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate thereon day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein.” (Josh. i. 8.) If, then, it is commanded in the Gospel, or is contained in the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, that “such as come from any heresy whatsoever should not be baptised, but hands only laid on them in order to repentance,” then be this Divine and holy tradition observed.”—*Epist.* 74, p. 315.

Cyprian, in his usual style, speaks of Scripture under the name of tradition, that is, as handed down. In the same style he speaks of what our Lord said to St. Peter, and which he believed to contain Divine authority for constituting a Christian bishop, and for the constitution of the Church, as ‘coming down through the course of time and successions.’ If we turn to Augustine, an African bishop, like Cyprian, perfectly conversant with his writings, often quoting them, and frequently borrowing his phraseology, and occasionally preaching in his church, we shall see that he spoke of the genealogy of Christ contained in the Gospel of St. Matthew, as coming down to his times precisely in the same manner as Cyprian spoke of what our Lord said to St. Peter in the same Gospel, as having come down to his times. (33. 28.)

111. Perhaps after all it may be said that we have misconceived Mr. Perceval and Dr. Pusey, and that they did not intend to represent Cyprian as referring to an existing practice, viz. that from the time of St. Peter to himself the church *had been constituted* upon bishops in the sense he intended, but from what our Lord had said to Peter the church *may or should be constituted* upon bishops: that, in truth, he is referring to a doctrine that ought to be acted upon, and not to an existing practice which ought to be continued; that such distinguished men could not have so far misconceived the teaching

of Cyprian, least of all Dr. Pusey. But this latter divine actually quotes the words in question to prove or to illustrate how the Church of England is joined on to Christ, by a line or succession of bishops, as a continuous stream from the fountain, and he appeals, not, as Cyprian does, to a doctrine which had been handed down in the Holy Scriptures, but to the fact of a local succession of bishops. He states—

‘that through “the ordination of bishops, and the ordering of the Church, running down along the course of time and the line of succession,” she is joined on to Him Who ordered it. Our apostolic succession is our title of inheritance.’—*Preface to the Epistles of Cyprian*, p. xix.

112. Before we can understand or appreciate the creed of Cyprian in reference to these points, and his general interpretation of Scripture in regard to the same things, we must briefly glance at the circumstances in which he was placed, and which we shall plainly see governed his creed and his interpretation of Scripture in regard to many points, and especially to heretical and schismatical baptisms. Cyprian, until late in life, was a pagan. Jerome describes him as a rhetorician, and the general style of his writings is admitted to be of that cast. By a good presbyter of the name Cæcilius he was brought to embrace the Christian faith. Soon after his conversion, he sold his estates, and gave the proceeds to the poor. His devoted zeal commended him to the faithful of Carthage, and he was much beloved by the laity of the Church there. In those days, and during many years subsequently, on the death of a bishop, the vacancy was supplied by a popular election. Such a vacancy occurred at Carthage, and the laity promoted him to it. But five out of the eight presbyters, headed by a very influential layman of the name of Felicissimus, were opposed to the election. His deacon, Pontus, who wrote his life, says :—

‘For evidence of his good works, I suppose this is enough, that, by the judgment of God and the good will of the people, he was chosen for the office of the priesthood, and the rank of the episcopate, while yet a neophyte, and, as was considered, a novice.’—*Cypriani Vita*, p. 3.

Cyprian, conscious of the power of such an opposition, hesitated to accept the honour, but at the earnest solicitation of the people,

he yielded. Felicissimus and the five presbyters and their followers made all the opposition they could. Cyprian, in an epistle to his laity, alludes to Felicissimus thus, 'the faction of Felicissimus;' 'the five presbyters joined with Felicissimus;' 'the party of Felicissimus and his satellites.' In an epistle to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, he says:—

'It is the same Novatus who amongst us scattered the first flames of discord and schism, who separated some of the brethren here from their bishop, who, amid the very persecution, was to ours as another persecution in overthrowing the minds of the brethren. He it is who, without my permission or knowledge, of his own factiousness and ambition, made Felicissimus his follower deacon; and, in company with his own storm, sailed to Rome also, to overthrow the Church; he there contrived similar and like plots, rending a portion of the laity from the clergy, cleaving asunder the concord of the brotherhood, who were closely knit together, and mutually loved each other. In short, as Rome from her greatness ought to have precedency of Carthage, there he committed greater and more grievous crimes. He who here made a deacon against the Church there made a bishop.'—*Epist.* 52, p. 238.

113. Subsequently Fortunatus was ordained a rival bishop to Cyprian at Carthage. What was Cyprian to do, placed as he was in this position? The only tribunal to which an appeal could be made at that early stage of the Church was the common opinion of the faithful. It was the interest of Cyprian to use his rhetoric and influence to defend Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, against his rival Novatian, promoted, as we have seen, chiefly through the instrumentality of Novatus, one of Cyprian's presbyters. For, if Novatian had got the upper hand at Rome, the same party would most probably have done so at Carthage. Cyprian felt that, to put down his rival Fortunatus, he required all the moral assistance of the Bishop of Rome with his clergy and laity, and, naturally enough, was especially anxious to have his letter read to the clergy there. (See **11.** 28, also sections 25-27.) Unfortunately we have only one side of the contending parties stated, or rather both sides stated by one and the same party.

Some bishops, however, sympathised with the Novatian party, as is plain from one of Cyprian's letters to a bishop and a martyr, which, it must be confessed, does less credit to Cyprian than any other part of his writings. The reader is now in a

position to appreciate the circumstances in which Cyprian was placed. His gifts and eloquence in writing were unrivalled in the Christian Church, and Augustine pays them the most profound homage. At this time the chief magistrates were persecutors, and not patrons, of the Church; nor was there any ecclesiastical court to give judgment, except the common opinion of the faithful with their clergy. And how were they to be acted upon so as to be kept true to the orthodox party, or if any of them had become already tainted with heresy or schism, how were they to be reclaimed? Holy Scripture had, as it ought to have, a mighty influence on the Christian mind. Cyprian acknowledged the full weight of Scripture authority, and, as appears from his writings, almost exclusively appealed to it as decisive in all matters of Christian faith and practice. On special occasions, and sometimes on trivial ones, he had recourse to Divine revelations, visions, and miracles, whether real or otherwise, it is not necessary for us to determine; some of them, as we shall have occasion to notice, bear deception or delusion on the very face of them. In a subsequent age these prodigies were much abused, as appears from the writings of Augustine. It is one thing, however, to acknowledge the principle of an exclusive appeal to Scripture in matters of faith and practice, and another to make a right use of it. Probably in seven cases out of ten where Cyprian quotes Scripture in defence of his own position as a bishop, and his teaching on heretical baptisms, he uses the Scriptures for purposes never intended by the Divine author.

114. Felicissimus and the five presbyters withdrew from the communion of the Church at Carthage, and, regarding themselves and their followers as a Church of Christ, by the advice and recommendation of certain confessors and martyrs, received the lapsed into church-fellowship again on easier terms than Cyprian thought either just or right. In regard to them Cyprian says:—

‘They now offer peace who themselves have not peace. They promise to bring back and recall the lapsed to the Church who have themselves departed from the Church.’—*Epist.* 43, p. 228.

In the same epistle he says, ‘Let them be without bishops

who have rebelled against the bishops.' (11. 21.) These five presbyters not only set up a separate Church but set themselves against episcopal authority such as was exercised by Cyprian. Neander remarks:—

'The five presbyters now proceeded with their followers to contest the episcopal authority of Cyprian; and as the presbyters were still mindful of their ancient rights, and still striving to maintain their former influence in the government of the Church, there could be no want of disputes between a bishop, and especially one like Cyprian, so resolutely active in the consciousness of that supreme spiritual power which he believed himself to possess by Divine right, and his antagonists in the presbyterial college.'—*General Church History*, vol. i. p. 304.

115. Cyprian undertook to prove that the position which he held was one of Divine appointment, and, therefore, that it was sinful to call it in question. With apostolical succession in this modern Anglican sense Cyprian had nothing to do. Human tradition he appears to have discarded, and he appeals solely to the authority of Scripture. The main texts on which he laid the greatest stress are Matt. xvi. 18 and Deut. xvii. 12. No one can read the writings of Cyprian without being struck with the manner in which he adapts texts of Scripture to the purpose he has in hand. Probably his profession as a rhetorician more or less influenced his practice in this respect. A specimen of the manner in which he would put down heretical baptism is given in 11. 37. But we have more particularly to notice the texts we have named which he quotes in vindication of his own position as a bishop, in contradistinction to a presbyter:—

'For this has been the very source whence heresies and schisms have taken their rise, that the priest of God is not obeyed, nor is it considered that there is one priest for the time in a Church, and a judge for the time, in Christ's stead; whom, if the whole brotherhood would obey, according to the Divine injunctions, &c.' (11. 26.)

Here Cyprian is endeavouring to establish a practice which he considered to be more in accordance with Scripture, that is, that in an independent Church, such as the one of which he was bishop, there should be one chief-priest or bishop; this it is his object to establish on Scriptural grounds. What, then, are the Divine injunctions on which he would found a practice more in accordance with Scripture? He tells us in the same epistle:—

‘Whosoever should not obey his priest, and him who judges here for the time, is to be instantly put to death. The Lord God speaks in the Book of Deuteronomy, saying, “The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest or the judge, whosoever he shall be in those days, that man shall die, &c.”—Deut. xvii. 12.—See 11. 25.

Cyprian, on a subsequent occasion, quotes the same text in proof that, as a bishop, he is a judge appointed by God for the time. ‘You who set yourself up a bishop of a bishop, and as a judge of a judge, for the time appointed by God, where the Lord God says in Deuteronomy xvii. 12.’ (11. 31.) In this case Cyprian uses the term bishop, where in the other he uses the term priest; both, of course, were intended to apply to himself. His argument is in both cases to this effect, that as in the Levitical law there was one priest and one judge (as he erroneously conceived) to whom obedience was imperatively enjoined, so in a congregation, or parish, or very small diocese of Christians, there should be one bishop as the priest and judge, to whom a similar obedience is equally obligatory. A goodly argument, truly! Cyprian, writing to a brother bishop in trouble respecting his disobedient deacon, says:—

‘Being assured that all we, your colleagues, would have been well pleased with whatsoever you should, by virtue of your priestly power, have done to your refractory deacon; having, as to such, a Divine warrant, the Lord God saying in the book of Deuteronomy, “And the man, &c.”—Deut. xvii. 12.—*Epist.* 3, p. 172.

It is notorious from the epistles of Cyprian that he was not the exclusive judge in the affairs of his Church, but that the presbyters, at least, had an important share. Might not the text, then, on his own principles, equally apply to the presbyters? Certainly; and he so applies it:—

‘Nor let them think that they still are in the way of life and salvation, if they will not obey the bishops and priests (presbyters); for in Deuteronomy the Lord says, “And the man, &c.” (Deut. xvii. 12.) God commanded them to be slain who did not hearken unto His priests, and obey the judges appointed by Him for the time (*ad tempus*); then, indeed, they were slain with the sword, when the carnal circumcision was yet in force; but now that there hath begun to be a spiritual circumcision among the faithful servants of God, the proud and contumacious are killed by the spiritual sword, in that they are cast out of the Church.’—*Epist.* 4, p. 175.

Again, when writing, in exile, to the whole of his people, after Felicissimus and the five presbyters had withdrawn from the Church at Carthage, he besought them not to withdraw from the presbyters who remained. 'Withdraw not from the priests of the Lord, for it is written, "And the man, &c."' (Deut. xvii. 12.—*Epist.* 43, p. 229.) Now, the question is, which of the two applications of the text we are to take, the earlier in point of time, or the later? the one he made before he was called upon to defend his position as bishop, or the one he made when he was put upon his defence? We think it certain that we shall best comply with the intention of the Divine Author if we make no direct application of the text in question either to a bishop singly or to presbyters collectively, and conclude that in the use Cyprian made of it, he wrested it for a private use of his own.

116. The next and more important text, and the one Cyprian most frequently adduces to prove that there should be one who presides in a Christian Church, and stand in the same relation to his fellow-presbyters as St. Peter did to his fellow-apostles, is what our Lord said to Peter; but this text is also adduced by Cyprian with others to prove that there should be only one independent Church in a given locality; this text, then, with the others, will be considered in this aspect. It should be borne in mind that at this time there were two parties in the Church at Carthage; the difference between them was not of a doctrinal nature, nothing of fundamental importance, but a mere matter of Church government. The majority of the laity had elected Cyprian as bishop, the majority of the clergy were against the election; here, then, was a probability of there being two independent churches in Carthage instead of one, and where would have been the harm if there had? There were at that very time in the North of Africa 738 independent churches. Some of them, no doubt, were very small, and the Church at Carthage might be as large as four or five such churches. If, then, the Carthaginian Church had been amicably divided into two, and, instead of there being in that part of Africa 738 churches, there had been 739, would there have been anything unscriptural or unreasonable? We think not, but so did not think Cyprian,

and he adduces many texts to prove that there should be but one Church in Carthage, or any such like place. Thus he says:—

‘But that a Church is one, the Holy Ghost declares in the Song of Solomon, saying, in the person of Christ, “My dove, my undefiled one, she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her.” Peter, showing that the Church is one, . . . proving and testifying that the one ark of Noah was a type of the one Church.’—*Epist.* 69, pp. 294, 295.

He then adduces the case of Rahab, Josh. ii. 18, 19, and remarks:—

‘In which sacrament is declared, that they who would live and escape from the ruin of the world must be gathered into one only house, that is, into the Church.’ (*Epist.* 69, p. 295.) ‘This sacrament of unity, this bond of concord inseparably cohering, is signified in the place in the Gospel (John xix. 23, 24) where the coat of our Lord Jesus Christ is in no wise parted In the sacrament and sign of His garment, He declared the unity of His Church.’—*De Unitate Ec.* p. 79.

117. What Cyprian has stated respecting St. Peter’s representing the unity of the Church will be found in **11. 2, 3**. Now, supposing these texts are legitimately employed, and that the Holy Ghost intended them to teach what this ingenious rhetorician makes them teach, still the question recurs, if there were so many hundred churches in North Africa, ‘each church settled apart,’ to use the language of Barrow, ‘under its own bishop and presbyters, so as independently and separately to manage its own concerns,’ might not two or more such churches be united into one, or one church divided into two, if it were done amicably? This might perhaps have prevented those awful scenes enacted at Carthage and Rome, and thence re-enacted in a large portion of Christendom in the face of the heathen world, in which Christians cursed and excommunicated each other, called each other devils, and invented and propagated the vilest libels one of another. Cyprian himself is often as remote as possible from the meekness and humility of St. Paul, and in his more positive qualities is often disgracefully foul-mouthed towards Novatian, who on his own admission was not heretical in doctrine. For, when writing to Antonianus, who

had been moved by a letter from Novatian, and required Cyprian to answer some questions, he says:—

‘As regards the character of Novatian, dearest brother, of whom you have desired word should be written you what heresy he had introduced; you should know, in the first place, that we ought not even to be curious about what he teaches, since he teaches without the Church. Whosoever he be, and whatsoever he be, he is not a Christian, who is not in the Church of Christ.’—*Epist.* 55, p. 249.

118. Cyprian, however, in his earnest zeal to prove that there could not be two bishops at Rome, is arguing against the ‘antiquity’ of his day; for, according to Irenæus, there were ‘the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul.’

If the Church at Rome in its infancy had two such men as Peter and Paul, why not in its youth have ample scope for two ordinary bishops? Bingham states:—

‘Some very learned persons are of opinion that this rule about one bishop in a city did not take place in the apostolical age; for they think that, before the perfect incorporation and coalition of the Jews and Gentiles into one body, there were two bishops in many cities, one of the Jews, and another of the Gentiles. Thus, they think it was at Antioch where Euodius and Ignatius are said to be bishops ordained by the apostles; as also Linus and Clemens of Rome, the one ordained by St. Peter bishop of the Jews, and the other, by St. Paul, bishop of the Gentiles. Epiphanius seems to be of this opinion; for he says Peter and Paul were the first bishops of Rome, and he makes it a question whether they did not ordain two other bishops to supply their places in their absence. In another place, he takes occasion to say that Alexandria never had two bishops, as other churches had.’—*Bk. ii. ch. xiii. sec. iii.*

Augustine and his predecessor were ignorant of this regulation until they became acquainted with one of the canons of the council of Nice. (33. 9.) Theodoret gives us an account of a proposal to settle a dispute between two bishops respecting the chair of a particular city. Melitius, one of the two, is represented as making the following proposal:—

‘If the episcopal chair of this city be to us a matter of contention, let us place the Holy Gospel upon it, and let us seat ourselves on each side of it. If I die first, you, O friend, will become the only ruler of the flock; but if your death occur before mine, I will, as far as I am able, tend the flock alone.’—*Lib. v. cap. iii. tom. iii. pp. 1018, 1019.*

Evidence of this kind proves plainly that having one bishop

in a city was a mere human expedient, whereas Cyprian wanted to set it up as being Divine. He was also contrary to the teaching of his ancestors in unchurching and unchristianising the five presbyters who left the church of which he was bishop because they did not choose to be under his jurisdiction, especially as he was elected contrary to their will. The course they adopted under the circumstances was the one recommended by Clement, Bishop, or presbyter, of Rome, to the presbyters of the church at Corinth :—

‘ Who is there among you that is generous, &c. Let him say, if this sedition, this contention, and these schisms, be upon my account, I am ready to depart, &c.’ (1. 8.)

No place, however, was to receive these presbyters, when they departed, for, in consequence of having rejected Cyprian’s unity of the Church, the Lord himself, it was considered, had rejected them, and wretchedness and eternal misery was to be their doom. But Cyprian’s doctrine of unity, once divulged, went on developing very fast. He required a representative of Peter in every city or parish. But Peter’s representative subsequently claimed and rigidly enforced a more stringent authority over many such cities, or parishes, which in more modern times were called a diocese. The vicar of Peter, however, did not stop here; but to carry out Cyprian’s unity more fully, he claimed to be supreme over a given number of dioceses called a province. Peter’s vicar having claimed so much, it was only natural, on the principle that much would have more, he should extend his claims by assuming the supposed vicarial authority over several provinces, and be governor over what is called a patriarchate; and then, finally, this very big baby, Peter’s greedy vicar, after the fashion of a child who has been indulged with the moon, yet cries now for the sun, makes another advance, and in his own imagination, or on his own mere assumption, becomes the pontifex maximus of the universal Church, and thus the pope was hatched in the beginning of the seventh century in the person of Boniface III.

119. To show that we have made no mistake respecting the assumption of the pope, we here give Dr. Wiseman’s testimony respecting him :—

‘By the supremacy of the sovereign pontiff, we understand that jurisdiction, or authority, which is invested in him as the successor of St. Peter, whereby being constituted the vicar or representative of Christ upon earth, and consequently the visible head of his Church; for Christ is always the only principal, and necessarily invisible, Head of the Church; power has been given to him to govern, to rule, to preserve together, the various naturally and humanly speaking discordant elements of which the Church of Christ was to be composed. We believe, therefore, that he is the universal shepherd over the entire flock; that not only every part of this flock—every individual member—is the subject of his charge, but also the clergy, not the lower grade only, but those of the highest dignity, are essentially submitted and subjected to his sway, so much so that the appointment of them all must emanate from him primarily, or at least be virtually, and in some way, approved by his sanction.’—*Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Roman Catholic Church*, lect. viii. p. 168.

120. These assumptions have been enforced through long centuries, wherever the power could be exercised, by pains and penalties, perhaps only known to the papacy, and dissentients have been cursed with such a curse that no demon out of hell could have framed one more diabolical; and all persons dying without recognising the profane and blasphemous assumptions of the pope and his satellites are consigned to perdition. These wretched Anglicans acknowledge this creature and the higher grades of his subordinate tribe to be true ministers of Jesus Christ, and all the churches who believe the stuff these teachers have invented for them, they believe to be true Churches of Christ: but they deny the presbyters of the Scottish Church to be ministers of Christ, and that Church to be a Church of Christ. But herein they are true to their principles, which, in fact, are identical with those of the papacy. For what the pope claims to be in relation to so many millions of souls, these Anglicans claim for a bishop in relation to one or two millions of souls over whom he may be canonically placed; in fact, for any bishop so placed, whether over a larger or smaller number of souls. The case shall be illustrated by an example. Dean Hook, as we shall have occasion to notice in a distinct chapter, denies the Church of Scotland to be a Church of Christ, and maintains that the episcopal Church in that country is the only Church of Christ. Of this Church he says:—

‘They have dropped the designation of archbishops, now only making

use of that of *primus* (a name formerly given to the presiding bishop), who, being elected by the other bishops, six in number, is invested thereby with the authority of calling and presiding in such meetings as may be necessary for regulating the affairs of the Church. The true Church of Scotland has thus continued to exist from the Revolution to the present time.—*Ch. Dic. Church in Scotland.*

The Church of Scotland he designates ‘a Protestant sect . . . separated from the Catholic Church.’ (*Ibid. Presbyterians.*)

All the inhabitants of Scotland not in visible communion with these seven bishops are considered by these Anglicans to be in the same predicament as the papists consider them to be who are not in visible communion with the pope. The same sauce which papists deal out to puseyites, puseyites in turn deal out to all the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland not in visible communion with the bishops of the United Church of England, including the bishops of the Church in Scotland.

121. But to come back to Cyprian’s unity, of which he appears to speak in a manner peculiar to himself, and different from most of the leading Fathers of the fourth century. The most famous passage containing this difference is one occurring in his treatise on the unity of the Church, and will be found in **11. 2, 3**, including the parts believed to be interpolated, which are placed in brackets. How Cyprian’s teaching upon unity in that very passage is regarded by true Churchmen and these Anglo-catholics, and by Roman Catholics, will now be shown. Barrow, one of the most illustrious and learned doctors of our Church, was of all men the most competent to give an opinion upon this point, and therefore a proper authority to represent sound Churchmen. After quoting Jerome to this effect, ‘one is chosen among the twelve, that, a head being appointed, an occasion of schism might be removed,’ goes on to say:—

‘St. Cyprian hath a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him), that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Austin) do commonly harp on the same notion: I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm.’—*Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy*, p. 46.

It is plain the extraordinary mental powers of Dr. Barrow,

aided with so much patristic learning, did not comprehend or fully understand this 'subtle and mystical conceit' of Cyprian. We turn, then, to these Anglo-catholics and Roman Catholics, who not only profess to understand but also to explain it. These two important expositions are given in a book containing the translation of *Cyprian's Treatises*, edited by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.; the Rev. John Keble, M.A.; and the Rev. J. H. Newman, D.D. The passage on which the expositions are founded is given in **11. 2, 3**. These gentlemen state that—

'The translation of this passage is made from Fell's text, from which the Benedictine remarkably differs. How and under what circumstances shall be mentioned presently; first, however, the point of controversy between Rome and ourselves should be clearly understood, on which it bears. Our divines, then (in controversy with the Romanists), [It would be interesting to know the names of these divines.] 'consider that the Church is one, and that, as there is but one bishop invisible, so in theory there is but one visible bishop, the type of the invisible, how many soever there actually are; each separate individual bishop being but a reiteration of every other, and as if but one out of innumerable shadows cast by one and the same object; each being *sovereign* and *supreme* over the whole flock of Christ, as if there were none other but himself. Such is the *theory* of the apostolical system; but in order to avoid the differences of opinion and action, and consequent schism, which the actual multiplicity of governors would occasion, certain ecclesiastical regulations have from the first been observed, accommodating the abstract theory to the actual state of human nature as we find it. First, bishops have been restrained, as regards Christ's flock, into local districts called dioceses; next, as regards each other, by the institution of synodal meetings, or councils, the united decisions of which bind each bishop as if it was his own individual decision; and, moreover, still for the sake of order, by prescribed rules of precedence. Such seems to be our view of the Church, and accordingly our controversy with the Romanists lies in this, whether these regulations are part of the mere ecclesiastical system and for the observance of order, or whether they are essentially part of the strictly Divine framework and means or conditions of grace; whether, whereas both the episcopal and ecclesiastical provisions come from the apostles, both are immutable, or the latter accidental only and discretionary. The Roman schools consider both to belong to the revealed system, the English only the former. Accordingly, when St. Peter is said to be the *head* of the Church, whether in Scripture or the Fathers, we interpret it of his representing the *abstract* bishop, the one and only ruler, who is put over the household, that which each bishop is by office, nay, and is actually, except so far as he is shackled by what may be called the by-laws of the divine polity; Roman Catholics, however, understand that title of him as an *actual* head of the actual apostles, not merely as

representing them, nor as taking rank before them in the system of order, but as really governing them. They make St. Peter the real centre of unity, we the emphatic *image* and lesson of it; they make St. Peter's chair the holy Roman See, a necessary *instrument* of grace, we a *symbol*; we make every bishop the real centre, they the one bishop who succeeds in the apostle's seat; we make schism and separation from Christ lie in opposing our bishop, they in opposing the bishop of Rome. After this introduction, perhaps it will appear that it does not matter a great deal which reading is taken in the passage under consideration, as our own view is as compatible or almost so with the Benedictine [the corrupted] as with Fell's text [the one not corrupted].—*The Treatises of Cyprian*, pp. 150, 151.

122. Such, then, are the expositions of Cyprian's teaching on the unity of the Church as held by these Anglicans and Romanists, both parties professing to understand and explain it. As these Anglicans believe that they are one with the Romish Church, it could not have been anticipated that there should have been so great a discrepancy between them on what, as differently viewed by them, is yet according to both essential to the being of a Church. Perhaps we look at this discrepancy too much in the abstract, and do not take a practical view of the case. The principle is the same in both cases. The one is but a development of the other, and naturally enough leads to the adoption of the other, as in the remarkable case of Dr. Newman, who in all probability was the author of the extract containing these expositions. But things are not always to be looked upon separately, but in their combined tendency and results. Let us so look upon the two opinions in the above extract, and we shall find the amount of unity almost marvellous. Regarding, as we justly may, the popish notion of St. Peter and his chair as darkness which may be felt, and this Anglican notion of him and his chair as a species of moonshine, it will be seen that both unite in introducing darkness and night in religion where the Holy Scriptures give us light and day. May the sons of the Church of England, and of all Churches, be 'children of light, and the children of the day,' and 'not of the night, nor of darkness.'

123. We now take leave of Cyprian's unity, and will more especially consider the text as adduced by him to establish what he thought ought to be the government of the Church, viz. that there should be one person in every church or parish

to represent St. Peter, and stand in the same relation to his fellow-presbyters, as Peter did to his fellow-apostles. We have already noticed in sects. 108, 109, of this chapter, how Cyprian employed the text, and founded upon it the doctrine that there should be but one bishop in a Church, and ‘that the Church should be constituted upon him, and every act of the Church should be regulated by the same ruler.’ Again, in the extract we have just considered, in its relation to the unity of the Church, Cyprian there founds a doctrine upon the text. He does not give any intimation that what he teaches had been generally practised in the Church. He also shows, as he thinks, that our Lord built his Church upon Peter and his representatives. In his letter to his people he still founds a doctrine upon the text in question. ‘There is one Church and one chair founded by the word of the Lord (that is what the Lord said to Peter) on Peter.’ (**11.** 21.) He again refers to the text to deduce the same doctrine from it. ‘For to Peter first, on whom He built the Church, and from whom He appointed and showed that unity should spring.’ (**11.** 38.) Again he says, ‘Peter, however, on whom the Church has been built by the same Lord.’ (*Epist.* 59, p. 262.) Again, ‘There Peter speaks, upon whom the Church had to be built.’ (*Epist.* 66, p. 286.) Again, ‘One Church, founded by Christ the Lord upon Peter.’ (*Epist.* 70, p. 302.) And, again, ‘For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and on whom he built his Church.’ (**11.** 36.) In no case does Cyprian refer to a practice or to human tradition that there should be one in every Church on whom the Church should be built as a representative of Peter, but that such in his mind was the doctrine of Scripture. In fact, he argues as if such was not the practice, but that, according to his conception of the teaching of our Lord, it ought to be.

124. But Cyprian’s teaching on this point, whether Scriptural or not, as compared with that of the fourth century, was a private doctrine of his own; it was so in two particulars. First, the best known Fathers of the fourth century did not believe that the Church was built on Peter at all; secondly, it does not appear from any of the Fathers of that period whose writings have come down to us that Peter or any of the apostles had

successors as foundations on whom the Church was to be built. These Anglicans themselves have arrayed a host of Fathers against Cyprian's teaching on the first point; and if he was wrong on that point, it follows as a necessary consequence that he was wrong on the other also. As far, then, as these Anglicans are concerned, poor Cyprian and his teaching are discarded in relation to that point, and proved to be heretical by the general testimony of the holy Catholic Church. Dr. Wordsworth so interprets the text in question as flatly to contradict Cyprian, and supports his interpretation by a respectable list of Fathers. Strange to say, Dr. Pusey also, with his coadjutors, have marshalled a noble army of Fathers, which proves that Cyprian's teaching on this text is contrary to that of the holy Catholic Church, and therefore heretical. In a translation of *Cyprian's Epistles*, published by his special sanction and, as it would seem, under his superintendence, with a preface written by himself, there occur such passages as are quoted above, where Cyprian represents the Church as built upon Peter. References are added to a long note given in a translation of a portion of the writings of Tertullian, in which note the teaching of Cyprian is only adduced to be refuted by a list of Fathers. This book, too, is also prefaced by Dr. Pusey, and commended by him.

125. Of Cyprian Dr. Pusey believes many wondrous things, that 'prophecy was vouchsafed to him, along the whole course of his episcopate' (*Lectures on Daniel*, p. 627), that he was 'called by distinct vision to the ministry of the Church,' that he was 'guided by revelations along the whole course of his anxious episcopate,' &c. &c. &c. and he was—

'so habituated to these vouchsafements as to await them when as yet he had them not. Add to this that He whose witness he was bore witness to him after death; that he was seen thrice since, in glory once, as one to whom it had been given to sit down on the throne of the Judge; and people might well shrink from judging for themselves of his words by whom living the Holy Spirit spake, and who is now an assessor of their Judge.'—*Preface to Cyprian's Epistles*, pp. xxi. xxii.

If Dr. Pusey really believes what he has said of Cyprian, how could he be a party to bring a host of Fathers who did not 'shrink from judging for themselves of his words,' but maintained a doctrine which refuted his? and it would seem Dr.

Pusey has not shrunk from adducing against him the united testimony of the holy Catholic Church.

126. As far, then, as the Anglicans are concerned, it is generally conceded that Cyprian made a blunder when he taught that the Church was built upon Peter, and a still greater in supposing that the Church ought to be built upon bishops, Peter's supposed successors. But in our book we have an eye also to the papists, who are *nearly* as dangerous as these Anglicans. Peter, Peter's chair, and the chair of Peter; the see of Peter, and Peter's see, is an eternal chant of the papists, and it is exceedingly monotonous, for it is harped almost exclusively on one tone or voice, viz. that of Cyprian, for he is almost the only Father who believed that Peter had successors as foundations on which the Church was to be continually built. The patristic evidence in favour of the Romish notion that the Church is built on Peter at all is very scanty. Cyprian appears to be the only authority who distinctly teaches that Peter might have successors as foundations of the Church. But the popish doctrine, that Peter can *only* have *one* living successor at *one time* was unknown to the Churches of the first four centuries. It has not the slightest countenance from Cyprian, for he maintains 'that the Church should be constituted upon the *bishops*; and that every act of the Church should be regulated by the same *rulers*. Since then this is founded on the Divine law, &c.' (11. 15.) Here he speaks of a *plurality* of bishops as representing Peter. He considered himself to be one, and considered the claim to be legitimate for each of the 738 churches of North Africa, and in fact for all the churches of the world. The Bishop of Rome conferred no more on Cyprian than did any bishop in Britain. That Church in those days had no acknowledged rights over other churches; her bishops, up to that time, in their learning, intellectual status, and moral influence, had been dwarfs in comparison with Cyprian, whose eloquence and extraordinary gifts placed him head and shoulders above them, and above all the Christian bishops of his time, and caused him to be the wonder of the Church in all succeeding ages. One early Father, and one only, so far as we have seen, has been adduced to prove that the Church is founded on the person, or the authority, of a Roman

bishop exclusively, and that is Jerome, who perhaps of all men of the age in which he lived was the most competent to give testimony on such points. Dr. Wiseman, in his lecture on 'The Supremacy of the Holy See,' adduces him, and him only, on the point in question. The words are these:—'I follow Christ, being joined in communion with your holiness, that is, with the see of St. Peter, for upon this rock I know the Church is founded.' And Dr. Wiseman adds, 'Upon that rock *alone* he knows the Church is founded.' (29. 14.) Here there is reference to Bishop Damasus. Does the phrase 'this rock' refer to the see or chair of Damasus, or to that faith which Peter professed, and which Damasus was believed by Jerome to hold in contradistinction to his two predecessors, Liberius and Felix, both of whom were recognised heretics? Erasmus (a papist, and a very learned man), in his commentary on this epistle of Jerome, on the words 'Upon this rock,' says:—

'Not upon Rome, as I think. For it might happen that Rome also should degenerate; but upon that faith which Peter professed, and which hitherto the Roman Church has preserved, by which alone she has been less troubled with heresies.'—*Hiero.* tom. ii. p. 132.

But there can be no objection to understanding 'this rock' to refer to the 'chair,' a term which is borrowed from the New Testament, and is explained by nearly all the early Fathers as denoting doctrine.

127. On the very text from which the term chair or see is derived, Jerome says, 'By "chair" he denotes the doctrine of the law.' . . . 'We ought to accept the term chair as relating to doctrine.' (29. 60.) To this agree nearly all the early Fathers. Thus Origen states:—

'Those who understand and expound Moses according to his spiritual meaning, these sit indeed on Moses' seat, but are neither scribes nor Pharisees, but better than either, Christ's beloved disciples. Since His coming these have sat upon the seat of the Church, which is the seat of Christ.'—*Catena Aurea*, vol. i. 768.

Hilary, the Bishop, says, 'Doctrine is necessarily signified by the chair.' (19. 8.) Eusebius, Bishop of Emessa, says, 'For what is it to sit on the chair of Moses unless to preach the doctrine and law of Moses.' (20. 3.) In this sense Augustine

understands the term. (**33. 59.**) Chrysostom states, 'We have not to say "the priests sit on Moses' chair," but "on that of Christ," for they have successively received his doctrine.' (**34. 31, 53.**) Remigius shows that rulers are not to be obeyed unless sound in the faith, and applies the text in question to that effect. (**46. 12.**) Primacius applies the text in the same way. (**51. 7.**) Gregory Nazianzen says, 'For to hold the same doctrine is to be of the same throne or chair; but to hold an opposite doctrine is to be of an opposite throne or chair.' (**25. 5.**) Tyndale, the apostle of our country, and one of its martyrs, has well expressed the teaching of the Church respecting Peter's chair, and the definite meaning of the term, to which we especially refer the reader. (**58. 12, 13, 14.**) Jerome's language, as interpreted by himself, his Fathers, and his contemporaries, can be simply explained thus: 'The chair (doctrine) of Peter; upon that rock (doctrine) I know the Church is built.' In a subsequent chapter, we shall have again to advert to the very questionable use Dr. Wiseman has made of Jerome in the extract in question. We cannot but think that he made an egregious slip in adducing his testimony, or in any way recognising him as a witness, in such matters, for, of all the Fathers, one more fatal to the papal cause could not have been adduced, as the numerous extracts we have made from him in the *Catena* amply testify; but for the present we shall only refer to an entire epistle of his, written to curb the audacity of the seven Roman deacons during the episcopate of Damasus, the bishop above referred to. (**29. 24-30,** especially sect. 28.)

128. This is the place to quote a specimen of the general interpretation which the Fathers give of the text 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, &c.' (Matt. xvi. 18, 19.) Tertullian, whom Cyprian called Master, held that the Church was built on Peter, and showed what he meant by it, viz. that he on the day of Pentecost commenced the Church of Christ amongst the Jews, and that subsequently he did the same among the Gentiles. (**8. 19.**) This, in substance, is the view held by Bishop Horsley. (**91. 1-3.**) Tertullian, however, distinctly maintains that Peter had no successor to himself, either as a foundation of the Church or to his office of holding

the keys. Origen, one of the most learned of the Fathers, especially in what related to the Jews and to the Hebrew Scriptures, has given a very elaborate exposition of the text to which we refer the reader; one more fatal to papal pretensions could not well be given. (10. 3-7.) Hilary, the Bishop, speaks of Peter as 'lying beneath the foundation of the Church.' (19. 1.) Again he states, 'Upon this rock of confession is the building of the Church.' 'This faith is the foundation of the Church.' (19. 2.) Ambrose speaks of Peter as a foundation of the Church, but in no other sense than the other apostles were. (30. 18.) He states that Paul was not inferior to Peter (30. 10); that what was said to Peter was said to the other apostles. He affirms that Peter did not undertake the sheep alone, but others with him. (30. 13.) He maintains that faith is the foundation of the Church, and that the primacy of Peter was in confession, not in honour; in faith, not in order. (30. 11.) He also appears to hold the doctrine of Origen respecting the faith of Peter. (30. 6.) Jerome, in one place in his writings, speaks of the Church as built upon Peter, but elsewhere he maintains that it was founded on all the apostles. Nor do the papists deny this; but they hold that the apostleship of Peter alone was transmissible. This is eleven times nearer the truth than the teaching of these Anglicans, who hold that the apostleship of each of the twelve was transmissible. So did not Jerome teach. (29. 9, 51, 56, 57, 58.) His testimony alone is fatal to all papal pretensions. Augustine has repeatedly stated his views on the text in question, and has given his last and most mature opinion upon it. The chief value of Augustine's teaching, even though it may be wrong, shows beyond mistake that the good man, in his Christian simplicity and devotion to what he believed to be the truth, was in happy ignorance of the blasphemous assumptions of the Church of Rome. So far from conceiving that the Bishop of Rome only represented Peter, he invariably, when we might expect him to speak of a successor to Peter, makes the Church his successor—in other words, the laity. (33. 13, 15, 16, 38, 54, 60, 61, 66, 69, 70, 71.) Where Augustine states what he understood by the 'rock' will be found in 33. 1, 66, 67, 80. Chrysostom explains the 'rock' to

mean faith. (34. 25.) The learned Ruffinus regards the 'rock' as meaning Christ himself. (32. 6, 12.) Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, says:—

'By "the rock," in reference to which he gives the name, he means, I consider, nothing else than the immovable and most steadfast faith of that disciple, on which the Church of Christ is established and founded that it cannot fall.' (37. 13.)

Bede states:—

'It is said to him metaphorically, "upon this rock," that is, the Saviour, whom thou hast confessed.' (55. 2.)

129. In the *Catena*, to which references have been made, will be found a fair sample of the teaching of the early Church on the text under consideration. If we suppose the term rock to have one definite meaning, and one only, as we believe it has, then all these Fathers have not given the right meaning, as they have manifestly given three or four different ones. But let us suppose that not one of them has given the proper meaning; anyhow it shows that they were quite ignorant of the doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome in more modern times. If so much now depends upon the pope of Rome, as the assumed successor to Peter and to all his prerogatives, that without him there can be no authorised Church and no salvation, and that from the time of Peter to the present there has been such a successor admitted as a fact, and received as a doctrine founded on the text in question, how is it that these Fathers in various parts of the world, at Rome itself and places not very far from Rome, were as ignorant of it as they were of the Council of Trent and all its doings? The blind credulity of papists, who, in the face of such general, ancient, and authentic testimony, can believe the pope to be what he assumes to be, surpasses even the credulity of some of these Anglicans in their extraordinary freaks of faith.

130. We did not consider it necessary to have recourse to modern interpretations. We have quoted the Fathers, and appealed to them, not so much for what they teach as what they do not teach, as we have shown in our Introduction. It is certain in this case they do not teach, or in any way favour, the

papal supremacy. But it is not by any means certain that they generally give the right interpretation. Dr. Wordsworth, on his own principles of interpretation, and on his own principles of selection from the Fathers, coupled with his own arguments, seems to come to the conclusion that the term rock denotes Christ himself; and a large proportion of his unlearned readers would very naturally conclude the question to be settled, and more especially so from the apparently strong evidence he has adduced from the Old Testament respecting what he considers to be the right interpretation of the term *πέτρα*, rock. Regarding the general evidence of the texts adduced by him as not serving his purpose,—one part being irrelevant to the point in hand, and the other positively against him; we shall submit them to a careful examination. After quoting a little Syriac, then a little Hebrew, and about as much Greek, we are favoured with a long array of texts; but had Dr. Wordsworth only slightly examined them in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek Scriptures, he never could have quoted them for the purpose he has done. We shall give the texts in question with his own application of them, and supply their explanation, which he appears to have omitted. He says:—

‘Our Lord speaks of a *πέτρα*, or *Rock*. Now, this title *Rock* is one which is reserved in the Old Testament to the ALMIGHTY. The language of Holy Scripture, from beginning to end, is, “Who is a *Rock* save our God?” (2. Sam. xxii. 32.—Ps. xviii. 31.) “God only is my *Rock*.” (Ps. lxii. 2, 6, 7.) Cp. Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30; 1 Sam. ii. 2; 2 Sam. xxii. 2, 3, 47; xxiii. 3; Ps. xix. 14; xxviii. 1; xxxi. 2, 3; xlii. 9; lxxi. 3; lxxiii. 26; lxxviii. 35. In the Lord Jehovah is the *Rock* of ages. Cp. Isa. xxviii. 16, “a sure foundation;” xxxii. 2; xlv. 8, where the words *Rock* and *God* are interchanged: “Is there a *God* beside me? yea, there is no *Rock*, I know not any?” As far as the word *Rock* is used in the Old Testament as a foundation to build upon (as it is used by our Lord here), it is used of *God*, and of *Him* alone.’ —*Notes on the Greek Testament.* Matt. xvi. 18.

131. Out of the twenty-five texts above quoted, only one (Is. xxviii. 16) appears to be relevant to the point he had in hand, but in that text in the original neither of the two different Hebrew terms, which generally denote a rock, is used, but the common term for a stone, and this is retained in all the ancient versions and in our own. In twenty out of the twenty-four texts,

the Hebrew term **רֶכֶס**, which generally means a rock, is often metaphorically applied to God, but sometimes to creatures, and is rendered in the Greek Septuagint in the above texts by seven different words. It is rendered eleven times by the sacred term **Θεός**, God; once by **δίκαιος**, righteous; thrice by **φύλαξ**, keeper, guard; twice by **βοηθός**, helper; thrice by **ἀντιλήπτωρ**, defender, helper, and once by **κτιστής**, Creator, founder. In the four remaining texts the Hebrew term **בֶּטֶר**, which always means a rock, is sometimes applied metaphorically to God, but never so applied to creatures, is rendered by four different Greek words, **πέτρα**, rock (2 Sam. xxii. 2); **κραταίωσις**, or **κραταίωμα**, strength (Ps. xxxi. 3); **ἀντιλήπτωρ**, defender, helper (Ps. xlii. 9), and **ἔνδοξος**, glorious (Is. xxxii. 2). It might have been supposed that in the Septuagint, in nearly all these texts, the term **πέτρα**, rock, would have occurred, whereas it only occurs once. The renderings in the Latin Vulgate are as diversified, and in meaning are precisely similar. Dr. Wordsworth states, as we have seen, 'as far as the word Rock is used in the Old Testament as a foundation to build upon, it is used of God, and of Him *alone*.' The simple fact is that it is not so used in any one of the above passages, nor is there any hint of any such meaning. From the rendering already given, both from the Greek and the Latin, we should infer that under the metaphor of a rock God was a Protector, Refuge, Shelter, and the pious Hebrews made their boast of such a Rock. But the Hebrew term **רֶכֶס**, which is the one that chiefly occurs in the above texts, does not necessarily mean an immovable mass of stone, but sometimes small stones, or movable stones. 'Stones of the brooks.' (Job xxii. 24.) 'Rock of offence.' (Is. viii. 14.) The same Hebrew term is applied to creatures as well as to God. 'Except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up? For their *rock* is not as our Rock, . . . their *rock* in whom they trusted.' (Deut. xxxii. 30, 31, 37). God, of course, is the only Rock in which to trust, and to trust in any other would be sinful. There are those who believe that the Jehovah of the Old Testament is the Second Person of the Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ; and, if so, some of the above texts apply to Him. But the rock Dr. Wordsworth has to explain is not one said to be trusted in, but

built upon; and we shall have occasion to notice that, when the Lord condescends to be spoken of in that capacity, it is as a stone or movable piece of rock, such as might form a foundation, by being laid. In no one of the texts, as translated in the ancient Peshito-Syriac version, is there one term at all equivalent to the term *πέτρα*, rock, though there is the same variety of renderings as in the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate.

132. We now shall consider more especially the only text out of the twenty-five that is relevant for the purpose for which it was quoted, and which militates against Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation. 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation.' (Is. xxviii. 16.) As this text stands in the Hebrew original, and the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, the term rock, as metaphorically applied to God, does not occur, but the term stone is here divinely applied to the Lord Jesus Christ. The examination of this term, as applied to Christ, both in the Psalms and the New Testament, will form a key of interpretation to the term *πέτρα*, rock, or stone, on which Christ would build his Church. In the ancient Syriac version this interesting text is thus translated, 'Behold, I lay in Zion a stone (*keepho*), a stone (*keepho*) chosen for the corner, precious, the head of the foundation wall.' In the Septuagint as follows, 'Behold, I lay for the foundations of Zion a costly stone (*λίθον πολυτελῆ*) elect, a chief cornerstone, precious, for its foundations.' This stone is again spoken of in Ps. cxviii. 22, 'The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner,' and is applied by the pen of inspiration to the Lord Jesus Christ, Matt. xxi. 42; Mark xii. 10; Luke xx. 17; Acts iv. 11; Eph. ii. 20, and 1 Peter ii. 7. Here our Lord condescends to be represented for the comfort and encouragement of His Church as a foundation stone that can be laid, but as the chief stone of the others placed in the same foundation. (Eph. ii. 20.)

Dr. Wordsworth says:—

'We may not say *Petros* (the name of Peter) never signifies a Rock in profane authors, but it never has that sense in the LXX. or the Greek New Testament; and no one doubts that *Petra* (rock), there and elsewhere, signifies a Rock.'

The statement here given respecting the interpretation of Peter, or *petros*, is conflicting, but very accurate so far as the LXX. and New Testament are concerned, for in the former the term never occurs, and in the latter only as Peter's name. But he is far from accurate when he says that 'no one doubts that *petra* there (LXX. and New Testament) signifies a rock.' On the contrary, we think it can be proved both from the LXX. and New Testament that *petra* never has that meaning when applied to the Lord Jesus Christ as a foundation to be built upon. But now for the proof. We read in Isaiah viii. 14, 'And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone (Heb. אֲבֶן, Greek λίθος) of stumbling, and for a rock (Heb. אֲבֶן, Greek πέτρα) of offence.' Here be it observed that the Hebrew term, which is frequently used as a title of God, as we have seen above, is here used as an equivalent, or sort of Hebrew parallel, to stone; and the term *petra*, or rock, is used after the same manner. Gesenius renders the latter part of the phrase thus, 'A stone or flint of offence.' The ancient Syriac version confirms this interpretation. 'And for a stone (*keepho*) of striking, and for a *flint* of stumbling.' In the Chaldee Targum, in the latter clause of the sentence, a term is used which denotes a *stone*, and exactly corresponds to the Syriac term *keepho*. But this text is quoted twice in the New Testament, and is applied to the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, in the epistle to the Romans, 'Behold, I lay in Sion a stumblingstone (Greek λίθον, Syriac *keepho*) and rock (Greek πέτραν, Syriac *keepho*) of offence.' (ix. 33.) But this quotation is made up of two passages of Scripture, although quoted as one. The first part is from Isaiah xxxiii. 16, which we noticed above. Again, in 1 Peter ii. 6, 7, 'Behold, I lay in Sion a chief cornerstone (Greek λίθον, Syriac *keepho*), elect, precious: . . . the stone (Greek λίθον) which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone (Greek λίθος, Syriac *keepho*) of stumbling, and a rock (Greek πέτρα, Syriac *keepho*) of offence.' To the two passages joined together by the Apostle Paul, St. Peter added a third from Psalm cxviii. 22. In these three passages thus quoted from the Old Testament, we are sure that the Lord Jesus Christ is referred to as a foundation stone which may be

laid, under different titles, but all denoting one and the same thing. Thus Psalm cxviii. 22, and as quoted in 1 Peter ii. 7. In Hebrew the title is אֶבֶן, stone; in Greek, λίθος, stone; in Syriac, *keepho*, stone; and in the Chaldee Targum, *child*. 'The builders despised the *child* who was among the children of Yissai, and deserved to be constituted king and ruler.' Isaiah viii. 14, and as quoted in Romans ix. 33, and 1 Peter ii. 6, the first titles are the same as the above, excepting in this case the Chaldee has a term denoting a stone. But the second title in these passages, which is, no doubt, the same in meaning as the first, is in Hebrew אֶבֶן, rock, or flint; in Greek πέτρα, rock, here a movable rock or stone; in Syriac, in the Old Testament, *flint*, in the New Testament, *keepho*, stone; in Chaldee the same. Isaiah xxviii. 16, in Chaldee, is, 'Behold, I place in Zion a King, a mighty and powerful king.' The Syriac and Greek titles are given above. In all these passages it appears certain that the Greek term πέτρα, which often means rock, is applied to Christ in the sense of a foundation stone, or movable piece of rock, and that the most valuable version of Holy Scripture in existence, made at the close of the first, or beginning of the second, century, interprets it by *keepho*, the ordinary term for a stone. Jerome, on Isaiah xxviii. 16, says, 'Upon this stone (*lapidem*), which by another name is called rock (*petra*), Christ built his Church.'—Tom. v. p. 119.

133. We thus learn, as we think, with certainty that, when the Lord Jesus Christ is spoken of in Divine condescension to men as a foundation to be built upon, it is not as an immovable rock, but as a foundation stone, yet in reality more immovable than the everlasting hills.

We may derive considerable assistance from the Syriac version, which, probably, gives the vernacular words which were used in the interesting colloquy, and which shall be given in full.

'He questioned his disciples and said, "What do men say concerning me that I, *Bērēh Dēnōsho*, am?" . . . He said to them, "But who do ye yourselves say that I am?" Simon *Keepho* answered and said, "Thou art the Messiah, *Bērēh Dalōho*, the living." Jesus answered and said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon *Bērēh Dēyauno*: for flesh and blood hath not revealed (it) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. Also I say to thee, that thou art *Keepho*: and upon this *keepho* I will

build my Church, and the gates of *sheōl* (that is, death) shall not triumph over it."—Matt. xvi. 13–18.

It is certain from this that, in the mind of the Syriac translator, he understood the rock to denote Peter. The circumstance of regarding *πέτρα*, rock, as a sort of immovable mountain has frightened reverential minds from supposing our Lord could apply to Peter, human Peter, stumbling Peter (Matt. xvi. 22, 23), backsliding Peter (Matt. xxvi. 74), fallible Peter (Gal. ii. 11), a title peculiar to Jehovah, and, therefore, very naturally have supposed the title to belong to Christ only, who is Jehovah. Dr. Wordsworth has increased this fright by quoting twenty-four texts, as we have seen, to show that the term Rock is an especial title of Almighty God. The learned Dr. Lightfoot, who, although he regarded the term rock as applying to Christ, and not to Peter, yet considered the term exactly in the sense we have explained it, that is, a foundation stone which might be laid. He says:—

'The words concerning the Rock, upon which the Church was to be built, are evidently taken out of Esay xxviii. 16, which, the New Testament being interpreter in very many places, do most plainly speak of Christ. When, therefore, Peter, the first of all the disciples (from the very first beginning of the preaching of the Gospel), had pronounced most clearly of the person of Christ, and had declared the mystery of the incarnation, and confessed the Deity of Christ, the minds of the disciples are with good reason called back to those words of Esay, that they might learn to acknowledge who that *stone* was that was set in Sion for a foundation never to be shaken; and whence it came to pass that that foundation remained so unshaken, namely, thence; that he was not a creature, but God himself, the Son of God.'—*On Matt.* xvi. 18, vol. ii. p. 205.

134. If our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who might well be compared to an immovable mountain on which the universe might repose, graciously condescended to represent himself in accordance with ancient prophecy as a stone, or rock, that could be laid, and if His servants, whom he specially endowed and qualified by the Holy Spirit, represent Him as the chief cornerstone of a foundation of which there are other stones, though laid and kept in their place by Him, yet nevertheless stones upon which the Church was built, we come to the conclusion that there would be nothing incongruous, or contrary,

to the teaching of Holy Scripture if we understood the term *πέτρα*, rock, as applying to Peter, thus taking the passage in question in the sense which the Syriac version most certainly indicates, viz. 'Thou art Peter, and upon thee will I build my Church.' Here all is simple and plain. But if we take the interpretation Dr. Wordsworth so eagerly contends for, that is, 'Thou art Peter, and upon Myself I will build my Church' (for this is the very exposition he gives), the language and argument appear unaccountable. The learned Lightfoot comes very near to what we think to be the simple truth. He says:—

'Thence, therefore, Peter took his surname, not that he should be argued to be *that Rock*; but because he was so much to be employed in building a Church upon a Rock; whether it were that Church that was to be gathered out of the Jews, of which he was the chief minister, or that of the Gentiles (concerning which the discourse here is principally of), unto which he made the first entrance by the Gospel.'—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 205.

We believe, with Dr. Lightfoot, that the Church is built on the Rock the Lord Jesus Christ, the Chief Cornerstone of the foundation, but as there are other stones in the foundation, who receive their strength and stability from the chief cornerstone, and on which the Church, on Divine authority, is said to be built, we believe that Christ employed His servant Peter as one of these stones; and that, when He said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,' He did not immediately refer to Himself, but to His servant Peter. Peter and the other apostles and prophets rest on Christ, the sure foundation, the chief cornerstone, but in a subordinate sense the Church rests upon them. (See Augustine, **33.** 50, 51.) Several other Fathers have given what we consider to be the right view of the text. Hilary, the Bishop, has done so in **19.** 7. Basil has well said, 'Peter is a rock through Christ the Rock, &c.' (**23.** 2.) He states that Peter 'received the building of the Church upon himself.' (**23.** 4.) But he also says:—

'The Church is built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets. One of these mountains was Peter, upon which rock it had been promised that Christ would build his Church.' (**23.** 5.)

This is exactly our exposition of the passage. Ambrose, or some other ancient Father, confirms this exposition. (**30.** 18.)

135. It also appears to be the exact doctrine of Theodoret, and as Dr. Wordsworth has quoted from him what he designates 'a remarkable passage,' we shall do well to consider it. For the passage see **39. 15.** 'This foundation was laid by Peter, or rather by our Lord himself.' Theodoret plainly teaches that our Lord laid the foundation through Peter, and in this subordinate sense Theodoret represents the Church as built on Peter, though not on him exclusively. (See **39. 7.**) On the words 'Being well planted for the joy of the whole earth' (Ps. xlviii. 2, Sep. ver.), he says:—

'He built this city for the joy of the whole earth well, beautifully, and firmly. For he built it, said the Divine apostle, "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." And the Lord himself said to the blessed Peter, "And upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."'—Tom. i. 908.

Other Fathers, beside Theodoret, express themselves after the same manner. Sedulius says:—

'The apostles are the foundation, or Christ is the foundation of the apostles. Christ is the foundation, who also is the chief cornerstone, joining and containing the two walls.' (**41. 4.**)

Leo the Great states:—

'Since I (Christ) am the unassailable rock, I the cornerstone, I who make both one, I the foundation, beside which none other can be laid, yet thou art also a rock, because thou art firm by my virtue, as those things are proper to my power, may be common to thee by participation with me.' (**44. 1.**)

Primacius states:—

'Since we know that the Church has only one foundation, that is, Christ, we ought not to move that Church, which he here says the twelve have. For the apostles in Christ have deserved to be the foundations of the Church. . . . As also here we ought to know that the apostles were called the twelve foundations, but on the one foundation Jesus Christ.' (**51. 9.**)

136. But to suppose Peter every now and then, or any of the apostles, required to be replaced in the foundation, by a parity of reasoning, so would the chief cornerstone Himself. But if so, how could this be the 'sure foundation'? How could it sustain the superstructure that is progressively rising upon

it? Now, Dr. Wordsworth does not deny that Peter was succeeded as an apostle. He contends that all the apostles were succeeded, and that each of our bishops holds an apostleship. He and these other Anglo-catholics, and Dr. Pusey in particular, have no fault to find with the quality of the papal assumption, but with the quantity; but we contend that the position assigned to apostles by our blessed Lord precludes the very idea of succession or renewal; and this, as we have seen, is in accordance with the general teaching of the early Fathers. The foundation has been laid by Christ Himself, and laid once for all; and its stability and duration depend on Him who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever—Jehovah.

137. We have to notice the extraordinary superstition and credulity of Cyprian, which Dr. Pusey looks upon as the result of inspiration, revelation, &c. As an instance of superstition and credulity we refer to **11.** 4, 5. If Cyprian had, during the whole course of his episcopate, such supernatural assistance as Dr. Pusey believes he had, it seems to us unaccountable how he should have deceived himself and eighty-seven bishops, with a multitude of presbyters, and the great bulk of the people whom they represented, on the subject of what was called heretical baptism. So unconscious was Augustine of any such claims of Cyprian that a considerable portion of his writings are employed in refuting him; and he states it as a fact that—

‘In the fuller council of the whole Christian world the rational custom (contrary to Cyprian and his friends) had been established.’ (**33.** 41.)

Perhaps Augustine and other African Fathers, not having had access to such a man as Dr. Pusey, had but scant knowledge of Cyprian; they do not appear to have possessed the extraordinary information—

‘That Christ, whose witness Cyprian was, bore witness to him after death; that he was seen thrice since, in glory; once, as one to whom it had been given to sit down on the throne of the Judge.’

Dr. Pusey appears to believe this, for he goes on to say:—

‘And people might well shrink from judging for themselves of his words, by whom living the Holy Spirit spake, and who is now an assessor of their Judge.’—*Preface to Cyprian's Epistles*, p. xxii.

Augustine, not possessed of this extraordinary information, and certainly not this still more extraordinary belief of it, held and taught many things contrary to Cyprian, who in his faith was a rabid Donatist, although he did not on that account voluntarily make a schism. (See **33. 36.**) Had he done so, however, it would have been the legitimate consequence of his faith.

138. The Donatists did but act upon the principles laid down by that foolish council which Dr. Pusey says echoed the maxims of Cyprian. On this point we shall adduce the testimony of Vincentius, the Monk of Lerins, who died in the year 434. The reader must excuse his false logic on the laudable ground that he did not wish to bring good Cyprian into that hot place to which he consigned the Donatists; he may, however, condemn him for want of true enlightened Christian charity for bringing the Donatists there at all. His extraordinary statement is:—

‘To conclude, what force had the council or decree of Africa? By God’s Providence, none; but all was abolished, disannulled, abrogated, as dreams, as fables, as superfluous. And, O strange change of the world! the authors of that opinion are judged to be Catholics, but the followers of the same heretics; the masters discharged, and the scholars condemned; the writers of those books shall be the children of the kingdom, but hell shall receive their maintainers. For who is so mad as to doubt but that that light of all saints, bishops, and martyrs, the most blessed Cyprian, with the rest of his companions, shall reign with Christ for ever? And, contrariwise, who is so profane as to deny that the Donatists, and such other pests, which vaunt that they do practise rebaptisation by the authority of that council, shall burn for ever with the devil?’ (**40. 2.**)

The truth, perhaps, belonged neither to Cyprian and his council nor to what was called the Catholic Church. Stephen, Bishop of Rome, Augustine himself, and what he called the Catholic Church, as we have seen, might be wrong in receiving the baptism of those heretics who denied the divinity of Christ. Respecting what Cyprian called the heresy of Novatian and his followers, the case was wholly different, for Novatian believed in the Trinity, and wrote a treatise upon it, from which extracts are given in our Catena. (**14.**) Cyprian appears to admit that he was sound in the faith. (See sect. 117 of this chap.) He did not believe Cyprian’s moonshine or mystery respecting what he

called the unity of the Church. But Cyprian called him and his friends, in a mixture of metaphor and plain speech, 'heretics,' 'wounded,' 'maimed,' 'fallen,' 'criminals,' 'sacrilegious;' and, believing as he did, that such persons could not administer valid Sacraments, without which there could be no hope of salvation, we think he ought to have separated from Stephen, instead of Stephen separating from him.

139. But we will give a still more decided case. It would seem that some libellous reports had been circulated respecting Cyprian, which Pupianus, a bishop and martyr, partly believed, for Cyprian, in his letter to him, says:—

'I had thought, brother, that you were now at length turned to repentance, for having rashly in times past either listened or given credit to things concerning me so abominable, so base, so execrable even to Gentiles. But even now I perceive by your letter that you still are the same as before, that you believe the same things of me, and persist in what you believed.' (11. 30.)

But, supposing that these charges against Cyprian were just, then mark the consequences he deduces therefrom; that—

'So large a number of believers as have been summoned away under my rule should appear to have departed without hope of salvation and peace; and the multitude of new believers be adjudged to have attained no grace of baptism and of the Holy Spirit by my ministry, &c. &c. &c.' (11. 32.)

The defective character of a bishop, in the opinion of Cyprian, might ruin the salvation of the Church over which he presided, ay, and every Church in communion with him; yea, all the Churches throughout the whole world, for this inflated rhetorician goes on to state in the same epistle:—

'Lastly, why have not all the Churches throughout the world, who are joined with us in the bond of unity, fallen on this scruple? Except, indeed, as you have written, all these, holding communion with me, have become polluted by my polluted mouth, and by the contagion of my communion have lost the hope of eternal life.'—*Epist.* 66, p. 286.

It was not without reason that Pupianus, in his letter to him, hinted 'that priests should be humble.' (11. 31.) Dr. Pusey refers to Cyprian's answer as an instance of extraordinary humility. He says:—

‘And Cyprian was so humble as to be able, after the example of our blessed Lord, to speak of his own humility as “known very well and loved both by the brethren, and the very heathen.”’—*Preface to Cyprian's Epistles*, p. xv.

Dr. Pusey refers to this very epistle in proof that Cyprian had divine revelations, namely, ‘that God would avenge disobedience to a bishop.’ (*Ibid.* p. xxi.) The passage in question will be found in **11. 33.**

Dr. Pusey has a very extensive faith, but its quality or kind cannot be of a very high order, but suitable withal to the objects to which he directs it, and admirably adapted to lay hold on ‘superstitious vanities.’

140. But we must not forget to give an answer to Cyprian's assumptions respecting the character of the minister affecting the validity of Sacraments, the being of a Church, and the salvation of immortal souls. The answer is well given by Augustine, which will be found in **33. 55–58, 77–79.** Notwithstanding this, Dr. Pusey maintains that Cyprian's doctrine on heretical and schismatical baptism is the true doctrine, that it is the doctrine of the Greek Church, and practically that of the Romish Church. But his own words shall be stated:—

‘Even in that question, in which he for the time failed, on heretical baptism, his measures seem most wonderfully adapted for obtaining unity. He overrules none, yet wins almost all; and there is perhaps hardly any more remarkable memorial of the unperceived influence of one mind over others than the way in which the letter of Firmilian and the Council of Carthage echo his maxims and grounds of Scripture, so that the council seems by the mouths of many to be uttering the thoughts of one. And even here it should be observed that the question was of practice only, not of principles or doctrines; for on the inefficacy of the Sacraments out of the Church St. Augustine concurred with St. Cyprian, while controverting the practice derived from it. The practice itself, which St. Cyprian retained in the African Church, remained in the Eastern, and appears to be adopted, although unrecognised by the Roman communion, among ourselves.’—*Preface to Cyprian's Epistles*, p. xii.

To these remarks is appended a reference to a note on heretical baptism in a translation of a part of Tertullian's writings (*Library of Fathers*, p. 280), where we are further instructed as follows:—

‘On this question there were three views in the ancient Church ; first, that of the early African Church and of Asia Minor, in the time of Firmilian, which rejected all baptism out of the Church, schismatical as well as heretical ; second, that of the Greek Church generally, stated fully by St. Basil, which accepted schismatical, but rejected heretical, baptism ; third, that first mentioned by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who accepted all baptism, even of heretics, which had been given in the name of the Trinity. The second continues to be the rule of the Greek, the third (with some modifications) of the Latin, Church. (In both, it was pre-supposed that the minister had at one time received the commission to baptise ; the case of schismatical baptism, as it is found among us, not occurring).’

After a considerable amount of patristic quotations and discussion on the evidence adduced, Dr. Pusey, or a Puseyite, comes to this conclusion :—

‘The practice now adopted by the Scotch Church and our own, with regard to persons baptised by such as are not only in schism, but never received any commission to baptise (a case to which there is no parallel in the early Church), unites the advantages of the Latin and Greek practice ; of the Latin, in that it avoids the risk of real re-baptising, which the ancients regarded as a profanation of the sacred names ; of the Greek, in that it does what in us lies to provide that none of the blessings and grace of baptism be lost through our omission, and is an act of piety towards God, desiring that whatever may have hitherto been lacking be supplied.’—P. 297.

141. As far as our own Church is concerned, the statement is simply untrue. Our rubric and general practice in regard to heretics exactly corresponds to the theory and practice of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, whether correct or incorrect. The rubric is :—

‘But if they which bring the infant to the Church do make such uncertain answers to the priest’s questions as that it cannot appear that the child was baptised with *water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* (which are essential parts of baptism), then let the priest baptise it, &c. He shall use this form of words, *If thou art not already baptised.*’

If the moonshine of these Puseyites and some of these Anglicans turns out to be something more tangible and real, in what an awful predicament the Church of Scotland, all Presbyterians, all Nonconformists, must be placed ; for, however correct in doctrine, yet being reputed in schism, and, what is worse, not having any commission to baptise, according to this

Cyprianic doctrine (which Dr. Pusey believes, and many of these Anglicans with him), they can have no hope of salvation. Verily, Puseyites must be ill at ease in a Church in which it is notorious that, according to their own teaching, archbishops, bishops, and a large number of presbyters have performed, and some are still performing, all the functions of their holy offices, and yet are themselves unbaptised and unregenerated.

142. It is notorious that in the early Church the validity of baptism and of orders stood or fell together. If baptism required to be repeated, so did orders. This is plain from the arguments of Jerome, in his dialogue on a sect called Luciferians. They admitted the baptism of Arians, but not their ordination. Jerome argued that, if they received the one, they ought to receive the other; probably he would have received neither. (29. 18-20.) These Anglicans reject the baptism of heretics; why not, in all consistency, their ordinations? But this, with their peculiar views of apostolical succession, would break the chain on which, in their own minds, the very being of a Church hangs. The fact is, one or two links (or, more correctly speaking, a double link) would have to be removed between Julius and Damasus. (See sects. 176-178.) It is assumed, as we have seen, that 'it was presupposed' schismatics 'at one time received a commission to baptise; the case of schismatical baptism, as it is now found among us, not occurring.' The learned Bingham, however, thought differently on this point, and maintained that the early Church received the baptism and ordination of those who had no authority to perform the rites. (91. 23.)

FIRMILIAN.

143. In considering the testimony of Firmilian, we shall first call attention to the use some of these Anglicans have made of him, more especially Mr. Perceval and Dr. Pusey. The latter, as we have seen, refers to him for proof of a vicarious succession. The passage shall be given as quoted by the former:—

'FIRMILIAN, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, A.D. 250. "The power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they founded, and to the bishops who succeeded to the apostles by a vicarious ordination."'—Sect. 18, above.

These Anglicans are most unfortunate in their quotations from the Fathers, as these ancient men either say too much or too little to serve the purpose for which they quote them. In this case too much is said. 'The power of remitting sins was given to the churches.' What Firmilian teaches here and elsewhere contrasts strangely with the assumptions both of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Perceval. Dr. Pusey, as we have seen, says:—

'The bishop, as conceived by St. Cyprian, is not like a secular power, external to those it rules, nor, again, deriving authority from it. . . . The bishop, independent in authority, &c.'—Sect. 70 of this chap.

Mr. Perceval states:—

'Our Lord Jesus Christ did grant a commission of regency, which he placed in the hands of one class of his ministers, the chief pastors of his Church, &c.'—Sect. 11 of this chap.

But here, it would seem, according to Firmilian, that the churches, exclusive of the bishops, have 'the power of remitting sins,' and are placed first in order. To borrow a word from Cyprian, Firmilian pays great deference to the 'majesty of the people.' Again he states, 'all power and grace is placed in the Church where the presbyters preside.' (12. 1.) Whatever distinction there might be in his time between a bishop and presbyter, Firmilian made none in name, and this appears to have been the practice of his contemporaries.

The power and grace, whatever is meant by these terms, were not necessarily with the presbyters, but with the Church where they presided. If presbyters left the Church, or the Church excommunicated them, they left their powers with the Church by whose authority and sanction it would seem they exercised them; and if after this they performed any clerical acts, these were absolutely ignored, and persons who had received baptism from them were rebaptised on their conforming to the Church. Firmilian, of course, is not Cyprian, but, as Dr. Pusey says, he echoes his principles. Cyprian himself accepted this letter, and, for the benefit of the African and other churches, translated it out of Greek into Latin. The teaching of Firmilian serves to illustrate and confirm the position Cyprian assigns to the 'majesty of the people.'

144. Verily, the bishops or presbyters in the time of Cyprian

were neither independent of the people nor did they hold a 'regency in the place of Christ.' The people rather held this; certainly they had the power of depriving their priest of it, Cyprian and several of his brethren declaring that the 'people themselves have the power either of choosing worthy priests or rejecting the unworthy.' And they held the people to whom they wrote responsible on the authority of the Word of God if they did not deprive their bishop of 'his authority,' if they did not take 'his regency' from him.

145. But respecting the powers of the Church which both Cyprian and Firmilian held, ancient Father shall explain ancient Father, bishop interpret bishop; that very catholic Father, the great Augustine, shall be our interpreter. The only successor to the keys of Peter, according to the teaching of Augustine, was the Church.

'So that Peter should figuratively represent the Church which is built upon this Rock, and which hath received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' (33. 1.) 'Peter as bearing the representation of the Church.' (33. 11.) 'Peter sustains the person of this Catholic Church, for unto this Church were the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given.' (33. 15.) 'Unto the Church have been given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' (33. 13, 16.) 'If therefore they (the apostles) represented the Church, and this was said to them as if it were said to the Church itself, then the peace of the Church remits sins, and if the peace is alienated from the Church, it retains sins, not according to the will of man, but according to the will of God, and the prayers of holy scriptural men, who judge all things, but they themselves are judged of no man.' (33. 38.) 'For as some things are said which seem peculiarly to apply to the Apostle Peter, and yet are not clear in their meaning when referred to the Church, whom he is acknowledged to have figuratively represented, on account of the primacy, &c.' (33. 54.) 'Peter denotes the body of the Church. If this was spoken (I will give unto thee the keys, &c.) only to Peter then the Church doth not this; but if this thing is done in the Church also that what things are bound on earth are bound in Heaven, &c., because, when the Church excommunicates, the person is excommunicated in Heaven.' (33. 60, 61.) 'Of which Church the Apostle Peter, by reason of the primacy of his apostleship, is by a figurative generality the representative.' (33. 66.) 'The Church, therefore, which is founded in Christ, did in Peter receive from him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: that is, the power of binding and loosing sins. For that which in strictness of speech the Church is in Christ, the same, by significance, is Peter in the Rock; in which significance the Rock means Christ, Peter the Church.' (33. 67.) 'Now, this name of Peter was given him by the Lord, and that in a

figure, that he should signify the Church. For seeing that Christ is the Rock, Peter is the Christian people.' (33. 69.) 'Let us, looking at ourselves in him as members of the Church, distinguish what is of God, and what of ourselves. . . . Yet see this Peter, who was then our figure, now he trusts, now he totters, &c. In that one apostle, that is, Peter, in the order of the apostles first and chief, in whom the Church was figured, both sorts were to be represented, that is, both the strong and weak; because the Church doth not exist without them both.' (33. 71.) 'So then God dwelleth in his holy temple, that is, in his holy faithful ones, in his Church; by them doth He remit sins, because they are living temples.' (33. 77.) 'For the Church is the only dove that is modest and chaste, &c.; and other things which are similarly spoken of it, which can be understood of none but of the good, the saints, and the righteous; that is to say, those in whom not only the operations of the gifts of God are found, which are common to the good and bad, but who have also the inward and supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit, to whom the Lord said, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whose soever sins ye retain, they shall be retained."' (33. 42.) 'Which house has also received the keys and the power of loosing and binding, if anyone despised this house when it reproveth and corrected him, "Let him be to thee," he saith, "as a heathen man and a publican."' (33. 44.)

146. This good and great Augustine did not confound the term Church with the bishops, as Dean Hook did twenty-six years ago when he made the cry in the presence of the Queen and published it throughout the land, 'Hear the Church, hear the Church!' It is most important to notice the distinction as taught by Firmilian, and illustrated and confirmed by Augustine, viz. the power and authority of the Church and the power and authority of the bishops; as this makes all the difference between the primitive churches, the churches of the Reformation, and what are called the Latin and Greek churches; between right Anglo-catholics and those Anglo-catholics who are not so. Claude, in his *Defence of the Reformation*, has written so well on this part of Augustine's teaching, in answer to certain Roman catholics who indulged in a private opinion of their own, not authorised by their Church, but much resembling that of these Anglicans, that this shall be our apology for giving his testimony, which is all the more valuable as it contains that of a Roman catholic bishop, taken from a voluminous commentary of the same.

'I cannot avoid taking notice here, by the way, of that ordinary error whereinto those of the Church of Rome fall who do not believe that immediate, absolute, and independent authority that the pope

ascribes to himself over the whole Church, but who would that the power of the keys is given to the whole body of the hierarchy; that is to say, to those pastors who are priests and bishops. [This is the exact opinion of these Anglo-catholics.] For to prove their opinion, they do not fail to set the sentiment of St. Augustine before us, which plainly, as we have seen, shows us that the keys were given to the whole Church; from whence they draw two conclusions, the one against that great authority that the pope pretends to, and the other for the authority of the bishops, which they would have to flow immediately from Jesus Christ. But of these two conclusions it is certain that the first is just and entirely conformable with the thoughts of that father, but it is not less certain that the second is not; and that, at least, without going about to deceive ourselves willingly, or to cheat the world, we could not say that that Church, represented by St. Peter, to which God gave the power of the keys, which is exercised by the ministry of the pastors, should be any other, according to St. Augustine, than the body of the truly faithful and righteous, in opposition to the worldly and the wicked who are mixed with them in the same external profession; and this is in my judgment so clear and evident in the doctrine of that father that they must needs be ignorant of it who deny it. It is therefore a manifest illusion to go about to make use of those passages in favour of the bishops, for that Church is not the body of the hierarchy, but that of the truly faithful, whether they be laymen or pastors, and it is to those only that St. Augustine ascribes all the rights and all the actions of the ministry, as it may appear by what I have related, and by consequence it is to those that the lawful call of the pastors belongs, and not to the body or order of the hierarchy. For it would be absurd to derive that call from anything else than from that very Church which has received the power of the keys, and which is exercised in her name and her authority by her ministers. Tostatus, Bishop of Avila, seems to have acknowledged this truth, conformably to the principles of St. Augustine, for see after what manner he explains himself, in his *Commentaries upon Numbers*, upon the story of the man who was brought before the whole assembly of Israel because some had found him gathering of sticks upon the sabbath day, and put him in prison for it. First of all he says, "That, although the acts of jurisdiction cannot be exercised by the whole community, yet that jurisdiction belongs to the whole community in regard to its origin and efficacy, because the magistrates receive their jurisdiction from it." He adds afterwards, "That it is the same in the keys of the Church, that Jesus Christ gave them to the whole Church in the person of St. Peter, and that it is the Church that communicates them to the prelates, but which, notwithstanding, communicates them without depriving itself of them; so that," says he, "the Church has them, and the prelates have them, but in a different manner; for the Church has them in respect of origin and virtue, and the prelates have them only in respect of use; the Church has them virtually, because she can give them to a prelate by election, and she has them originally also. For the power of a prelate does not take its origin from itself, but from the Church, by means of

the election that it makes of him. The Church that chose him gives him that jurisdiction, but as for the Church, it receives it from nobody after its having once received it from Jesus Christ. The Church, therefore, has the keys originally and virtually, and whenever she gives them to a prelate, she does not give them to him after the manner that she has them, to wit, originally and virtually, but she gives them to him only as to use." (*Tostat. Abulens. in Numer. cap. xv. quest. 48 & 49.*)—Vol. ii. pp. 253-255.

Du Pin states that the ancient Fathers 'teach with an unanimous consent that the keys were given to the whole Church in the person of Peter.'

147. This view of the Church will account for Cyprian's attaching, as we have seen, such importance to the consent and election of the laity of his Church in comparison of the importance to the laying on of the hands of the bishops. The conception that the power he exercised as a bishop was received through the hierarchy never seems to have entered his mind. It is true, such a notion would have been inconvenient to Cyprian, especially if it had been general, for it would have admitted the apostolic power, as it is called, of his rival bishop, as also that of Novatian, the rival bishop of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome. And those who, like these Anglicans, hold the succession are obliged to acknowledge that such like men have the succession, otherwise the chain of succession by which they hold must have been obviously broken in many of its links.

148. But one sentence or so respecting what Firmilian says on bishops succeeding the apostles by a 'vicarious ordination.' Cyprian was the great oracle of the age, and his influence was felt, according to Gregory Nazianzen, throughout the world. His teaching respecting the baptism of heretics pervaded one-half of the Christian Churches then in existence. We may presume then, until we have proof to the contrary, that Firmilian meant exactly the same thing as Cyprian, who used the very same words, which have already been explained. The identity of language between the two may be accounted for on the ground that, as Rigaltius says, Firmilian wrote his epistle in Greek, and it was translated by Cyprian into Latin, as may be gathered from the style, which is Cyprianic.

149. Firmilian says, 'That we *elders* and *rulers* meet every

year to set in order the things entrusted to our charge.' (**12. 1.**) By these terms it is thought are meant *bishops* and *presbyters*; others think the latter term is an explanation of the former, and that one term only was used in the original, which was equivalent to a term which meant presbyters. 'The power and grace is placed in the Church, where the presbyters (*majores natu*) preside.' It is thought that in all probability Firmilian, in the original, used the Greek term *πρεσβύτερος* (presbyter), but as that term in Africa then denoted the second degree of ministers only, Cyprian rendered it by a term which, in the Italic or old Latin version, included the first, or in fact represented both, and made no distinction between them. Cyprian uses the term in question in the following instance:--

'That a presbyter (*majorem natu*) is not to be rashly accused. In the first to Timothy, "Against a presbyter (*majorem natu*) receive not an accusation." (1 Tim. v. 19.)'—*Ad Quirinum*, lib. iii. cap. 76, p. 62.

See also **29. 37**, where the term occurs. In the Latin Vulgate it also occurs: 'And all the estate of the presbyters' (*majores natu*).—Acts xxii. 5. Firmilian states that these presbyters (*majores natu*) 'possess the power of baptising, and of laying on of hands, and of ordaining.' It is probable, however, that in these small independent churches the *primus inter pares* in each senate of presbyters performed all the baptising, confirming, and ordaining, as a general rule. So says Dean Hook. Cyprian appears to have done so when he was at home. According to Firmilian, all the presbyters alike had the power of ordination. Nor have these Anglicans given a particle of proof from any source whatever to the contrary. But suppose Firmilian in any degree possessed the notions these Anglicans would ascribe to him, how can they account for the hopeless confusion into which he has thrown both bishops and presbyters by confounding one with another?

150. It is certain Firmilian did not believe that orders were indelible in the persons who held them. (See **12. 2.**) How different the teaching of these ancient times from that of the Romanists and these Anglicans, who, to have their own supposed succession in safe keeping, are obliged to maintain that the persons through whom they think it comes have their orders so

indelible that neither immorality of life, heresy in doctrine, nor schism in practice, can impair their power to pass on the mysterious something. So, however, did not think Firmilian and Cyprian, and their brother bishops and presbyters. These bishops of the third century have recorded sad proofs of the antichristian spirit in which they indulged, one toward another; such men, for instance, as Stephen, Cyprian, and Firmilian, amongst whom there ought to have been no difference of feeling, as on all main points in religion they were agreed. (See **12. 2.**)

THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.

151. The next and last extract which Mr. Perceval has given from the Fathers is from an obscure African bishop:—

‘CLARUS A MUSCULA, bishop in the province of Carthage, A.D. 250. “The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, sending his apostles, and to them alone committing the power given him by His Father; to whom we [bishops] have succeeded, governing the Church of our Lord with the same power.”’—Sect. 19, above.

It is difficult to know what is here meant by ‘the province of Carthage.’ As Gregory Nazianzen says, Cyprian was bishop of the Carthaginians, and had great influence, but he was not officially the primate of a province, nor of any number of bishops. This is plain, as we have seen on the authority of Barrow, and from the fact that it nowhere appears in Cyprian’s writings. The bishops assembled came from three Roman provinces, and Clarus was of the province of Numidia. (**13. 1.**)

152. The object of this council was to determine whether the baptisms of Novatian and his adherents, and such like, were to be regarded as valid. Each of eighty-seven bishops gives his opinion to the effect that they are not. It will be observed how Clarus, in the part omitted by Mr. Perceval, states that Novatian and his presbyters, whom he terms heretics, ‘have no power out of the Church, &c.’ (**13. 3.**) Be it remembered, Novatian had all the power recognised bishops could communicate; if the hierarchy, independent of the laity, could give him power, he assuredly had it. But then, contrary to the Romanists and these Anglicans, this council of bishops, with the presbyters, ruled

that Novatian had no such power, and it was on the ground that he had not the approval of the laity of the Church, which; as we have already seen from the teaching of Cyprian, as confirmed and illustrated by Augustine, must be obtained through the laity, and not merely the hierarchy.

153. The canons which these African bishops made respecting the baptism by heretics were exploded subsequently by the Christian Church. This was not the first nor the last time that a council of bishops, though, according to the opinion of these Anglicans, each bishop possessed such extraordinary powers and such a peculiar presence of Christ with him, made an egregious blunder. Augustine's seven books *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* relate to this controversy, in which an answer is given to the famous letter of Cyprian to Jubaianus, and the opinion of each of the eighty-six bishops of the council is stated, with a distinct answer to each. Extracts from these books of Augustine will be found in **33.** 36-45, which have been selected as bearing on the subject of this book. It will be seen how in the extract made by Mr. Perceval he has inserted the term 'bishops.' Presbyters were present (**13.** 1), and as, according to the unquestionable teaching of Cyprian, they are successors of apostles, Mr. Perceval ought to have included them; in that case *rulers* (*præpositi*) would have been the term to have inserted. This very term is used by Nemisianus, the fifth speaker:—

'Baptism which heretics and schismatics give is not true baptism, as is everywhere declared in Holy Scripture. Since their *rulers* themselves are false Christs and false prophets.'—*Cypriani Opera*, p. 159.

Sedalus, who is the eighteenth speaker, says:—

'Just as much as the water, which is consecrated in the Church by the prayer of the *priest*, washeth away sins, so much does it add to them when it is fouled and polluted by the mouth of heretics, which spreads its infection like a canker.'—P. 161.

Felix, the twenty-sixth speaker, says, 'It is most certain, my venerable *fellow-priests*, &c.'—P. 162.

It is all but certain that Clarus did not intend to exclude the presbyters from being successors of apostles; at all events, we have no proof that he did exclude them.

154. Here is another interesting question for an acute Anglo-

catholic. Novatian had received all that recognised bishops could communicate of the apostolic office, as it is called. If, then, he had this, and the promised presence of Christ, by virtue of his office, how could this large council of bishops and presbyters, &c. regard him as a 'false Christ,' a 'false prophet,' and his baptism as no baptism, but pollution? It cannot be said that they were right in thus calling Novatian a 'false Christ;' but it cannot be said they were wrong when, believing him to be such a character, they denied that he either had power or grace, and simply ignored his office as a bishop.

155. Clarus is well answered by Augustine, whom if Mr. Perceval had consulted, he, probably, would never have made the extract. After stating the opinion of Clarus in full, he answers in the interrogative style, thus:—

'We answer, and have impious menslayers (*impii homicidæ*) never succeeded (*successerunt*) the apostles? Wherefore do they baptise? Is it because they are not outside (the Church)? But they are outside from the rock (the true Church), to which the Lord hath given the keys, where He hath said He Himself would build his Church.'—*De Baptismo con. Donatistas, liber vii. cap. 42, tom. vi. f. 100.*

The general argument of Augustine in answer to the bishops of this African council, and especially the letter of Cyprian to Jubaianus, is that the sacraments administered by heretics, and schismatics, and unclean persons in the Church, but not of the Rock, or true Church, to whom Christ has given power, were of the same avail as those administered by such like characters outside the Church, and that, if the latter administration must be discarded, so must the former.

156. Having finished with Mr. Perceval's quotations from the Fathers, this is the place to notice a portion of his peroration:—

'Among the few I have cited, we have witnesses, not from one Church or one country only, but from Europe, Asia, and Africa, the only quarters of the globe then known, from France, from Italy, from Capadocia, from Asia Minor, from Egypt, from Carthage, &c.'—P. 196.

It must be borne in mind what was said in the preamble to the quotations:—

‘That the Lord Jesus Christ did grant a commission of regency, which he placed in the hands of one class of His ministers, the chief pastors of His Church, designing it to be a perpetual commission until his own return.’—Sect. 11, above.

If the peroration is compared with the preamble, and both with the kind of evidence adduced from the Fathers, after so much travail, it cannot be said with Horace, ‘*Nascetur ridiculus mus.*’ Not even the tail of this little creature appears in the shape of a logical proof on which the doctrine of apostolical succession, as maintained by Dean Hook and his authority, Mr. Perceval, might hang.

NOVATIAN.

157. Having heard so much from Cyprian of Novatian the heretic, it might seem out of place to quote him as Novatian the orthodox. Not believing, with Dr. Pusey, that Cyprian was inspired, we reject his slander, and regard Novatian as orthodox, and have adduced him as a witness. (14. 1, 2.) As his testimony has been already quoted, as far as it goes, in Chap. I. it is only necessary here to remark, if the use and application of Matt. xxviii. 20, and John xx. 22, 23, to support apostolical succession, as held by these Anglicans, were the same in the time of Novatian (A.D. 251), it would be an interesting enquiry to know how it was that this Roman presbyter, and all the early Fathers whose writings have come down to us, were ignorant of them. We hope the acutest of the acute Anglo-catholics will undertake this task, and, having accounted for their ignorance, will also reconcile that ignorance with this Anglican assumption, viz. that apostolical succession, as founded on those two texts, is a fact.

LACTANTIUS.

158. This most Ciceronian of all the early Fathers has not used his rounded periods and classic grace to extol the distinctive position and sovereign rule of the bishop. His silence is eloquent against the novelties of these Anglicans. The only passages out of the whole of his writings, which occupy an

octavo volume of upwards of nine hundred pages, in any way relating to the subject under discussion are given. (15. 1-4.) This very eloquent Father used his gifts of utterance, not to extol and magnify a mere human instrumentality, in the character of a clerical sacerdotalism, as some later Fathers did, and as these Anglicans now do, but to extol and exalt the inherent force and saving efficacy of divine truth, as attested by its effects upon the most desperate characters. (15. 1.) He speaks most definitely of the commission given to the apostles, and of their laying the foundations of the Church everywhere; but instead of telling us, as these Anglicans do, that the holy apostles handed on their mission to others, *as* it had been handed on to them from Christ, he says their 'preaching being written has remained a memorial' (15. 2), plainly showing, like the rest of the early Fathers, that the twelve in their authority are only succeeded by their writings. He does, however, speak of one presbyter being a sort of primate in regard to his fellow-presbyters; but then, instead of deriving this distinction from the New Testament, he fetches it from the Old, and calls this leading presbyter a high-priest, and expresses it in the very Latin words used by Jerome in representing the Jewish high-priest. Lactantius shows also how this Christian high-priest was promoted, viz. by the common suffrages of the faithful. (15. 3.) With him the government by bishops was no necessary mark of a Church of Christ. He says:—

'The only Catholic Church, therefore, is that which retains true worship.' 'That is the true Church wherein is confession and repentance, which wholesomely cures the sins and wounds to which the frailty of the flesh is subject.' (15. 4.)

EUSEBIUS.

159. This most ancient and valuable Church historian, but withal superstitious, and prone to fables, in the quotations he has given from the writers of the first and second centuries, makes it plain that there was no very marked distinction between a presbyter and bishop at that time. Hence, in an

extract from Philo, the government of the Church is represented as consisting of two parts, that of the diaconate and the presidency of the episcopate. (See **16. 1.**) In an extract from Papias, the apostles are called by the name of presbyters. (**16. 2.**), and in two other extracts from Irenæus which he makes, the successors to those who came after the apostles are called presbyters. These extracts are given in **6. 16, 17.**

160. Certain martyrs or confessors of the Church at Lyons had given a particular account of the sufferings and death of many steadfast martyrs, among whom was Photinus, the very aged bishop or presbyter of Lyons. To this account Eusebius adds also what they said respecting Irenæus, who had succeeded Photinus in the episcopate, in the following words: 'We would certainly commend him (Irenæus) among the first as a *presbyter* of the Church, the station which he holds.' (Book v. chap. iv. p. 322.) In the time of Eusebius, episcopacy had become fully developed, and when he used his own words, he used language conformable to the times, but when he quoted from older records, and gave the exact words, we find language employed which was more in accordance with the earlier stage of Church government. The fact that the Clements of Rome and Alexandria, Polycarp, Hermas, Philo, Justin Martyr, Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, and Firmilian, confound, as they do, the bishop with the presbyter, shows beyond a doubt that they could not have conceived of a bishop after the manner of these Anglicans. One or two of these Fathers have made a slight distinction, but had they regarded the bishop as a person on whom the salvation of the Church depends, how could they so generally rank him among his inferiors?

161. Eusebius, in his account of the election of one of the bishops of Rome, has omitted to state that he was consecrated; from which some infer that that ceremony never took place. This, probably, is an incorrect inference; but if Eusebius had entertained Dean Hook's notion of the transfer of a commission first given by God to Christ, then by Christ to the apostles, and by them handed on to others, and so coming down through a hierarchy of bishops, the omission is unaccountable.

'Upon this the whole body exclaimed, with all eagerness and with

one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy; and without delay they took and placed him upon the throne of the Bishop.' (16. 3.)

ATHANASIUS.

162. The titles bestowed upon this illustrious Father by his brethren who personally knew him surpass any that were ever bestowed upon any of the bishops of the exalted city of Rome, nearly equalling those bestowed by the Fathers on St. Peter. Gregory Nazianzen describes him as 'that most holy man, the eye of the world, the chief priest of priests, the leader of the confession' (*ὁμολογίας καθηγητήν*).—Oratio xxiii. vol. i. 417. Ruffinus, in his *Church History*, calls him *Pontifex Maximus*. Tom. i. p. 246.

163. We shall first examine the evidence adduced from Athanasius in favour of these Anglican notions, and secondly deduce such evidence from him as will prove how dissimilar his teaching on Church matters is to theirs.

Dr. Wordsworth indirectly quotes Athanasius through Archbishop Potter to prove that none can confer holy orders except bishops. The passage is as follows:—

'The opinion of the primitive Church in this matter will be put beyond dispute if we compare the judgment concerning Ischyras, who was ordained by one Coluthus, a mere *presbyter*, with that about the presbyters ordained by Meletius, a schismatical *bishop*. The latter, having been ordained by one who had the episcopal character, were received as presbyters without being re-ordained, whereas Ischyras, having received his orders from one who had not the power to give them, was reckoned a mere layman.'—*Theo. Ang.* p. 102.

Then Dr. Wordsworth remarks:—

'Hence the Church of England has decreed in her Ordinal, "that no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, in her communion, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he hath had *episcopal* consecration or ordination.'"—*Ibid.* pp. 102, 103.

This last extract well illustrates the former. It was determined in the year 1661 that no one should exercise the ministerial office in the Church of England but such as had been ordained by a bishop. But this is no proof that ordination by presbyters is invalid: for during one hundred and ten years previous to the above date the English Church admitted

persons who had received no other than presbyterian ordination to the office of the holy ministry in the Church. The case is precisely analogous to the arrangement made in the third or fourth century, viz. that no ordinations should be considered as canonical but those performed by bishops; but this determined nothing as to previous ordinations, nor could such an ecclesiastical arrangement deprive the presbyters of any inherent right they possessed, though it might keep their power in abeyance. No doubt every Christian Church, duly formed, had its plurality of presbyters, with a first presbyter, or primate of them, who publicly taught in the Church, administered the sacraments, and, no doubt, was the chief functionary in ordinations, yet assisted therein by his fellow-presbyters. But whatever power the primate possessed as a presbyter, the same power was common to his fellow-presbyters; and the circumstance of his being placed the first among equals was a matter of decent and necessary arrangement. But we shall find, according to Jerome and other Fathers, that this first presbyter, by ecclesiastical rules, had, for the sake of his honour and influence, made over to him certain exclusive rights, and the right to ordain was one of them. This distinction, between a bishop and a presbyter, in the fourth century, had become so established and universal that it was considered heretical to affirm, as *Ærius* did, that there ought not to be such a distinction.

164. But the ordination of *Ischyras*, as noticed by *Athanasius* (**17. 4**), was defective in two points. *Dr. Wordsworth* has opened his eyes to see one defect; but he appears to have closed them that he might not see the other. ‘*Athanasius*,’ says *Ischyras*, ‘was never ordained or elected by the Church.’ The laity had had no part in his ordination. This, with *Athanasius*, was an essential defect, and he urges it against the man who had usurped his own place. (**17. 6.**)

Now, it is not pretended that the part the people took in ordinations was a mere human arrangement. By *Cyprian* it was considered to be of divine appointment, and it was a mere ecclesiastical enactment that deprived them of their power. As a matter of history, however, it is notorious that they grossly abused their power, and perhaps, as matters then stood, were

not deprived of it too soon. Now had Dr. Wordsworth impartially considered the defects of the ordination of Ischyra, he might have made a strong and plausible argument in proof that all ordinations without the consent of the people over whom a candidate is ordained are invalid, that is, if the practice and doctrine of the early Church are binding on us, as Dr. Wordsworth considers them to be.

165. There is another piece of evidence adduced by Archbishop Pctter from Athanasius to prove 'that bishops (in the modern sense of the term) were of our Lord's appointment, and essential to the constitution of the Church.' But Dr. Wordsworth, for satisfactory reasons, has not quoted this. What Athanasius himself has said on the point will be found **17. 7**. Bingham and others are of opinion that Dracontius was not chosen to be a bishop at all in our sense of the term, but to be a sort of teaching presbyter, or, as Athanasius calls him, a 'village bishop.'

166. We shall now adduce such evidence from Athanasius as will prove how dissimilar his teaching on Church matters is to that of these Anglicans.

This Father, with a few others, to use the style of these Anglicans, forsook the holy Catholic Church, and became a separatist and schismatic, and argued against this said Church just as Protestants do against the claims of the papacy, and as true churchmen and other enlightened Christians do against Dean Hook and the Bishop of Oxford. Lest the position of this illustrious defender and confessor of the faith should appear isolated, we shall anticipate the evidence of some Fathers yet to be examined, who were placed in similar circumstances, and who have borne exactly the same testimony. By referring to **17. 2, 5, 8**, it will be seen that Athanasius was opposed to the universal visible Church, which at that time pretty generally had adopted the Arian heresy. The history of that period shows that it was not without sufficient ground that Athanasius considered himself and his few faithful brethren as being like Noah and his family, and those who for the most part formed the then visible Church to the sinful antediluvians.

'It was therefore a thing worthy of praise that one man alone should

boldly maintain right and justice against the opinion of the multitude. Go if you will, and be drowned with the multitude that perished in the deluge, but give me leave to save myself in the ark with that small number. Be consumed if you please with the inhabitants of Sodom, I shall not fail to go out of it with Lot.' (17. 8.)

He denies that the Arian bishops were apostolical, and affirms that they were antichrists. (17. 2.) How Dean Hook's succession could come through these, as it must if it has come at all, is a matter for grave enquiry.

167. The testimony of Hilary, a defender of the faith, second only to Athanasius, deserves our most serious attention, as given in 19. 2-4. It will be seen that this worthy bishop speaks of the ministers of the Church at that time as being forerunners of antichrist, and those who should have been of the holy Catholic Church as having—

'Their peace, that is, the unity of impiety, of which they boast themselves, whilst they conduct themselves not as the bishops of Christ, but as the priests of antichrist. I exhort you that ye take heed of antichrist, for the love of walls hath wickedly taken hold of you, and ye wickedly venerate the Church of God in roofs and buildings; under these ye wickedly thrust the name of peace.' (19. 4.)

168. Gregory Nazianzen, soon after he retired from being Bishop of Constantinople, expressed himself to the same effect:—

'Are you ignorant that the faith, as miserable and forsaken as it is, is a thousand times more precious than impiety in splendour and abundance? Is it so that you prefer the multitude of the Canaanites, before one Abraham, or the inhabitants of Sodom before one Lot? &c.' (See 25. 10.)

Many of the Churches at this time had in all probability a chronological succession of ministers which might be traced up to the apostles; at all events, this was very generally believed at that time. And this Gregory distinguishes that kind of succession from the succession of doctrine in a very marked manner when speaking of the succession of Athanasius.

'He was not less the successor of Mark in his piety than in his presidential seat; in the latter, indeed, he was very far distant from him; but in the former, he is found next after him; which, in truth, is properly to be considered succession. For to hold the same doctrine is to be of the same throne; but to hold an opposite doctrine is to be of an opposite throne. And the one has the name, but the other the reality, of succession.' (25. 5.)

It will be seen from these extracts, and others about to be made, in what estimation the most illustrious, learned, and faithful servants of Christ of the fourth century held a mere personal succession, that, though many could boast that they sat in the chair or seat of the apostles, yet, notwithstanding, were regarded as of antichrist, and as being sons of the devil, Sodomites, &c. &c.

169. We now pass on to Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and it will be found that he, like those other worthy brethren, preferred truth to multitudes, and that he justified the faithful few in leaving what was termed the Holy Catholic Church. He says :—

‘ That Jesus Christ alone is He from whom we ought never to separate ourselves . . . That, above all things, the faith of a Church ought to be regarded, that we ought to hold it there, if Jesus dwells there ; but if a people should be found there who are violaters of the faith, or that a heretical pastor has polluted the habitation, we ought to separate ourselves from every Church that rejects the true faith, and does not preserve the fundamentals of the apostles’ preaching, without fear lest its communion should brand us with some note of perfidiousness.’ (30. 5.)

170. We now come to certain homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, commonly attributed to Chrysostom, where we shall find that heresy had taken so firm a hold of the professing Church generally, and the aspect of things had so changed, that the Church could be only known by the Scriptures. Whereas formerly it was thought to be known in many different ways. For this testimony of Chrysostom, or some other ancient writer under his name, the reader must especially refer to **34. 21–23**. See also the testimony of Jerome. (**29. 55**.) He also says :—

‘ Then was the condemnation of the Nicene faith proclaimed. The whole world groaned and wondered that it had become Arian. Therefore some, to remain in its communion (that of the Nicene faith), began to write letters to those confessors who rejoiced under the name of Athanasius.’—*Adversus Lucifer*. tom. ii. p. 143.

Again Jerome states :—

‘ At that time the heresy of the Arians and Eunomians possessed the entire East, except Pope (*papa*) Athanasius and Paulinus.’—*Ad. Pam. adver. Errores Joannis Hiero*. tom. ii. p. 163. ‘ Arianism broke out into a flame, which devoured the whole world.’ (**29. 66**.)

171. Hilary states :—

‘I do not speak strange things, nor write what I do not know. I have heard and seen the vices, not of the laity merely, but of the bishops, for, with the exception of Eleusius and a few with him, the greater part of the ten provinces of Asia, in the midst of whom he is placed, do not truly know God.’—*De Synodis adver. Arianos*, p. 133.

172. Gregory, an ancient presbyter, in his life of Gregory Nazianzen, says :—

‘In those times the Church was oppressed by the Arian heresy ; many bishops were banished and vexed by torments and calumnies a thousand ways ; many presbyters, many numerous flocks, were brought down to the utmost misery, exposed to the injuries of the weather, as no more having any house of prayer where they might meet. That heresy had almost filled all the earth, and it triumphed, being upheld by the power of the emperor ; so that good men had not so much as the justice of the laws against the wicked. And because the pastors, or, to say better, the concealed wolves, under the appearance of pastors, had the liberty of driving the orthodox out of the Churches, who alone were worthy to serve Jesus Christ, the Sovereign Bishop, it happened that some overcome with fear, others deceived by fair words, others gained by money, others surprised through their own simplicity, embraced that heresy, and opened their bosoms and gave their communion to their adversaries.’—*Life of Gregory Nazianzen ; Works*, tom. i. p. 10.

173. It must be especially noticed how these leading authors of the true Christian Church, in the defence and justification of their leaving the visible Church, omit all arguments peculiar to these Anglicans, attach no importance to succession, whatever meaning that term may have ; they were content to abide by the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, as a mark of the Church.

A question might be asked, What became of Dean Hook’s succession during the general apostacy of the Church ? In the workshop of Rome this succession has been manufactured into an indestructible thing, which nothing can destroy, and certainly no amount of heresy.

But the Dean holds by the chair of the popes of Rome, and a friend of these Anglicans might say that, although the Church had become very generally heretical at that time, yet the Church of the Romans was an exception. It is true we find Jerome writing to the Bishop of Rome during the prevalency of this heresy in the East to this effect.

‘Now the sun of righteousness is arisen in the West (Churches of the West), but in the East (Churches of the East), that Lucifer (heresy) which had set has placed his throne above the heavens (generally prevails). . . . I, following no chief except Christ, am united in communion with your blessedness (that of Damasus, Bishop of Rome), that is, the chair of Peter. Upon that rock, I know that the Church is built. Whosoever shall eat the lamb out of this house (partake of the Lord’s Supper) is profane.’ (29. 12, 13.)

As it happens, this Bishop Damasus was orthodox, but in what light would Jerome regard the two bishops of Rome who rivalled each other and immediately preceded Damasus, and both condemned Athanasius and supported the heretics?

174. Before entering upon this point, we must turn aside for a moment to notice what an elder cousin of these Anglicans has made of this patronising of the Bishop of Rome by Jerome. If the reader will turn to 29. 13–16, he will find the passage in question both in a literal translation and the original, and in a parallel column a translation by Dr. Wiseman. The passage thus detached from the context, and prefaced in the manner it is by that clever but wily son of Rome, the unlearned reader, or any reader without further information would verily conclude that Jerome, by far the most learned of all the Fathers, was a staunch supporter of the supremacy of the popes of Rome, and in the judgment of charity, not entertaining the thought that a Romish archbishop, cardinal, and D.D. &c. &c. could deliberately misrepresent this learned presbyter, would be deceived. It is plain Jerome patronises Damasus, not because he was the Bishop of Rome, but because he was orthodox. (See sects. 126, 127, above.) One of the two Arian bishops immediately preceding Damasus, he charges with subscribing to the Arians. His words are:—

‘In this, Fortunatianus is held detestable, because he first solicited and overpowered, and compelled Liberius, Bishop of Rome, when undergoing exile for the faith, to subscribe to heretics.’—*Cat. Script. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 297.

It is needless to say he would not have patronised this bishop as a supporter of heresy. Dr. Wiseman makes Jerome say that ‘whoever gathers not with *it*,’ that is, with the *house*, according to the false context which he has given. (29. 14.) But Jerome himself says, ‘with *thee*’ (29. 17), plainly meaning

Damasus personally, and not his office. He could not have gathered with Liberius, whilst he subscribed to heretics, notwithstanding his being a supposed successor of St. Peter; but would have discarded him, as we shall see he did other heretics. He gathered with Damasus because he was orthodox. This may be learnt from Jerome when he says, 'Now the sun of righteousness is arisen in the West, but in the East that Lucifer which had set has placed his throne above the heavens.' (29. 12.) But why does he speak of the sun of righteousness having arisen in the West, that is, at Rome? For this reason it had set in the two heretical bishops immediately preceding Damasus, whose characters will be noticed presently. On the other hand, Lucifer, the wicked one, which had set in the East, now had his throne placed above the heavens. Heresy generally prevailed there; under these circumstances Jerome supported Damasus.

175. At the time he wrote this letter to Damasus there was another person claiming to be bishop of Rome, of the name of Ursicinus, whose election and defence involved murder and bloodshed. It will be observed how Jerome discards him, as also certain well-known heretics:—

'I know nothing of Vitalis, I despise Melitius, I have no acquaintance with Paulinus. Whoever does not gather with you scattereth; that is, whoever is not of Christ is of antichrist. . . . Should Ursicinus be joined with thy blessedness, should Auxentius be associated with Ambrose, let that be far from the Roman faith.' (29. 16, 17.)

In effect, this letter was intended to support Damasus, put down his rival, and condemn the opposing heretics of the day. Damasus was in a position to value the good opinion of such a fellow-presbyter as Jerome (for so Damasus calls him). Subsequent to this he became his assistant at Rome, and, as we shall see, his counsellor and guide in matters of learning, theology, and biblical interpretation. Verily, Dr. Wiseman must have presumed very largely upon the general ignorance of the writings of Jerome, or he would not have dared so far to impose upon his readers by perverting this part of Jerome's letter to Damasus.

176. But to come back to our point. It will be seen how Athanasius, Ambrose, Hilary, Gregory, Jerome, and Chry-

sostom, left on record a noble precedent, which proved of immense value to our protestant forefathers, and which they turned to the best account. These illustrious defenders of the faith in the fourth century absolutely abandoned a succession of men as being any necessary mark of a true church; they held a succession of doctrine which must be known only by the canonical Scriptures. But Dean Hook and his brethren receive a succession of persons commencing from St. Peter or St. Paul as essential to the very existence of a church, and the validity of the sacraments.

The links on which the Dean and his brethren believe our Church hangs include at least the first forty bishops of Rome with whom, as well as all subsequent ones, these credulous men believe Christ to have been spiritually present. But two of these links denied the Divinity of our blessed Lord, and all such, as we have seen, were condemned as antichristian, &c. &c. by Athanasius and his noble brethren who stood by him. The names of these two bishops are Liberius and Felix. Liberius was banished rather than deny the catholic faith. During his banishment, Ruffinus says:—

‘In his place, Felix, his deacon, is elected by heretics (*ab hæreticis subrogatur*).’—*His. Ec.* lib. i. cap. xxi. tom. i. 209.

Athanasius styled him—

‘A monster, raised to the see of Rome by the malice of antichrist, one worthy of those who raised him, and in every respect well qualified for the execution of their wicked designs.’—*Ad. Solit.*

177. This heretic, and antipope, is honoured by the Church of Rome as a saint, and his festival is kept on the 29th of July, as may be seen on reference to the calendar of the Missal. Liberius, the other bishop, sick of exile, and longing to come back to Rome, to effect his return, signed the condemnation of Athanasius, and received as catholic the confession or symbol of Sirmium. Mason proves from authentic sources that Liberius was an Arian heretic, as may be seen in his volume on *The Consecration of Bishops*, &c. b. ii. chap. vii. p. 75. Bishop Jewel establishes the same thing by the most authentic testimony, as is recorded in his *Defence of the Apology*; Works, vol. iii. pp. 341, 342.

178. The Church of Rome in the fourth century was for some years in heresy, like the greater part of the then visible Church. Whatever testimony has been given by Athanasius, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, and Chrysostom, against the bishops of the Eastern churches will as well apply to the bishops of Rome during their heresy. If Dean Hook and those of his belief are proud of the pedigree of the bishops of our Church, in their view of it, as coming through the line of Roman bishops, let them remember in what terms these several Fathers described those bishops, and how they discarded them as antichrists, &c. &c.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

179. From the manner in which this Father compares Joshua and the Lord Jesus, the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles, for whom he contemplates no successors, he affords strong negative evidence against the assumption of these Anglicans, viz. that bishops succeed to the apostleship of the twelve (**18. 1.**) The application and comparison he makes of the text, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' shows how unconscious he was of the use these Anglicans make of it. (**18. 3.**) Cyril certainly uses most extravagant language in relation to the Lord's Supper, and we may be sure, if he had possessed this modern notion respecting succession, he would, like those who now hold it, have left us in no doubt respecting it. We may safely conclude this bishop of the mother Church at Jerusalem was altogether unacquainted with Dean Hook's doctrine of apostolical succession.

HILARY.

180. Hilary very definitely states that—

'Upon this rock of confession (that of St. Peter) is the building of the Church.' 'This faith is the foundation of the Church.' 'This faith looses and binds on earth, and by it things are bound or loosed in heaven.' 'Therefore this house must be built of God; for a house created by human efforts will not remain, nor is the house instituted on doctrines of this age, nor is it kept by the vain labour of our solicitude.' (**19. 2.**)

The chief references to clerical orders in the writings of

Hilary will be found in **19**. The edition from which the extracts have been made is a folio volume of near 500 pages, and the type but small. If this great man had any opinions in common with these Anglicans on apostolical succession, his silence is inexplicable, especially as the doctrine, if true, is a fundamental one.

EUSEBIUS OF EMESSA.

181. This Father, with several others, was not infatuated by a false trust in a company of fallible mortals called a Church. (**20. 1.**) He does, however, speak of the apostles as vicars of Christ (**20. 4.**), but if he had believed that others succeeded to their office and power, and that the apostleship was to be perpetuated to the end of the world, and that the Church should have continually such infallible guides, he surely would have spoken of the Church in a very different style. Like the Bishop of Oxford, he would not have ‘given up the Divine authority, in its proper place of “the Holy Catholic Church,”’ but would have had ‘a simple faith in God’s presence with His Church.’ It is certain, however, that this Bishop of Emessa did not believe that the twelve apostles were so succeeded; from the way in which he has spoken of St. Peter and St. Paul (**20. 2.**), he would seem rather to believe that their authority is transmitted only in their writings. And he is so far from urging a blind obedience to the teachers of the Church that he cautions Christian hearers to hear with discrimination, and if they ‘teach their own traditions then they ought not to be believed and obeyed.’ (**20. 3.**) If Christian men would act on these wise and Scriptural principles, we should soon hear no more of Papists and Puseyites, excepting as matter of history.

EPIPHANIUS.

182. The last Father quoted by Dr. Wordsworth on apostolical succession is Epiphanius.

‘From James, and the apostles before mentioned, there have been constituted successions of bishops and presbyters.’—Sect. 6, above.

This extract does not answer the end for which Dr. Words-

worth has quoted it. It proves either too much or too little, and in either case is worthless for his purpose. Dean Hook says:—

‘The apostles ordained elders or presbyters in all churches; but the powers given to these terminated in themselves; they could not communicate them to others.’—*Succession, Ch. Dic.*

This succession of Epiphanius as to mode in no respect would suit these Anglicans. All that he means to say is that such clergy as presbyters and bishops had existed from the time of the apostles. But he says, ‘there have been constituted successions of bishops.’ Whatever the term succession means in regard to presbyters, it means in reference to bishops. If these Anglicans conceive that Epiphanius means what they mean by the term succession in regard to bishops, they must consider that he means the same thing in regard to presbyters. But Dean Hook states that—

‘Uninterrupted succession is a perfect and unbroken transmission of the original ministerial commission from the apostles to their successors by the progressive and perpetual conveyance of their powers from one race of bishops to another.’—*Ibid.*

And if this definition is to be applied to the succession of bishops, as alluded to by Epiphanius, so also should it be applied to the succession of presbyters, for he affirms precisely the same thing of both, nor does he give us the remotest hint as to the mode of their succession. He did, however, hold that the distinction between a bishop and presbyter, as held in the fourth century, was of Divine appointment, and he maintains that opinion on very foolish grounds, as we shall have occasion to notice. If we examine the extract, as made by Dr. Wordsworth in connection with the context (**21. 2**), it will be seen that Epiphanius referred to these successions or series of bishops and presbyters to show that there were no priestesses among them.

‘There have been constituted successions of bishops and presbyters in the house of God; but never among these was any woman constituted.’

He was writing in reply to a heretical sect which went by the

name of Collyridians, who worshipped the Virgin Mary as a goddess, and judged it necessary to appease her anger, and seek her favour and protection, by libations, sacrifices, and oblations of cakes, and such like services. This was the very use made of succession, as we have seen by Irenæus and Tertullian. (Sect. 47 of this chap.) Augustine appealed to the succession of the bishops of Rome for a similar purpose; he thought it was too remote from the purer age of the Church to affirm that there had been no heretics in the succession of Rome, yet he could affirm that there had been no schismatical Donatist, and he appeals to it for this purpose. He admitted, however, that there might have been a *traditor*, or traitor, alluding to the Arian heretic bishop Liberius. (33. 11, 12.) About this time the appeal to successions of bishops and presbyters in proof of orthodoxy had become inapplicable in consequence of many bishops in the various successions having become heretical. Jerome says, ‘For twenty years ago, heretics possessed all these churches. But the true Church was there where the true faith was.’ (29. 55.) Chrysostom, or some other much valued ancient author, has said much upon this point, which see 34. 22, 23. After these times any appeal to succession of bishops in proof of orthodoxy, or to show that no heretics were to be found among them, could be of no avail.

183. There remains another question and answer of Dr. Wordsworth to be considered before concluding this point.

‘Q. What additional proof is there of the Divine institution of episcopacy from ancient practice?’

‘A. There is a strong confirmation of it in the fact that not only *catholics* but also *heretics* and *schismatics*, differing from the Church and from each other in many respects, *all agreed* in recognising the *necessity of episcopal government*, with one single exception, that of Ærius (of Sebastia, in Pontus), in the fourth century, who, on that special account, as well as for other reasons, is placed among heretics by the Fathers of the Church. “Ærius said that there ought to be no distinction between a bishop and a presbyter.”—EPIPHAN. *de Hæreticis*, 75.’ (Sect. 10, above.)

This reference to the so-called heresy of Ærius, like the other references to the Fathers already considered, is quite irrelevant to Dr. Wordsworth’s purpose, his notions of a bishop, and those

of these Anglo-catholics generally, not being so much as mooted in the controversy between Ærius and his opponents. As the account of the so-called heresy of Ærius, as given by Augustine, is but short, the whole is here stated :—

‘ Ærians are named from one Ærius, who, when he was a presbyter, is related to have been grieved because he could not be ordained a bishop, and he fell into the heresy of the Arians, and also added some private doctrines, saying that it was not necessary to pray for, or offer sacrifice for, the dead ; that stated solemn fasts need not be celebrated, but if anyone desired to fast, whilst he did so, he need not seem to be under the law. He also said that there ought to be no distinction between a bishop and a presbyter.’—*De Hæresibus ad vult quod Deum*, lib. i. hæres. 53, tom. vi. f. 6.

184. The most serious charge which Augustine brings against him, and which will weigh most with those who get their doctrine from the Bible, and not from the Fathers, is his becoming an Arian. As to his not praying for the dead, and refusing to be bound to observe certain stated fasts, he may be excused on that score. If in any respect he could be called a heretic in the light that Dr. Wordsworth represents him, it was not because he held that in the apostles’ time there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, for, whether right or wrong, this was the teaching of most of the Fathers, Augustine not excepted, but that there ought, in the time he then lived, to be no distinction between them. Hooker says :—

‘ So that between the conclusion of Ærius, and the proofs whereby he laboured to strengthen the same, there be any show of coherence at all, we must of necessity confess that, when Ærius did plead, there is by the Word of God no difference between a presbyter and a bishop ; his meaning was, not only that the Word of God itself appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, or allowing that any such difference should be made.’—*Ecc. Pol.* vii. 9.

185. The heresy of Ærius, as it is called, together with an attempt to answer it, will be found in **21. 1**, which is the part to which Dr. Wordsworth has referred his ‘ young student ’ and readers. Let that extract be well considered, and it will be seen that the silence of Ærius is eloquent against the peculiar claims of the Romanists and these Anglo-catholics, the former exclusively for the pope of Rome, and the latter for each bishop in his several diocese. Verily, no such claims existed in the time

of Ærius, or he would have entered his protest against them. It will be seen that the arguments or statements of Ærius are not met by Epiphanius, but evaded. He charges Ærius with being ‘ignorant of the sequence of truth,’ with ‘not being conversant with the recondite histories, &c.’

But the pretended knowledge of Epiphanius in this respect served but to display his own ignorance, and it is difficult to believe that this Epiphanius was the man who was so friendly with Jerome, who held much the same opinion as Ærius, but did not think it contrary to Scripture, much less desirable, to abolish the distinction in his day between a bishop and a presbyter. It is truly marvellous how Epiphanius came to guess—for it certainly amounts to nothing more—that the apostles found men in some places fit for one office, and not for the other; so that in some places they had bishops and not presbyters, and in other places presbyters and not bishops; seeing it is undeniable that there is but one and the same character for them both left in the apostolic writings, in distinction from the deacons, as maintained by nearly all the leading Fathers, as far as we know, denied by none. Hooker saw the worthlessness of Epiphanius’s answer to Ærius, and pointed it out, as given above. Of Epiphanius, Hooker says:—

‘And in that very extempore slightness which he there useth, albeit the answer made to Ærius, be in part but raw, yet ought not hereby the truth to find any less favour than in other causes it doth, where we do not therefore judge heresy to have the better, because now and then it allegeth that for itself which defenders of the truth do not always fully answer.’—*Ecc. Pol.* vii. 9.

186. To us it appears certain that Ærius was in accordance with most of the brethren of his time in accounting for the origin of the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, as it existed in his day. In proof of this we shall appeal to illustrious authors of works written in defence of our own Church. The learned Fulke states:—

‘Ærius taught that there is no difference between a priest and a bishop. Of this opinion was Jerome, affirming that the distinction was made by men.’ (75. 8, 15.)

Whitaker says:—

‘And if to equal a priest with a bishop be heretical, what shall be catholic? Jerome was altogether of Ærius his mind about equality of priests, for he determines them to be equal with the bishops by God’s law.’ (78. 18.) ‘If Ærius was a heretic in this point, he had Jerome to be his neighbour in that heresy, and not only him but other Fathers, both Greek and Latin, as is confessed by Medina. Ærius thought that a presbyter did not differ from a bishop by any Divine law and authority; and the same thing was contended for by Jerome, and he defended it by those very Scripture testimonies which Ærius did. But how childishly and foolishly Epiphanius answered to these testimonies everyone may see.’ (78. 27.)

But note especially the full testimony of the very learned Dr. Raynolds (81. 1), and also that of Bishop Stillingfleet. (90. 1.)

OPTATUS.

187. Like nearly all the other Fathers, Optatus gives peculiar prominence to St. Peter; he represents him as the head of all the apostles. (22. 2.) But he, or some ignoramus for him, to confirm the opinion, argues that therefore he was called *Cephas*, considering that the Syriac term, which means a stone, had the same meaning as the Latin term *caput*, which means a head. Bishop Ridley says:—

‘I will never believe such learned men so to have raved as to say that Peter was called *Cephas* because he was the head (*caput*), because *Cephas* signifies the head.’—*Works*, p. 182.

By way of confuting the Donatists, and maintaining that the churches not of the Donatist schism were Churches of Christ, and in particular the Church of Rome, Optatus, after the manner of Cyprian, argues from the unity of Peter’s chair; but the learned Barrow, as we have seen, saw little solidity in the conceit (sect. 121 of this chap.), and we shall leave it among the incomprehensibles.

BASIL.

188. This great man has written but little on the subject of our book. All, however, that we could find in three folio volumes of his works has been given in 23. His testimony has been quoted in other chapters.

DIONISIUS.

189. Quotations have been made from this uncertain author to illustrate the ancient rites of baptism and ordination. In his day it is plain that the bishop, or high-priest, as he calls him, performed the rite of baptism, assisted by the whole of the congregation and the presbyters. (24. 1, 2.)

GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

190. We now come to consider Gregory Nazianzen. In his time the episcopate had become much developed, yet even then we search in vain through two folio volumes of his writings for any exclusive prerogatives of the bishop, as distinct from those of the presbyter, that would in any way answer to the modern assumptions of these Anglicans.

Gregory, having been ordained presbyter by his father, somewhat against his will, retired for a season from Nazianzum. On his return, some apology was made to his father, the bishop, and to his fellow-presbyters, but in addressing them he appears to confound, by the terms he uses, the bishop with the presbyter. He says, 'You have me, O pastors and fellow-pastors, thou hast me, O holy flock.' Again, 'Ruling, as a pastor, the pastors, and guiding the guides.' (25. 1.) Perhaps the pastors denote the presbyters, and the guides the bishops, or presiding presbyters. But it is not unlikely both terms may include, indiscriminately, both the presbyter and the bishop, for elsewhere he speaks of presbyters as being governors or guides of the flock:—

'The presbyters sitting lower on either side of me, of chosen age, governors or guides of the flock.' (25. 13.)

It is manifest that the distinction between presbyter and bishop in point of rank, honour, or jurisdiction, was not considerable. Both alike occupied thrones, or chairs (*cathedræ*). Ignatius says, 'Your worthy bishop, and the worthily complicated spiritual crown of your presbytery.' (3. 29, 30.) Here probably is a reference to the mode in which the bishop and the presbyters sat together, that is, in the form of a semicircle, the bishop

sitting on a higher throne, or chair, in the centre, and the presbyters on lower thrones, or chairs, on either side of him, after the manner of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Again, Ignatius says:—

‘What is the presbytery but a sacred congregation, counsellors of the bishop, and sitting together with him.’ (3. 39.)

Cyprian says:—

‘Hereafter to sit with us (presbyters).’ (11. 19.) ‘When the priests (bishop, or bishops, and presbyters) of God were sitting together.’ ‘You (bishop of Rome) and your fellow-presbyters sitting with you.’ (11. 22.) ‘You always read my epistles to the very eminent clergy who there preside with you (bishop of Rome).’ (11. 28.) ‘Which presbyters are joined with the bishop in the priestly honour.’ (11. 29.)

Epiphanius, in stating the arguments of Ærius, says, ‘The bishop sitteth upon a throne; and so doth the presbyter’ (21. 1), to which Epiphanius gives no answer. Hilary, the Deacon, says:—

‘The Church had elders, without the counsel of whom nothing was done in the Church.’ (31. 12.)

Jerome, or some one in his name, says:—

‘From the beginning, as we read, presbyters were enjoined to be judges in the affairs, and were present in the council of priests (bishops), since presbyters were called by the name of bishops.’ (29. 37.)

Jerome says, ‘We have in the Church our senate, the assembly of presbyters.’ (29. 41, 42.) At this time, however, and subsequently, there was little more than the name of the thing.

191. This synod, or council of presbyters, admits of illustration from the Jewish Sanhedrims, both great and lesser, to which we shall refer, so that the reader may have the fullest conception of that to which, as we have just seen, the Fathers so frequently refer, viz. the synod of presbyters and their mode of sitting. The very learned Selden, who, in a Herculean performance, has exhausted whatever relates to the ancient Jewish Sanhedrims, gives the following statement from Maimonides:—

‘Him who excels all others in wisdom they appoint head over them, and head of the assembly. And he it is whom the wise everywhere call *Nasi* (the prince), and he is in the place of our master Moses. Likewise him who is oldest among the seventy, they place on the right

hand, and him they call "father of the house of judgment" (the father of the court). The rest of the seventy sit before these two according to their dignity, in the form of a semicircle, so that the president and vice-president may have them all in sight.'—*De Synedriis Veterum Ebræorum*, lib. ii. cap. vi. sect. 1, p. 156.

The lesser Sanhedrim, Maimonides thus describes, as given in Selden :—

'Every Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty had three forms of probationers of three-and-twenty in every form; and when there was need of a man in the Sanhedrim, the highest in the first form was fetched in, and made judge; and the highest in the second form came in, and sat lowest in the first form; and the highest in the third form came up, and sat lowest in the second; and some other man was found to sit lowest in the third form; and so the Sanhedrims and the forms were kept full.'—*Ibid.* sect. 2, p. 162.

192. Lightfoot gives a description of the manner in which the presbyters sat in the synagogue :—

'Their synagogues themselves are described by the Jewish writers to consist of two parts, the chancel and the church. The chancel they called the temple, and it stood westward, as did the sanctum sanctorum in the tabernacle and the temple; and in this they set the ark or chest (for every synagogue had one), in which they laid up the book of the law. In the body of the church the congregation met, and prayed and heard the law, and the manner of their sitting was thus: the elders sat near the chancel, with their faces down the church; and the people sat one form behind another, with their faces up the church toward the chancel and the elders.'—*Lightfoot, Works*, folio, vol. i. p. 611.

193. The counterpart of this is described by Bishop Beveridge in his plan of an ancient church, excepting he places the chancel toward the east, which was not the case in the earliest churches. (See sects. 100, 101, above.) In the middle of the chancel was the holy table; corresponding to the ark for the book of the law in the synagogue. Behind the table was the throne of the bishop, which corresponded to that of the angel, or president, of the synagogue. On either side of the table were the thrones, or seats, of the presbyters, which answered to the seats of the Jewish presbyters.

From the usages of the Sanhedrim we have illustrations of language found in the New Testament. Every seat in each Sanhedrim, whether the great or the lesser, was sometimes called

a seat, or chair (*cathedra*), or throne. Thus we read in Matt. xix. 28 :—

‘Ye which have followed me in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’

And again in Rev. iv. 4 :—

‘And round about the throne were four-and-twenty thrones (*θρόνοι*), and upon the thrones I saw four-and-twenty presbyters sitting.’

194. There is also obvious allusion to the seats of the Sanhedrim in Matt. xxiii. 2, ‘Saying, the scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses’ seat (*καθέδρα*).’ The term *cathedra* was retained in the Latin Church, but they as often used *sedes* as its equivalent. This will account for the term ‘cathedral’ as the name of the church in which originally the presbyters had their judicial *cathedræ* as well as the bishop. The term ‘see’ (*sedes*), now embracing the extent of the bishop’s jurisdiction, once recognised the judicial seats of the presbyters, without whom the bishop could do nothing of importance. The higher seat of the bishop soon set aside the lower ones of the presbyters, at least in any judicial capacity. The leading bishop of some prominent city, after the same manner, absorbed the village or country bishops, and this went on until at a comparatively early period, to use the language of Whitaker, ‘the custom hatched the pope with his monarchy, and by degrees brought him into the Church.’ (78. 26.) Bingham has written very fully upon this point, and as he believed that the distinction which now exists between a bishop and a presbyter was of Divine appointment his testimony must be regarded as most impartial. (See 91. 1–12.) In one of the orations of Gregory, the orders both of the Old and New Testament are especially discussed, and there, if anywhere, these Anglicans should find some ground for their opinions, but we look in vain, at least for ground, for such opinions as are expressed in Dean Hook’s *Church Dictionary*. Gregory knew no more of such notions than of the book containing them. No extracts will be given here; the reader is referred to 25. 7, 8. With regard to the orders of the Old Testament, as referred to by Gregory, we might infer the doctrine of Jerome, viz. :—

‘That what Aaron and his sons and Levites were in the temple, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, claim for themselves in the Church.’ (29. 30.)

The case Gregory refers to in the New Testament, as a precedent for different degrees in the Christian Church, is the case of the twelve apostles considering Peter, James, and John, in some measure above the rest, and especially Peter, whom he represents as ‘entrusted with the fundamentals of the Church.’ As some apostles were considered to have a sort of primacy over the others, it was looked upon as a precedent for some presbyters to hold a similar position among their fellow-presbyters. Hence it came to pass that in the most early age of the Church every synod of presbyters had its primate. As among the Jewish priests there was the chief priest, so some of the early Fathers believed that there was one or more chief priests among the apostles. Polycrates, who lived in the second century, represents St. John as being a high-priest. He says:—

‘John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, who also was a priest, and bore the plate (πέταλον).’—*Eusebius, Hist.* b. v. ch. xxiv. p. 367.

Jerome, in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*, gives the statement of Polycrates somewhat differently:—

‘John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, and was His priest (*pontifex, ιερέυς*) and bore the golden plate on his forehead.’—Tom. i. p. 283. (See Leviticus viii. 9.)

195. Gregory so speaks of his own consecration as bishop as if he had been made a veritable high-priest, and uses almost the identical language of the Greek Septuagint, which records the consecration of Aaron and his sons. ‘Thou didst anoint me chief priest,’ . . . ‘didst fill or consecrate my hands.’ (See **25. 2.**) Gregory, in recording the account of the election and consecration of Eusebius as bishop, uses similar language. He calls it the creation of a chief priest, and the part the bishops took in it as *completing*, or *filling*, that is, consecrating, the very term used in the Septuagint. ‘And thou shalt make perfect, fill, or consecrate (τελειώσεις), the hands of Aaron, and the hands of his sons.’—Ex. xxix. 9. (See **25. 3.**)

These Anglicans must regret that such a man as Gregory was

ignorant of their notions. He, instead of misapplying texts in the New Testament for the promotion of a presbyter to the rank of a bishop, referred to the Old Testament, and derived from Moses a precedent for the consecration of a Christian bishop.

It is probable that some of the distinctions among the clergy during the time of Gregory were by him regarded as of human origin, which will account for his giving expression to painful regrets respecting the presidency which then existed, for surely that holy man would not have murmured against what he knew to be of Divine appointment. (25. 11.) In another place he says:—

‘We are worn out, striving against consecrated bishops, who destroy the common peace, and subordinate the word of faith to their own love of superiority.’ (25. 12.)

He also expressed his dread of every assembly of bishops, and that he had never seen a good end of any one of them. (25. 11.) He had little conception of the belief of the Bishop of Oxford and his brethren, who conceive that an assembly of bishops gives, in its united utterance, the living, in contradistinction to the written, Word of God.

VICTORINUS.

196. This bishop has so expressed himself as to make it certain that in his mind he considered the apostolic office to have ceased with the twelve apostles. (26.)

PACIAN.

197. The testimony of this man is of singular importance, both in a negative and positive point of view. He is arguing against Novatians, who, like Tertullian, maintained that after baptism mortal sins, as they are called, could not be pronounced forgiven by any human authority, that, although according to Tertullian (8. 18, 19), Peter could do this, and, according to the Novatians, all the apostles could do it, yet no one after them had any such power. This opinion Pacian undertakes to refute. Now, of all the arguments he could have used, the one founded

on the theory of succession, as held by these Anglicans, viz. that *as* God sent Christ *so* Christ sent the apostles, and that *as* Christ sent the apostles *so* they sent bishops, and that bishops *so* sent have the power and authority of the apostles, would have best suited his purpose. But this bishop of Barcelona, of course, was not one of these Anglicans; and living in the fourth century, and not in the nineteenth, makes all the difference. Could he but have had the charges of the Bishop of Oxford, or Dean Hook's *Church Dictionary*, or Dr. Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, he would have trounced those Novatians with a vengeance. In the absence of such plausible but groundless assumptions, Pacian did his very best to accomplish his task. He lays chief stress on the apostolic records. He says, 'the loosening of bonds and the power of the sacrament . . . was derived from the apostolic form and authority.' (27.) What are we to understand by the terms 'form and authority'? Plainly not anything that had been transferred from the apostles to any personal successors. By form (*forma*) is meant pattern, form of words, or law, and where is this to be found but in the writings of the apostles? Hence Pacian says, 'This, therefore, we build up, which the teaching of the apostles founded.' He does not give the remotest hint that either bishops or presbyters obtained either power or authority personally from the apostles, but whatever they did obtain was from the recorded teaching of the apostles.

198. Pacian, however, was not insensible to the charms and honour of bishops having a resemblance to the apostles; but, unfortunately, living about 1300 years before this Anglican assumption was invented, he makes out but a poor resemblance compared with that assumed by some presumptuous men in modern times. He says:—

'Bishops also are named apostles, as saith Paul of Epaphroditas . . . but your apostle.' 'God hath granted unto bishops the name even of His only Beloved.' 'Peter hath named our Lord bishop.' 'What shall be denied to the bishop in whom operateth the name of God?'

Presbyters, of course, were called bishops (Acts xx. 17, 28); and Pacian's argument, if of any worth, just as much applies to presbyters. He shows, also, that whatever authority the bishops

exercised was not after the manner of the apostles, but ministerially. This is illustrated in a simple manner. 'If, when the laity (of the Church at Corinth) forgive, the apostle saith he hath forgiven,' so Pacian claims the apostolic sanction for episcopal acts. He does not conceive that bishops had the power of the apostles by a transfer of it from them by means of ordination, for certain powers of the bishop, he states, 'were not granted to his authority; nothing was entrusted to him . . . but the whole has flowed down from the apostolic right.' The intelligent reader will know how to apply the testimony of Pacian.

MACARIUS.

The testimony of this writer, as given in **28.** will be found quoted and applied in other chapters.

JEROME.

199. From the liberties which have been taken with the opinions and arguments of Jerome relating to the subject under discussion, it is necessary that he should be introduced after the manner in which Homer introduced his divinities, by a few words in defence of his character and learning. If he had possessed only the two extreme parts of the fatherhood of a teacher, namely, immaturity and decay, without the more valuable intervening part; had he been characterised, in comparison of other Fathers, by ignorance and imbecility, that would account in some measure for the manner in which his arguments and statements have been treated. Others, having seen that it would not do to treat him as an ignoramus, and yet having found it difficult to interpret his statements to their own liking, have attributed what they think his undue exaltation of the presbyter to jealousy and bad temper. Jerome, perhaps, was a bilious subject; let us see. He informs us that he was brought up in a country cottage, on millet and coarse bread, and scarcely enough of that; but such a change had taken place in regard to the outward condition of Christians, since the Emperor of Rome had become one either in reality or by profession, that now he had become so choice in his food

that his stomach despised the richest delicacies. (29. 2.) After such a great change in his diet Jerome might have become bilious. But his statements respecting the position and order of the presbyter are one and the same throughout his writings. Was he, therefore, always bilious and out of temper? A disease so chronic in form must have told fearfully upon his health, and have brought him to a premature grave; whereas it has come down to us that he lived to the patriarchal age of ninety-one. That he was no ignoramus, we shall now endeavour to show. In a letter to Rusticus, he says:—

‘I became a scholar to a man who had been a Jew, to learn of him the Hebrew alphabet; and after I had most diligently studied the judicious rules of Quintilian, the copious flowing elegance of Cicero, the grave style of Fronto, and the smoothness of Pliny, I inured myself to hissing and broken-winded sounds. What labour it cost me, what difficulties I went through, how often I despaired, and left off, and how I began again to learn, both I myself, who felt the burden, can witness, and they also who lived with me. And I thank our Lord that I now gather sweet fruit from the bitter seed of those studies.’—*Ad Rusticum*, tom. i. p. 46.

He studied the Scriptures with Gregory Nazianzen, Archbishop of Constantinople. He became a person of singular note and importance to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in writing learned letters for him, in answering the consultations of bishops, and other important affairs of the Church. At the solicitation, and under the sanction, of Damasus, Jerome undertook to make a recension of the Italic translation of the Greek Septuagint, which had become much corrupted. But whilst he was engaged in this work, or after he had accomplished it, he resolved upon making a translation from the Hebrew, believing that it would render valuable aid to Christians in their controversy with the Jews. Jerome was instructed in the Hebrew language by distinguished Jewish doctors. One of these was a famous Rabbi called Barrabanus. He says:—

‘I came again to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. With great labour and much expense, I had by night Barrabanus as my preceptor, for he feared the Jews, and exhibited to me another Nicodemus.’—*Ad Pammachium*, tom. ii. p. 189.

With indefatigable labour he also acquired the Chaldee and

Syriac. Thus qualified, he undertook the important, but, as it turned out, the unwelcome, task of translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Latin, at that time the vernacular language of his own country. This bold undertaking provoked the opposition of many. Ruffinus, another learned presbyter, and at one time a very dear friend of Jerome, blamed him for the additions he had made from the Hebrew to the ancient translation of the Church; that by it the whole Church was scandalised; that he had attempted to introduce Judaism, and had preferred what he had learned from a Jew called Barrabas to what the Church had received from the apostles; for Ruffinus, in bitter irony, called the teacher of Jerome Barrabas, instead of his proper name, Barhaninas (or Barrabanus). Jerome, in reply, said:—

‘Nor is it wonderful if for Barhaninas, as there is some resemblance in the names, you should have written Barrabas, when you take such liberty with words which admit not of change, as to have made of Eusebius, Pamphilus, of a heretic, a martyr. I must beware of such a man as you, and keep at a great distance, lest without my knowledge you change my name from Jerome to Sardanapalus.’—*Apologia adversus Ruffinum*, tom. ii. p. 201.

Notwithstanding the severe opposition the version of Jerome had to encounter, towards the close of the seventh century it was freely admitted into all the Latin Churches, and soon displaced the Italic version, and to this day is the authentic copy of the Scriptures of the Roman Catholic Church. Augustine speaks thus of Jerome and his version:—

‘The Latin Churches receive that version, which has been translated into the Latin language from the Septuagint version. Although there is not wanting in our time, Jerome a presbyter, a most learned man, and well skilled in all three languages, who, not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew, has translated the same Scriptures into Latin.’—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii. cap. 43, f. 247.

Augustine esteemed Jerome as an author of great authority. In his first book *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, cap. ii., after having collected the testimonies of the most excellent and learned bishops and doctors in the primitive Church, mentioning by name Irenæus, Cyprian, Reticus, Olympius, Hilary, and Ambrose, his father and master in Christian doctrine, Innocent, Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom, he asks:—

‘Wilt thou now call so great a consent of catholic priests a conspiracy of abandoned men? Neither think that holy Jerome is to be contemned because he was but a presbyter, who, being skilful in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues, and passing from the West Church into the East Church, lived in holy places, and in the study of the sacred Scriptures, even to decrepid old age. He read all, or in a manner all, the works of them which in both parts of the world wrote ecclesiastical doctrine; and yet he neither held nor taught any otherwise of this point of doctrine.’—Tom. vii. f. 197.

Augustine asked, ‘Who knew anything that Jerome did not know?’ He appears to have been the living library of those times, and persons came from the remotest parts of the known world to consult him in matters of faith and biblical knowledge. We learn this from his letter to Algasia, in which he says:—

‘My son Apodemius, who denoted the import of his name, coming to me by sea, and from the ocean shore, even from the furthestmost confines of France, Rome being passed over, sought Bethlehem, that he might find in those parts heavenly food, and be satisfied, that he might utter in the Lord, and might say, “My heart hath uttered a good word, I will speak my works to the king.”’—Tom. iii. p. 156.

Jerome, of all the writers of the fourth century, is the most competent and valuable authority on the question under discussion; equally acquainted with both the Latin and the Greek Churches, and, according to Augustine, conversant with the doctrines of each; the only Father of the fourth century learned in the rites and ceremonies of the Jews, which, as we shall see, had a very important influence on the polity and orders of the early Christian Church. His respect for the traditions and practices of the primitive Church and his knowledge of the same were not surpassed by any of the Fathers.

200. In examining his very important and full testimony on the subject of our book, we shall begin, first, with extracts made from him by Dr. Wordsworth, to support the peculiar notions of himself and his school.

‘All bishops *are successors* of the apostles.’ (Sect. 7 of this chap.) This quotation is made from Jerome’s famous epistle to Evagrius, the whole of which is translated and given in **29.** 24–30. The extract in question forms part of sect. 28. Let that epistle be read with the simple desire of understanding it, and anyone who thus reads it will be certain that Jerome

regarded the bishops of his day not as successors of the apostles in their character of bishops, in the prerogatives wherein they differed from presbyters, but simply as presbyters. The learned Erasmus, on the words in question, says :—

‘Therefore that Jerome here makes the bishop of humble cities equal to the rest, it is to be referred to the deacons who in some places were preferred to the presbyters, whom, in a manner, he equals with bishops, elsewhere he says that presbyters succeed in the place of apostles.’—Tom. ii. p. 330.

At the time Jerome wrote, the deacons of Rome, whom he wished to humble, had exalted themselves above the presbyters, and that chiefly on the ground of their wealth and worldly influence in the city of Rome ; while the presbyters, being much more numerous, not being restricted as to number like the deacons, and, from the nature of their office, not entrusted with so much wealth, were, in comparison of the seven deacons, poor ; as Jerome says, ‘they were inferior to the deacons in lucre, but superior in priestly office.’ Jerome undoubtedly included these presbyters when he said, ‘they are of the same merit, of the same priesthood, . . . they are all successors of the apostles.’ But Jerome was not the only one who undertook to curb the pride of these deacons at Rome. Augustine, or some other ancient writer, performed the same task, and made use of similar arguments to those of Jerome, and concluded thus :—

‘The Apostle Paul proves, however, that by a presbyter is meant a bishop, when he instructs Timothy, whom he ordained a presbyter, what sort of bishops he ought to make. For what is a bishop but the first presbyter, that is, a chief priest ? In fine, he here calls them nothing else but his fellow-presbyters and fellow-priests. Does a bishop ever call those who minister his fellow-deacons ? No, verily, they are much inferior . . . In Alexandria and through the whole of Egypt, the presbyter confirms if the bishop is absent.’ (33. 21.)

Another quotation which Dr. Wordsworth gives from Jerome is, ‘Among us bishops hold the place of the apostles.’ (Sect. 7 of this chap.) This extract, like the other, is only calculated to deceive ‘the young student.’ If it is read in connection with the context, as given in 29. 10, it will be seen that Jerome assigns the highest degree, or place, in his church to bishops, whereas among the heretics of Montanus the bishop is put in

the third place. No stress can be laid on the term place (*locus*), however well it sounds in the imperfect extract, for, if so, the Montanist patriarchs have the *place* of the apostles. If the term *place* in the extract in question proves anything to the purpose, it proves too much, and, therefore, no stress can be laid upon it. Whatever places the apostles left to be occupied by others, especially places of jurisdiction and power, were held by the bishops in the time of Jerome. But we shall have occasion to notice that, according to his teaching, at the first, presbyters both held the place of apostles and were successors to them. (29. 46, 73.)

201. The most complete account of bishops and presbyters, as they existed in the fourth century, is to be found in Jerome's commentary on the epistle to Titus, the main points of which are given in 29. 68-82. Timothy is expressly called an evangelist, and is exhorted to fulfil the office of the same. Titus, however, is not so called; and if any person could in any full sense hold the place of an apostle, or succeed to the power and authority of the apostleship, that person was Titus. Yet he is represented by Jerome as standing in the same relation to the Apostle Paul as an ordinary workman to a master builder. (29. 68.) Surely this was the occasion for Jerome to have given some hint of the inflated notions of these Anglicans, if in any respect he had entertained them; and it would seem as if Dr. Wordsworth thought he had; at least he has so manipulated this part of his writings as to make it appear that he taught that Titus had apostolic power, and was in the place of the Apostle Paul, and that from that time he became the local and permanent bishop of Crete. But all this is directly contrary to what Jerome has taught in his commentary on the epistle to Titus. But that the reader may judge for himself, the extract, as quoted in two different parts of Dr. Wordsworth's writings, and as prefaced in each case, is given in 29. 68-72. Let the reader especially consider that extract, as thus given, in connection with the whole commentary of Jerome on Titus, or the portions recorded in the Catena. Jerome represents Titus, in comparison with the Apostle Paul, as an inferior workman, and styles him a *disciple* whom Paul left at Crete; but Dr. Words-

worth has left this out, thinking, perhaps, it might militate against his purpose, namely, to make Jerome—a most unlikely witness indeed,—bear testimony in behalf of these modern Anglican notions. The clerical rank, or degree, ascribed by Jerome to Titus is the very general one, ‘apostolical man,’ which title is implied as belonging to Tychicus and Artemas, and expressly applied to Zenas, and, by implication, to Apollos, though he called him ‘bishop of the Corinthians.’ Titus, Tychicus, Artemas, Zenas, and Apollos, according to Jerome, were all employed by the Apostle Paul in the erection of churches, but he represents Titus as being necessary in following the apostle to do in other places what he had done in Crete. Let the reader distinctly understand that we are not blaming Dr. Wordsworth for introducing the case of Titus, the most likely in the New Testament, to serve his purpose, but for bringing it in ‘on the shoulders’ of Jerome, and, in effect, making that very learned and able presbyter contradict himself.

202. With all that Jerome knew, whether of the Jewish Church, or the primitive Christian Church, or the Eastern and Western Churches, as they existed in his day, he was as ignorant as his less learned brethren of the marvellous assumptions of these Anglicans of the nineteenth century. He distinctly states, as we have already noticed, that presbyters, to use the language of Cyprian, act vicariously in the place of Christ. ‘He that despiseth you (presbyters) despiseth me, &c.’ (29. 73.) After pointing out the sad abuses respecting the promotion of the clergy which had then crept into the Church, he distinctly affirms that in the New Testament a presbyter is the same as a bishop; that a church was governed by a common council of presbyters, but in consequence of dissensions arising in the Church, and presbyters claiming those whom they baptised as their own, the human expedient of having one person placed over the rest, and to whom *all the care* of the Church should belong, became the general practice of the Church. He enters into an elaborate argument, based entirely on the evidence of Holy Scripture, that, originally, and in the time of the apostles, there was no difference between a presbyter and a bishop, and he sums up by stating:—

‘Therefore, as we have shown, among the ancients, presbyters were the same as bishops; but by degrees, that the plants of dissension might be rooted up, *all responsibility* was transferred to one person.’ (29. 77.)

So that this came to pass by the custom of the Church, and he wishes bishops to know that they are above presbyters, rather by custom than by Divine appointment. On another occasion, and in another part of his writings, he shows that certain prerogatives of the bishop which distinguished him from the presbyter were conferred rather for the honour of the bishop than the necessity of law. (29. 21.) The teaching of Jerome on this point is most clear and decisive. But, clear and decisive as it is, men of eminence and learning, during the last 250 years, have attempted so to interpret it as seriously to reflect on the learning or moral character of Jerome, as if he did not know the nature of his own argument, or as if, being out of temper, he spoke at random, not caring what he said.

203. It is certain that in his time it had become a very general, if not universal, practice for one person superior to a presbyter to have *all the care* of a Church, for *all the responsibility* to be transferred to one person. When did this take place? That the apostles had power and authority over presbyters is certain, and that, under the direction of the Apostle Paul, Timothy and Titus exercised a similar authority is plainly revealed. When did bishops assume similar power but confined to a given locality? More especially, what does Jerome teach on this point? Hear what Dr. Wordsworth endeavours to make him teach:—

204. ‘Q. But does not St. Jerome say that even in the *apostolic* times the Churches were *governed* by *several* presbyters who were also called bishops, “before dissensions were introduced into religion by the instigation of the devil, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephaz; afterwards, when everyone thought that those whom he had baptised were his own, and not Christ’s, it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest, and to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schisms might be plucked up?”’—Translation.

205. ‘A. Yes, he does; but in another place he says that bishops are the ordained successors of the apostles;’ [Here the ‘young student’ is referred to the two extracts from Jerome which have just been considered and disposed of. (Sect. 200.)] ‘that St. James was bishop of Jerusalem immediately after the ascension of Christ; that episcopacy

is an apostolic ordinance ; that presbyters cannot ordain ; that the safety of the Church consists in the dignity of its bishop ; and his assertion, just quoted, does, when examined, tend rather to confirm the doctrine of the apostolic and Divine institution of episcopacy.'

Here follow other extracts from Jerome, in confirmation of the answer :—

206. 'S. HIERON., *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. James, who was called the brother of our Lord, immediately after the passion of the Lord was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles.'

207. 'S. HIERON., in *Lucif.* c. 4. The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the highest priest, on whom, if a certain supereminent power be not conferred, there will be in the Church as many schisms as priests. Hence it arises that without the anointing, and without the injunction of the bishop, neither the presbyter nor the deacon have a right to baptise.'

208. 'For what does a bishop do, except in the case of ordination, which a presbyter may not do ?' (See sects. 7, 8, above.)

209. Let us examine these extracts in order. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, is especially referred to to prove 'that episcopacy is an apostolic ordinance.' Of this there is no question. But the fact is, according to the teaching of Jerome, this episcopacy was equally the prerogative of the presbyter, between whom and a bishop there was no difference. For Dr. Wordsworth to make it appear that Jerome teaches this Anglican notion of an episcopate belonging exclusively and by Divine appointment to the bishop, is to make this learned man flatly contradict himself, and not in one part of his writings merely, but throughout the whole of them. In the very next extract which the Doctor gives, had he quoted a little of the context with it, he would have furnished sufficient proof that Jerome had not the remotest conception of a bishop of this Anglican kind, and, further, that the bishops of the fourth century had exclusive prerogatives conferred on them 'rather for their honour than the necessity of law.' Had he given Jerome's reasons for, and his account of, the origin of 'the safety of the Church being made to depend on the dignity of the highest priest, &c.' the extract, instead of making for him, would have been point blank against him. He has followed rather too closely the practice of one of his elder cousins, M. Harding, a notorious papist, who was well answered by Bishop Jewel, whose answer shall be here given. By making

a slight change, merely substituting M. Wordsworth for M. Harding, M. Wordsworth will be well answered :—

‘ This place of St. Jerome is notably well noted. But if it might have pleased M. Wordsworth to note but the two lines that went before, he should soon have seen that this note was not worth the noting Jerome entreateth there of the order of confirmation, which, he saith, by the usage of the Church, for quietness and unity, in many places was ministered only by the bishop, and not by any other priest, and that, he saith, “ more for the honour of the state of bishops than for the necessity of the law.” Immediately after he addeth these words that M. Wordsworth here allegeth “ the safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the highest priest, &c.” ’ (73. 4.)

210. Respecting the bishop having the exclusive power of ordination, Jerome is referring to it as a fact in the age in which he lived ; he does not state that bishops had this power exclusively from the beginning ; had he done so, he would have contradicted the whole of the epistle of which the extract forms a part. The reader may compare sect. 27 with the other sections of the same epistle, or all the passages selected from Jerome, as given in 29. and he will be quite certain that these Anglicans do not obtain a particle of help from Jerome, and that it is worse than useless to attempt to pervert his own testimony against himself. The fact is, he held it as a maxim that anyone who was ordained a presbyter might ordain another to the same office. It may be seen from the extracts quoted from his dialogue against the Luciferians (29. 18–21) how he argues that on the same grounds that these Luciferians received the baptism of heretics so should they receive their ordinations, and he lays down this very broad principle, that ‘ as anyone receives so also can he give.’ (29. 21.) No man was so deeply versed in ecclesiastical doctrine as Jerome, and on this point he may be regarded as oracular. Tertullian, as we have seen, had, 200 years before, given utterance to the same principles when he said, ‘ Laymen have also the right, for that which is equally received may equally be given.’ (8. 11.) Augustine, in his letter to Fortunatus, is represented as saying :—

‘ In necessity, when bishops, or presbyters, or any kind of ministers, are not to be found, and the danger of him who seeks baptism is urgent, lest this life be terminated without that sacrament, we are wont to hear

that even laymen are accustomed to give the sacrament, which they have received.'—*Gratian, Pars 3, de Consecrat.* dist. 4, c. 21.

Respecting this principle, as laid down by Tertullian, and maintained by Jerome, and very fully so by Augustine (33. 30–33), Dr. Pusey states:—

'The maxims of Tertullian are often so fascinating, from their very condensation as readily to gain admission, although involving unperceived consequences. Thus even St. Jerome admits the maxim that what a man hath received that he may impart, which although it may, in cases of necessity, apply to the immediate subject, holy baptism, would equally justify presbyterian ordination.'—*Preface to the Writings of Tertullian*, pp. xv. xvi.

So we think, and so thought Jerome, and he no doubt knew much better the teaching of the Church in the century in which he lived than Dr. Pusey appears to have known it.

Chrysostom also describes the only absolute difference between a bishop and a presbyter in his day as consisting in the power of ordination, but at the same time informs us that this difference did not exist from the beginning, but that in this particular 'they had gone above, and in that thing only seem to have overreached or defrauded the presbyters.' (34. 45.)

211. Dr. Wordsworth labours very hard to turn the testimony of Jerome against himself; here is another remarkable instance:—

'Q. How do you show this?' viz. that the teaching of Jerome 'rather confirms the doctrine of the apostolic and Divine institution of episcopacy.'

'A. We do not deny that in the apostolic age the names *bishops* and *presbyters* were applied to the same persons; but *then* there were at that time *bishops* also, in our sense of the word, namely, the HOLY APOSTLES themselves; and (whatever may be alleged as the *reason* for the institution of episcopacy) the *fact* and *time* of its institution are the only questions with which we are concerned. Now, in this very passage, St. Jerome testifies that it was "*decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest, and to whom all care of the Church should belong.*" And that which was received throughout *the whole world*, and of which the *origin does not appear* (and which Jerome himself *seems* to ascribe to the age of Apollos and Cephas, that is, to the *apostolic* age, and, in the case of St. James, does, as we have seen, make immediately consequent on our Lord's Ascension), could not be of *human* institution, if it were only from the rule of St. Augustine, "That which the *universal Church holds* (as St. Jerome

says is the case with *episcopacy*), which, though *never* instituted by any *council* (and councils all *presuppose bishops*, for they consist of them), was always retained, is with the utmost justice believed to be delivered by no less than *apostolical authority*."—*Theoph. Ang.* p. 92.

We just notice in passing that Augustine stated to Jerome that custom constituted the difference as it then existed between a bishop and a presbyter, which, with abundant evidence to be hereafter adduced from him, shows beyond a doubt that, if the premises of Dr. Wordsworth's argument be correct, he has applied Augustine's argument in a way he never intended it. It is not correct to state that councils consist of bishops if it is meant of bishops only; both presbyters and the laity formed part of them. (See **13.** 1; **16.** 4, 5, 7; **38.** 1; **39.** 31; **42.** 1; especially **91.** 6.)

212. But the statement that Jerome 'seems to ascribe to the apostolic age,' the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter as it existed in his day, must be especially examined. Dr. Wordsworth does not stand alone in this imputation to Jerome, which, if true, would make this learned man an ignoramus in argument. Rose, an especial authority of Dean Hook, to whom he refers us, says:—

'I have already noticed that Jerome's meaning was probably only that this change was made by the apostles themselves. Jeremy Taylor (*Episcopacy Asserted*) even assumes this to be the right meaning of the passage in Jerome.'—Appendix, p. 192.

Both Wordsworth and Rose express themselves doubtfully, but evidently wish the unlearned reader to take their doubt for truth, and on the strength of the same to believe that the distinction which existed between a bishop and a presbyter in the time of Jerome was ordained by the apostles, and that he so teaches. Apart from every other consideration, it is certain, from the language itself, that it could not be exclusively applied to the Corinthians. Jerome does not say it was said among *the Corinthians*, but among *the peoples (populis)*, 'I am of Paul, &c.' (**29.** 75.) The language would just as well apply to the people of any city in Italy, or Britain, or any other place.

Now there is one point which these men have overlooked, and it is this, that the change to which Jerome alludes did not take

place until presbyters had begun to cherish schisms in the Church, by each one of them claiming those he baptised as his own. (29. 26, 75.) When the members of the Corinthian Church said, ‘I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas,’ we have no proof that either the apostles St. Peter, St. Paul, or that the apostolic man Apollos, cherished these schisms, by each claiming those whom he had baptised as his own. For this is one of the main reasons assigned by Jerome for a Church being subsequently governed by one person, called a bishop, rather than by a common council of presbyters. Holy Scripture and early antiquity give no account of a bishop of Corinth being constituted with sovereign authority after these schisms had arisen in the apostolic age; but antiquity does give us positive evidence to the contrary. Clement of Rome, in his most ancient and valuable epistle, says:—

‘Take the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle into your hands. What was it that he wrote to you at the first preaching of the gospel among you? Verily, he did by the spirit admonish you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because that even then ye had begun to fall into parties and factions among yourselves. Nevertheless your partiality then led you into much less sin; forasmuch as ye placed your affections upon apostles, men of eminent reputation in the Church, and upon another who was greatly tried and approved by them. But consider, we pray you, who are they that have now led you astray, and lessened the reputation of that brotherly love that was so eminent among you? It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into a sedition against its presbyters.’—Cap. 47. p. 60.

Clement, no doubt, wrote his epistle after the death of the Apostle Paul; at this time, then, there were schisms in the Church of Corinth far more serious than in the time of that apostle—schisms which resulted in a sedition against some of its presbyters. Where was the bishop with his sovereign authority, not only over the laity, but over the presbyters also? St. Paul wrote his first letter to the Corinthians about the year A.D. 56; if there had been, immediately after that time, a bishop such as these Anglicans require, it is marvellous that Clement should have known nothing of that worthy person.

213. Several years after St Paul wrote his epistle to the

Corinthians, he wrote one to the Philippians, addressing a plurality of bishops of one city, and still later he called for the bishops or presbyters of the Church of the one city Ephesus, both of which cases are adduced by Jerome in support of his argument, namely, that, in the time of the apostles, bishops and presbyters were the same. Surely here is conclusive proof that the schism at Corinth was not immediately, or for many years after, followed by the universal institution of bishops, such as these Anglicans confide in when it suits their convenience.

214. But Jerome can interpret his own language. If he wrote his commentary on Titus as rapidly as he did some of his translations of Holy Scripture, it would be for him but a morning exercise before a late breakfast in his cave at Bethlehem. In the middle of his commentary he refers to the first Corinthian schism, and at the close so speaks of St. Paul and Apollos as plainly to show that, in his mind, the distinction, as it existed in his day, between a bishop and a presbyter, could not have originated immediately after the first schism at Corinth. He says:—

‘This is that Apollos of whom Paul writes to the Corinthians, “Everyone of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas.” He was a man of Alexandria of the Jews, very eloquent and perfect in the law, a bishop of the Corinthians. On account of the dissensions which were at Corinth, it is thought, that he passed over to Crete, a neighbouring island, with Zenas the lawyer, and when the dissensions which had arisen at Corinth were moderated by the epistle of Paul that he returned thither again.’ (29. 81.)

That is, as one of the bishops or presbyters of the Church. This demonstrates that Jerome does not even *seem* to ascribe to the age of Apollos and Cephas the kind of bishops that existed in his day.

215. But Jerome does give some account of a person in some respect superior to an ordinary presbyter from the time of St. Mark:—

‘For at Alexandria, also, from Mark the Evangelist to the bishops Hereclas and Dionisius, the presbyters always called one elected from among themselves, and placed in a higher rank, bishop; just as an army may constitute its general, or deacons may elect one of themselves, whom they may know to be diligent, and call him archdeacon.’ (29. 26.)

Mr. Perceval says:—

‘Observe, the utmost that can be made of this passage, by itself, is that presbyters at Alexandria had a voice in the appointment of the patriarch, which, in other places, rested with the bishops of the province, and even this is not distinctly stated; Jerome does not say the bishop was chosen *by* the presbyters, but from among them, nor does he say *by whom* he was placed in the higher degree.’—*Apol.* pp. 39, 41.

Mr. Palmer also states:—

‘But St. Jerome does not *say* that the bishop thus elected was not afterwards consecrated by bishops.’—Pt. vi. ch. iv. vol. ii. p. 314.

Both Perceval and Palmer would fain make a fool of this learned presbyter. For if bishops performed their parts, as was customary in the time of Jerome, in the promotion of all these Alexandrian bishops, where could have been the relevancy of his referring to them? Let the whole of the epistle of Jerome to Evagrius be well considered as given **29.** 24–30, and the reader will be quite certain that the promotion of the Alexandrian bishops, whatever it was, came from the presbyters, and that bishops, such as existed in the time of Jerome, had no part in it. This is strongly confirmed both by Amalarius and Eutichius. (**56.** 5, 6; **57.** 1–3.)

216. Nothing can be plainer from the context than that Jerome teaches that the bishop was chosen *by* the presbyters, though he does not use those exact words. ‘Just as deacons may elect one of themselves, . . . and call him archdeacon,’ so did the presbyters choose one of themselves and name him bishop. Mr. Palmer so translates the passage, ‘The presbyters always chose one of themselves.’—Vol. ii. p. 314.

Amalarius did not consider the presbyter so promoted to be a bishop at all in the modern sense of the term. Hence he adduced the case as relating to the consecration of presbyters, and, after having adduced it, remarks:—

‘The consecration of an archdeacon is well known to us. An archdeacon has the same consecration as the others have, but by the election of his brethren he is placed first.’ (**56.** 6.)

It is plain Amalarius understood that this Alexandrian presbyter, placed in a higher rank and called bishop, had no consecration different from his brethren.

217. The utmost that can be obtained from the teaching of Jerome on clerical orders is that a bishop or presbyter existed from the time of the apostles as a *primus inter pares* in regard to his brother presbyters, and that any distinction which he had superior to them was conferred upon him, not by any distinct order of bishops, such as existed in the time of Jerome, but by his fellow-presbyters and equals, in most cases including the lower orders of clergy and the laity. Hence, at the conclusion of his epistle to Evagrius, he says :—

‘And we know that the apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament; that what Aaron and his sons and Levites were in the temple, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, claim for themselves in the Church.’ (29. 30.) ‘But we know this, that a bishop and presbyters were the same as Aaron and his sons. There is one Lord, one temple, let there be also one service.’ (29. 5.)

Here it is plain from this extract, taken in connection with the context, that the bishops in Jerome’s time had gone beyond this; and, by way of bringing them back to what he believed to be the more primitive practice, if not of Divine origin, he urged as an example the Jewish orders. As this point has been already discussed, the reader is referred to Chap. III. 10–14.

Episcopal power in the time of Jerome had become so developed that a bishop, when chosen and ordained, was supreme over presbyters and the other orders, as well as over the laity. Jerome, as we have seen, attributed the origin of this to custom and expediency. This is for the most part conceded by Mr. Palmer, but the truth stated is so prefaced and introduced as to deprive it of its real force.

218. Mr. Palmer says :—

‘It is admitted that bishop and presbyters were the same *at first*, and that the Church was governed by a council of presbyters under the apostles. But as Jerome says elsewhere that James, Polycarp, and others, were appointed bishops by the apostles, he means that they did not institute the superiority of bishops *universally till after the schism at Corinth*; which is very probable. In fact, the superiority of bishops to presbyters, when he wrote, arose more from custom than Divine institution. That is to say, the bishops had probably obtained *greater jurisdiction* at that time than they possessed at first, and *the full amount* of that jurisdiction was not *essential* to the episcopal order by Divine institution. Besides this, many offices which presbyters might have

performed were at that time reserved ordinarily to the bishop, such as preaching, baptising, confirming, celebrating the eucharist. Thus the superiority of bishops was more from the custom of the Catholic Church than from the Divine injunction.—Pt. vi. ch. i. vol. i. p. 297.

When Mr. Palmer tells us that Jerome means that the apostles did not institute the superiority of bishops universally until after the schism at Corinth, he both implies and states what is not correct. Had he assumed that in each common council of presbyters there was a *primus*, who in more modern times was called a bishop, this would have been quite compatible with the teaching of Jerome and nearly all the ancient Fathers. But that he taught that bishops, in our sense of the term, were partially instituted by the apostles *before* the schism at Corinth, and universally by the apostles *after* that event, is contrary to his most express teaching, as distinctly recorded in his epistle to Evagrius and in his commentary on Titus, and many other parts of his writings, as we have already proved.

219. But Mr. Palmer states that ‘Jerome says elsewhere that James, Polycarp, and others, were appointed bishops by the apostles;’ and he adds, in proof, ‘In his (Jerome’s) commentary on Titus, he says:—*Quod fecerunt et apostoli, per singulas provincias presbyteros et episcopos ordinantes.* (Which the apostles did, ordaining, through every province, presbyters and bishops.)’ *Ibid.* p. 297. We can find no such passage in his commentary on Titus, nor does our copy of Jerome’s works contain it. The language, ‘bishop or presbyter,’ ‘bishops or presbyters,’ is frequently to be met with. That apostles ordained bishops or presbyters is most true, but to understand Jerome, when speaking of the ordaining of a bishop, that he meant one in our sense of the term, is to make him flatly contradict himself. From what Mr. Palmer has said, it is plain that he admits that before the schism at Corinth there was not a local bishop there, in our sense of the term. Now, Jerome in this very commentary on Titus, calls Apollos a ‘bishop of the Corinthians,’ and describes him as having left Corinth on account of the schism there. (29. 81.) Was Apollos, then, when he left Corinth, the sovereign bishop alike of presbyters and laity of the Corinthian Church? Verily, no. Jerome, naturally enough, when speaking

of the ancient Fathers of the Church, as they had two titles, gave them that of bishop, which was the more honourable in his day.

220. Archbishop Potter has a very ready way in dealing with this learned presbyter. He says:—

‘But whatever was St. Jerome’s sense of this matter, since it has appeared to be ill-grounded, and contrary both to the universal consent of primitive antiquity and of the Scriptures, we need not have the least concern about it. The truth is this, some deacons, who enjoyed wealthier places in the Church than many presbyters, claimed several privileges superior to them, and were unwilling to be admitted into that order, which irregularity was so highly resented by St. Jerome, who was a man of passion, and only a presbyter, that, to raise his own order beyond the competition of deacons, he endeavoured to make it equal by its original institution with bishops and apostles—as it is common, even for the best of men, in the heat of disputation, to run into one extreme by avoiding another.’—*Church Government*, ch. iv. p. 133.

It will be seen that Augustine, a bishop, expresses himself more warmly on the arrogance and presumption of these wealthy deacons of Rome than Jerome does. (33. 20, 21.) Whether the opinions of Jerome are right or wrong, the reader may see from the first part of the *Catena Patrum* that nearly all the authorities of the first four centuries substantially agreed with him.

221. We shall now take a cursory view of the evidence of Jerome, as generally given in the *Catena*, bearing upon the subject under discussion. He, with his brethren, did not hold that the power and authority of an apostle were transmitted to his successor, and he held that a presbyter was as much a successor of an apostle as a bishop was; this is certain if, as he maintains, in the apostolic age presbyters were the same as bishops. But he also affirms that the clergy (of course including presbyters, as is plain from the context) are successors to the apostolic degree. (29. 1.) Again he says, ‘If we (himself and other presbyters) are in the place of apostles.’ (29. 46, 73.)

222. We learn from the writings of Jerome, as well as the other Fathers (especially Ambrose, 30. 14), the grievous corruption of the clergy and bishops. Alas! freedom from persecution and the patronage of the civil authorities sadly altered the character

of many of those who bore the name of Christian. Jerome was one of the faithful few, who bore testimony against these corruptions. He confesses the great change that had taken place in his own outward circumstances (29.2), and he applied to himself what he levelled at others, to render the truth he spoke less personal to them. 'The clergy,' he says—

'Who ought to instruct and awe the women with a grave and composed behaviour, first kiss their heads, and then, stretching out their hand as it were to bestow a blessing, slyly receive a fee for their salutation. The women, in the meantime, elated with pride in seeing themselves thus courted by the clergy, prefer the freedom of widowhood to the subjection attending the state of matrimony. Some of the clergy make it the whole business and employment of their lives to learn the names of the ladies, to find out their habitation, to study their humour. One of these, an adept in the art, riseth with the sun, setteth the order of his visits, acquainteth himself with the shortest ways, and almost breaketh into the rooms of the women before they are awake. If he seeth any curious piece of household furniture, he extolleth, admireth, and handleth it; and sighing, that he too should stand in need of such trifles, in the end, rather extorteth it by force than obtaineth it by good will, the ladies being afraid to disoblige the prating old fellow, that is always running about from house to house.'—*Ad Eustochium, de Custodia Virginitatis*, tom. i. p. 139.

Jerome described the clergy of Rome as 'the senate of Pharisees,' and Rome itself as 'the scarlet whore.'—*In præf. version. Dyd. de Spir. Sanct.* tom. ix. p. 397.

223. The heathen Marcellinus, after informing us that Damasus and Ursicinus aspired, with equal ambition, to the episcopal chair, adds:—

'I must own that, when I reflect on the pomp attending that dignity, I do not at all wonder that those who are fond of show and parade should scold, quarrel, fight, and strain every nerve to attain it; since they are sure, if they succeed to be enriched with the offerings of the ladies, to appear no more abroad on foot, but in stately chariots, and gorgeously attired; to keep costly and sumptuous tables; nay, and to surpass the emperors themselves in the splendour and magnificence of their entertainments. But how happy would they be if, despising the grandeur of the city, which they allege to excuse their luxury, they followed the examples of some bishops in the provinces, who by the temperance and frugality of their diet, the poverty and plainness of their dress, the modesty of their looks fixed on the ground, the purity of their lives, and the regularity of their whole conduct, approve themselves to the eternal God and all his true worshippers.'—*Ammian*, l. 27, pp. 337, 338.

From evidence of this kind, the reader will account for the frequent incidental allusion throughout the first part of the *Catena Patrum* to the corruption and wickedness of the clergy and bishops, and will not necessarily conclude that Jerome was out of temper when he wrote and protested against such abuses of the ministerial office, but rather commend him for his faithfulness. He reminded bishops that they were priests, not lords; he taught that bishops should honour the clergy as the clergy; that the service in the Church should be such as it was in the temple; and that, in conducting it, the distinction between the bishop and the presbyter should not be greater than it was between Aaron and his sons. (29. 4, 5.) He shows, too, that bishops had widely departed from the apostolic model in the way in which they treated their fellow-presbyters. (29. 5, 65.) He thought it just possible, in his day, to find some bishops in whom were found the marks of the apostolate; but he evidently thought such were few and far between. He also declares that all those who have a false faith have all false things, orders, no doubt, among the rest. They might have the outward office, but they were really cut off from all communion with God. He says, 'Such an one is not to be called an apostle, nor a prophet, nor an evangelist, nor a pastor, nor a teacher.' (29. 67.) Jerome, moreover, hinted that many bishops in his day acted very much after the manner in which Simon Magus wished to act, disposing of the clerical office for bribes and other motives than those which ought to be paramount in the mind of a bishop. (29. 74.)

224. The authority which these Anglicans suppose to have passed from the apostles to the bishops exclusively, Jerome finds only in the writings of the apostles, and so teaches on this point as to make it certain that the authority of an apostle never passed to any successor. When heresy overspread the Church, and the faith was generally denied, to whom did Jerome direct the faithful few? Not to any living men, but to the lively oracles of God. (See 29. 47, 48.) The Bishop of Oxford and Dr. Wordsworth so confound the authority of the Church (that is, of bishops as successors of the apostles) with that of Holy Scripture that the two appear to be inseparably connected.

So did not that most able and learned presbyter Jerome. No writings of bishops, or churches, or councils, or any writings or opinions of any men, however eloquent or learned, have authority, but only the writings of the apostles, and other inspired men. (29. 52-54.) 'That which has no authority from Scripture is as easily rejected as approved.' (29. 61.)

225. Jerome did not believe that the authority claimed by bishops in his day was wrong; he considered it schismatical to call it in question. He, however, urged the importance of bishops making a becoming use of their power, and referred to Moses as an example:—

'Who, when he alone had power to preside over the people Israel, chose seventy, with the assistance of whom he might judge the people.' (29. 78.)

Damasus, Bishop of Rome, possessed enormous episcopal power, and in various parts of the world conferred on certain bishops the title of his vicars, enabling them to perform several things which it was supposed they could not perform in virtue of their own power. To this it would seem Jerome had no objection, for he was an admirer and defender of Damasus. At this very time, both at Rome and other places, the various ranks of the higher order of clergy were the same as those of a diocese of the Church of England. Hence he says, 'Every church hath her own bishop, her own archpresbyter, her own archdeacon;' and if the reader will consult the context, as given in 29. 6, he will find that Jerome argued for this diversity of grades in the Church on the ground of expediency, and the natural order of things, the counterpart of which is found in the writings of Archdeacon Paley on clerical orders. The archpresbyter would correspond to our dean; and the archdeacon in these times was not in the order of presbyters, but simply of the order of deacons. The same person was sometimes called *primicerius*, and, probably, Augustine alluded to this officer when he said, 'It is base to call a *primicerius* a judge.' (33. 21.)

226. We come now to consider a few extracts taken from writings ascribed to Jerome, but of which the authors are not known. The most important of these is a treatise on the seven

orders. The more rational part of it contains sentiments on the bishop and presbyter in exact accordance with those of Jerome, but other parts of it contain sentiments respecting the position of a bishop identical to those ascribed to Ignatius. The sentiments agreeing with Jerome are such as the following :—

‘Solely on account of the authority of the chief priest was the ordination of the clergy reserved to him, &c. lest the discipline of the Church being claimed by the many, it might disturb the peace of the priests, and generate scandals. For this cause also the election of a bishop has latterly been referred to the metropolitan, and since the chief power is given to him, this faculty is taken from others, and now the chief priests begin to endure another priest, not of right, but of necessity.’ (29. 34, 35.)

‘From the beginning, as we read, presbyters were enjoined to be judges in the affairs, and were present in the council of priests, since presbyters themselves were called by the name of bishops, according as it is written, &c.’ (29. 37.)

Here the same texts are quoted for the same purpose for which Jerome quoted them, and the author concludes as follows :—‘You understand, therefore, that in the presbyter is placed the highest point of the priesthood.’ (29. 37.) After stating that the Lord himself ordained persons severally to the seven orders, he enumerates them, but places bishops and presbyters as one order. He then makes statements about the bishop, and the place he holds, identical with those ascribed to Ignatius :—

‘And so it is that you may recognise the Lord in the bishops, the apostles in the presbyters, who also are apostles themselves. Again, ‘So in the grave-diggers the spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets; the teachers in the doorkeepers, the prophets in the readers, the angels in the subdeacons, the archangels in the deacons, *the apostles in the presbyters, God in the bishops.*’ (29. 38–40.)

It is plain that the author of this ancient treatise on the seven orders distinguished between what was of Divine and human origin in regard to the orders of the Church. So far as he agrees with Jerome, he supports his teaching by Holy Scripture. When he appears to agree with the opinions ascribed to Ignatius, we are favoured with no such evidence. According to this treatise, then, presbyters have the place of the apostles. With Jerome, he maintains that the superiority of a bishop over a

presbyter is of human origin. But, with Ignatius, he assigns to the bishop the place of the Lord and of God. Both this treatise and the opinions ascribed to Ignatius must have been of an early date, seeing that the original honour of the presbyter is retained for him as a successor of the apostles.

227. Some unknown author on the epistles of St. Paul expressed similar sentiments to those of Jerome. That may account for these commentaries having been ascribed to him. We are taught that *priests* not only hold their own place but also, in a certain sense, that of the apostles (29. 83), and that there is no, or but little, difference between a bishop and a presbyter. (29. 84.)

AMBROSE.

228. We have now to examine the testimony of Ambrose, who, though a voluminous writer, has scarcely uttered a syllable that can be of any service either to papists or their imitators—these Anglicans. He is a witness rarely called upon, as his teaching on the points under discussion in no respect squares with either party. It would seem as if those who lived a hundred years ago, and previously, considered him as regarding no specific orders of Divine appointment, from the circumstance that they have ascribed to him the writings of an author who maintained these views; the writings, namely, of Hilary the Deacon, which are usually published with those of Ambrose, and pass under his name.

229. Ambrose emphatically disclaims for himself and others his being, in any proper sense, a successor to the prerogatives of an apostle. For he says, ‘Who had this honour of the apostles but those whom the Son of God himself chose?’ (30. 8.) But Ambrose disclaims for himself, as a spiritual minister in the Church, every degree except the lowest. It is true he was consecrated a bishop, and equally true that he speaks of episcopal grace, but from his manner of doing so, he would appear to regard it as a sort of outward honour. Of this, however, we may be certain that had he possessed this Anglican notion respecting a bishop’s succeeding to the power and

authority of an apostle, or being a 'regent in the place of Christ,' his own position as a high civil functionary under the emperor would have abundantly qualified him to appreciate anything he might have obtained by succession. Had this Anglican notion pervaded his brain, namely, that he, by transmission from his ordainer or bishop, had received an apostolical commission, the one which the apostles themselves had received, he could not have thus spoken. It would not have been false modesty merely, but positive wickedness, inasmuch as it would have been bringing contempt on so holy an office thus, in effect, to ignore it. But this good and humble man, looking at what St. Paul had taught respecting the prerequisites of a bishop (1 Tim. iii. 1-11), and considering very properly that these should be possessed before ordination, as that rite could not confer them, seemed to deplore their loss, and to regret, to use his own words, that he was 'snatched from benches of justice, and robes of government, into the priesthood,' so that he had to begin to teach what he himself had not learned. (30. 8.)

230. Ambrose, as we shall see, regarded the Church of the city of Rome as a leading one, and hence he said:—

'I desire in all things to follow the Church of Rome; but, nevertheless, we men have sense also; and, therefore, whatever is more correctly practised elsewhere, we are more correct in practising.' (30. 12.)

How little he could have known of the claims of Rome at the present day when he maintained that 'Paul was not inferior to Peter, . . . since he may also be compared with the first, and was second to none, &c.' (30. 10.) He affirms also that Peter's primacy was indeed in confession, not in honour; the primacy of faith, not in order. (30. 11.) He also affirms that the Church is built on the faith of Peter:—

'Faith, therefore, is the foundation of the Church: for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it.' (30. 11.)

He did not believe that the sheep were committed to the one pretended successor of Peter at Rome, for he says:—

'Feed my sheep; those sheep and that flock the blessed Peter did not then undertake alone, but he also undertook them with us, and all of us undertook them with him.' (30. 13.)

No teaching could be more fatal to the assumptions of the papists than that of Ambrose, another specimen of which will be found in **30. 6**. He had great regard for the Church of Rome, as we have seen, but he must have been in absolute ignorance of both papal and puseyite teaching of modern times. The doctrine of Ambrose on this point is quite in accordance with that of Origen (**10. 3, 4, 6**); the one confirms and illustrates the other.

231. His testimony is most extraordinary respecting the practice in his day of selling the office of a bishop for gold, as also that of a presbyter for the same lucre. But did the vender sell, and the purchaser buy, the apostolic office? Ambrose did not think so. The article so trafficked in, he considered to be not apostolic grace, but leprosy. There is no saving clause in this long extract (**30. 14**) to the effect that no amount of peculation in either seller or buyer could hinder the valid transmission of the apostolic commission in ordination. Do these Anglicans know that councils of some authority, in some things with them, have decreed all those ordinations null and void where any simoniacal contract has been made? Can Dean Hook be quite sure that none of the papal links, by which they hold so fast for the transmission of the apostolical commission, have never been guilty of simoniacal acts in its supposed transfer, or, what is still worse, has it never happened that a candidate for the papal chair has poisoned its occupant, and thus through poison has succeeded to the apostolical commission of his murdered antecessor, at least to that article which the Dean profanely calls by that name?

The promotion of Ambrose to the episcopal office was remarkable from the circumstance that, when the people unanimously elected him to that office, he was not baptised. A short account of the transaction, as given by several authors, will be found in **38. 3**; **39. 33, 34**; **42. 2, 3**. As Ambrose was thus chosen by the people, and, in effect, made bishop by them, he naturally enough calls the people his fathers: 'Ye are my parents, ye who conferred my priesthood; ye, I say, are both sons and parents; sons individually, parents collectively.' (**30. 7**.)

HILARY THE DEACON.

232. This is the place to consider the testimony of Hilary. His writings, until a comparatively recent period, were attributed to Ambrose, and to this day are published with his works, as if they were his. The writings of Hilary have been held in great repute, Roman Catholic authorities not excepted. Sixtus de Sienna writes as follows, 'He has written on all the fourteen epistles of St. Paul: the words, indeed, are short, but weighty in thought.' To which Simon, in his *Critical History of the New Testament*, adds, 'There are few ancient writers on the epistles of St. Paul, and even on the whole New Testament, which can be compared with this.' One or two statements of Hilary have already been considered.

When he informs us that evangelists were deacons (**31. 6**), and, in his own mind, considered this to be the teaching of Scripture, we cannot accept him as one who is mighty in the Scriptures. But, as with the other early authors so also with this, we have rather to do with what he teaches than with its accuracy. If his teaching does not square with these Anglican theories of a bishop, we may be sure he could not have entertained them. He maintains that there was one and the same ordination of a bishop and a presbyter, though he teaches that in a synod of presbyters there was a first presbyter, and that he was called by the name of bishop. (**31. 10.**) He also says, that, in the beginning, one by seniority, or next in order, became the first among equals, but that, subsequently, this was effected by the presbyters appointing one of their number to this post, and so merit, and not order, made a bishop. He also states that, as in the synagogue, so in the Church, there were elders without the counsel of whom there was nothing done, and he deploras that through the pride of the first presbyters, or bishops, so primitive a practice had ceased in his day. The reader must consult the extracts for himself. (**31. 8, 9, 12.**)

233. He instructs us that at the commencement of the Christian Church, 'all were teachers, and all baptised, &c.' (**31. 6.**) Again he says:—

‘That, therefore, the people might increase and be multiplied, in the beginning it was permitted to everyone to preach the gospel, to baptise, and to expound the Scriptures in the Church, &c.’ (31. 7.)

He also states that the ordination in the Church of his day was different to that in the time of the apostles, and gives his reasons for thinking so. (31. 8, 9.) In another part of his writings, after the manner of Chrysostom, he appears to interpret the Scriptures in the light of the general practice of his day. (31. 1–3.) From this author we have not a syllable respecting this Anglican mode of succession, but the ordination, which is said to confer it, as of Divine appointment, is absolutely ignored.

RUFFINUS.

234. Ruffinus, next to Jerome, was the most learned biblical scholar of his age. We have already anticipated part of his testimony, and part must be reserved for another chapter. The edition, from which the extracts have been taken, consists of two folio volumes, containing upwards of 600 pages, and whatever could be found in any way relating to the subject of this book has been fairly selected. From the manner in which Ruffinus has spoken of the Christian ministry, and the freedom he has used in the application of texts to their orders and office, it is plain that he knew nothing of the private opinions of these Anglicans of the nineteenth century; or how could he have ignored what was essential to the being of a church, and the validity of the sacraments?

We can obtain no proof from Ruffinus that any succeeded to the office of an apostle. He so describes them as to make it plain that, in his mind, they were not in any proper sense succeeded either by bishops or presbyters. He speaks of them as ‘continuing mountains,’ and he regarded them as being so, not in the persons of any who came after them, but in their writings. His doctrine on this point was the same as that of Gregory the Great, and the early Fathers generally. (32. 1.) He also represents the rulers of the Church, so as to make no essential difference between a bishop and a presbyter. (32. 4.) He divides the whole Church into rulers and ruled, those who were

placed under, and those who were placed over, including presbyters, of course.

AUGUSTINE.

235. We come now to consider those parts of Augustine's testimony relating to the subject of this book which have not been already anticipated. Of all the bishops of the age in which Augustine lived, he, on the authority of Jerome, a very competent judge, was the most illustrious. Jerome, writing to him, says:—

'Thou, as the most noted bishop of the whole world, oughtest to promulgate thy opinion, and draw all thy fellow-bishops to thy assent.'—*Epi.* xi. tom. ii. f. 10.

Subsequent ages have concurred with Jerome. The compilers of the Roman Catholic Breviary have quoted much more from him than any other Father; and it is almost needless to remark that he was esteemed the greatest patristic authority by all the reformers. And how much we are indebted to the writings of Augustine for throwing off the papal supremacy, and re-establishing the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, in matters of faith and practice, God only knows. It is surpassing strange how this most noted bishop of the fourth century, so considered in the age in which he lived, and at the present day, should have been absolutely ignorant of the assumptions of these Anglicans, if their doctrine was indeed then known. The acts of Augustine as a bishop, and those of his fellow-bishops of the fourth century, in contradistinction to those of presbyters, were distinct and well defined, and by them, in point of fact, they were more above presbyters than presbyters were above deacons. This is indisputable. The question is, whether those bishops were Divinely appointed, exclusively to perform those acts, and whether Augustine so teaches. And, what is still more important, whether he taught that the power and authority of bishops, as then exercised, had come from God the Father to Christ the Son, and from Christ the Son to the apostles, and from them, by ordination, to bishops, and from these to others in unbroken continuity, and that such a transmission was essential to the existence of the Christian ministry, the being of a church, and the validity

of the sacrament. This is the doctrine which is taught in Dean Hook's *Church Dictionary*, and, what is to be lamented, it is imbibed by a considerable number of the clergy. We shall find that Augustine knew of no such doctrine; in fact, it has been very openly affirmed, and pretty generally admitted, that he is heretical on these points. We shall, then, consider his so-called heresy, candidly admitting that, if these Anglicans teach the truth on the subject under discussion, he must have been heretical in the extreme.

236. Now, that there was as great a difference between Augustine as a bishop and Jerome as a presbyter as the most rabid Anglican could desire is a fact. Augustine modestly claimed this, and Jerome cheerfully conceded it. But to what was the difference attributed? Was it that a bishop was a successor of an apostle, and that a presbyter was not? No such thing. Augustine, like his more learned friend and fellow-presbyter Jerome, assigns the distinction, as it then existed, to the custom of the Church:—

‘For although according to the titles of honour which the custom of the Church hath now obtained the episcopate is greater than the presbyterate.’ (33. 5.)

Augustine speaks of bishops being successors of the apostles, but in no other sense than that presbyters are. And the reader must not understand the term successor in the Tractarian sense, namely, to the prerogative of an apostle, wherein an apostle differed from a bishop or presbyter of the apostolic age, but simply in a chronological sense, that presbyters, or bishops, making no distinction between them, come next after the apostles.

Augustine represents his own presbyters as successors of the apostles, and vicars of God and of the Lord: ‘Ye are the successors of the apostles.’ ‘Ye are in His (God’s) place, or are His vicars, because ye act in His stead.’ Again he speaks of the chief government of the Church of Hippo, but with himself he also includes his presbyters, and he further represents himself and fellow-presbyters as vicars, or in the place of the Lord. (33. 83, 84.)

237. Augustine has used the terms succession, successor, and the like, more than some of the Fathers, and from the various

connections in which the terms occur, as used by him, we have the most ample means of getting at his meaning in the use of them. This, then, is the place to consider what he, and the other Fathers, meant by such phraseology. It is of the more importance to consider this nomenclature because it is that in which these Anglicans so much delight, and of which they make large capital in the defence and propagation of their heresy. Hence these terms are pronounced with great emphasis, and printed with marked characters, which make a sound in their discourses, a show in their writings, but which show does not contain their meaning, which sound does not convey their perverted sense. A selection of this nomenclature, as used by Augustine, will be given:—

‘That narrative is not Matthew’s which the Universal Church brought down by undoubted *succession* from the seats of the apostles, even to the present bishops.’ (33. 27.) ‘As, therefore, I believe that that book was of Manichæus, since from that time he lived in the flesh, it has been kept and brought down through his disciples by an undoubted *succession* of your presidents, even to your time.’ (33. 28.) ‘If, then, thou hast submitted to an authority utterly unknown and frenzied, so as to believe a thousand fabulous phantoms, because they are written in those books which, by a miserable error, thou hast judged right to believe in, why not rather submit to the evangelical authority, so founded, so established, so gloriously spread abroad, and commended to us by most undoubted *successions* (*successiones certissimas*) from the apostles’ times to our own?’—*Contra Faustum Manichæum*, lib. xxxii. cap. 19, tom. vi. f. 101. ‘So Judas doth represent those Jews who were enemies of Christ, who both then hated Christ, and now, through *succession*, this species of wickedness continuing to hate him.’ (33. 54.)

For the context of this, and the other extracts, the reader must see the *Catena*, to which references have been made.

Let it be especially noticed how Augustine applies the term *undoubted succession* to the Manichean rulers, as he does to the priests and bishops of the Catholic Church; and that, as St. Peter represented good men in the Church who should come down from him *by succession*, so Judas represented bad men who should come down from him *by succession*. As St. Peter represented one class so, according to the teaching of Augustine, Judas represented the other. Now, what is meant by the phrase *undoubted succession* in the Manichean rulers is assuredly

meant by it in the bishops of the Catholic Church. Dean Hook has explained what he means, and what is the meaning of his party, by 'undoubted,' or, as he terms it, 'uninterrupted succession.' Let his exposition of succession be applied to the Manichean rulers, and the reader, it is thought, will find the Dean's exposition itself expounded.

238. Augustine speaks of the undoubted succession of these heretics as he does of the Christian rulers. Will the Dean's exposition of succession do as applied in this case? Certainly not, for they were a set of most wretched heretics, or fanatics. Augustine himself informs us that they held that 'the Paraclete (Comforter) was accomplished in their Arch-Manichæus by the Holy Ghost.'—*De Hæres.* cap. 46, tom. vi. f. 5. Augustine has applied the same language to the true ministers of Christ, but if, in this connection, such language could admit of the Dean's interpretation, it is utterly unaccountable that Augustine should apply the same language to the followers of Manichæus. It would have been just as incongruous as if Dean Hook, in his *Church Dictionary*, in describing Mormon teachers, had represented them as an 'uninterrupted succession' of presidents from Smith. It would have just suited the Mormons, for they pretend to have a succession after this carnal fashion. The fact is that the Dean has imported a meaning into the term succession altogether foreign to its use in the Fathers, or as held even by the authorised teaching of the Romish Church so called. All that Augustine meant by undoubted succession was that a string or line of persons, coming one after the other, in chronological order, had descended from the apostles to his time, from Manichæus to the same time, and that also from the time of Judas to the same period there were those that had come down from him *by succession*. In none of these cases of succession, selected from Augustine, must the reader conceive of there being any transfer, or communication, of anything whatever from one person to another. If Augustine had held any such notion, it would follow, from what he has stated, that, if the successors of St. Peter derived from him, by transmission, the commission given to him by Christ, so the successors of Judas, coming down 'by succession,' have from him that which was put in his heart by

Satan. That Judas, in some sense, had successors was believed by some of the reformers. (See **58. 9**; **69. 10, 11.**) The only consistent interpretation of the term succession, as used by Augustine, is this, that whatever Peter had that was to be perpetuated would not be transmitted by St. Peter, but his successor would derive what he had from the same original source that St. Peter did. This is, as we shall see, what Rome teaches. So those who came after Judas would not receive from him the wickedness which had been put into his heart, but, being wickedly disposed, Satan would do for them what he had done for their predecessor Judas. This notion of a transmitted influence, in succession from person to person, is a modern notion, not three hundred years old, but, notwithstanding, is a piece of antiquity, though very young, in which these Anglicans greatly rejoice; and none more so than Dean Hook, as is plain from half-a-dozen places in his *Church Dictionary*.

239. Dr. Wordsworth, however, adduces Augustine's commentary on the following text, 'Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth' (Ps. xlv. 16), in proof that he believed that bishops are successors of the twelve apostles in this Anglican sense (sect. 5 of this chap.), and he also refers to the writings of Bishop Andrewes for statements to the same effect, but this good man also adduces the comment of Jerome on the text in question for the same purpose. (Chap. II. 14.)

The early Fathers have very generally considered this text as a prediction relating to the twelve apostles. The consensus of antiquity in regard to its interpretation and application has been given in the *Catena*, a summary of which will now be adduced, from which it may be seen how unacquainted these ancient authors were with these Anglican views of succession. Had they held them in any degree, nothing could be more natural than that some one or more of them, in applying the text in question to the apostles, and, in a secondary sense, to the rulers of the churches, and the saints generally, should have given us some hint of it. It is of no importance to our present enquiry whether the Fathers interpreted the Scriptures correctly or incorrectly, our sole object at present being to ascertain what

their opinions were. Did they, or did they not, hold the opinions common to these Anglicans respecting bishops succeeding to the apostleship of the twelve by a personal transfer of it from the apostles to bishops, these bishops transferring it again to other bishops, so that, in the belief of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, bishops, and bishops only, were successors of the twelve, and successors in that sense? If these early Fathers did entertain any such notion, we ought most certainly to meet with it in their comments and applications of the text in question. We shall examine the testimony of the Fathers on this point in chronological order, beginning with Basil the Great, who says:—

‘Who are therefore sons of the Church? Those truly who are sons of the Gospel, who govern the whole earth. He says, “Their sound is gone out in all the earth;” and being constituted on twelve thrones, they shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. But if anyone takes the Fathers of the bride to be patriarchs, not so indeed as to reject this opinion respecting the apostles, &c.’ (23. 1.)

The first application of the text must remain, and a secondary application, admitted out of regard to others, is, ‘That the rulers, indeed, of the whole earth are the saints.’

This great man provides no successors for the apostles, unless the saints be those successors.

Our next witness is Jerome, who states:—

‘Oh Church! apostles have been thy Fathers, because they begat thee. But now, since they have departed from the world, thou hast in their stead sons, bishops, which have been created by thee. For these also are thy Fathers, because by them thou art ruled. Christ appointed His saints over all peoples. For in the name of God the Gospel is extended to all the ends of the earth, in which are princes of the Church, that is, bishops have been constituted.’ (29. 50.)

According to this account, the pedigree claimed by these Anglicans for bishops is surreptitious and false, there being made a gross omission of one in the line of succession, namely, the Church, which entirely changes the character of the whole thing. Here we are taught by this learned Father that the apostles begat the Church, and that the Church created bishops. This interpretation exactly accords with the teaching of the early Church, namely, that the Church—the congregation of the

faithful, after the apostles—is the original seat of all power, as our own Hooker maintains.

240. The learned Ruffinus bears a similar testimony. He states:—

‘The apostles begat thee, they were sent, they have preached, they are the Fathers, they have been received into glory, and in their place sons have been born, have been appointed bishops. Do not think that thou art abandoned because thou seest not Paul, seest not those through whom thou wert born. Out of thine own offspring, has a body of Fathers been raised up to thee. Sons have been born to thee for thy use. “Princes,” that is, “masters and teachers.”’—Eph. iv.11. (32. 7.)

Ruffinus here makes a similar application of the text to that made by Jerome, but explains what he understands by princes in its relation to his times, namely, that it denoted ‘masters and teachers’ of the Church. It is certain he did not consider the apostolic office to be perpetuated in his time by any class of rulers in the Church; if he did, why did he pass over the first part, and quote the latter of the following text? ‘And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some masters and teachers.’ (Eph. iv. 11.) By ‘masters and teachers,’ for so it stands in the Latin version of his day, he included both bishops and presbyters, who, he maintains, had been created by the Church.

241. Augustine is our next witness. He states:—

‘It was the apostles begat thee; they were sent, they were the preachers; they are the “Fathers.” Is the Church, then, left desolate by their departure? God forbid. . . . The apostles were sent to thee as fathers; instead of the apostles sons have been born to thee, there have been appointed bishops. For in the present day, whence do the bishops throughout all the world derive their origin? The Church itself calls them Fathers; the Church itself brought them forth, and placed them on the seats of the Fathers. Think not thyself abandoned, then, because thou seest not Peter, nor seest Paul; seest not those through whom thou wert born? Out of thine own offspring has a body of Fathers been raised up to thee.’ (33. 49.)

It is plain that Augustine has borrowed from his elder and more learned brethren, Jerome and Ruffinus, especially the latter. Both Ruffinus and Augustine speak of the apostles as being Fathers in their time. It is true both of them considered the rulers of the churches in their day as a body of Fathers, but

of another order and origin than the apostles. They both speak of the apostles in an emphatic manner as being sent, of which their title apostle was indicative; they do not speak of the bishops of their day in that style, and although Augustine says the Church calls them Fathers, yet it is plain they were not so called in the same sense as the apostles were. He represents apostles as being Divinely sent, and he speaks of them as having begotten the Church; but he states that the Church begat the bishops, and placed them on the seats of the apostles. He, as we have seen, considered the Church to be the successor of the apostles, and of Peter in particular (see sect. 128 of this chap.); so that, according to the teaching of Augustine, the human medium through which bishops obtain their power as rulers of the Church is the congregation of the faithful, who, according to the early Fathers, inherently possess all power.

242. Chrysostom, on the text under consideration, expatiates very eloquently, but every word is against these Anglicans. He states:—

‘The apostles traversed the whole world, became rulers more lordly than all rulers, than kings more mighty. For kings, indeed, exercise power whilst they live, but when they die their power lapses; but these, when dead, rule the more. The laws of kings have force within their own dominions, but the ordinances of the fishermen have been extended everywhere through the habitable earth. The emperor of the Romans cannot legislate for the Persians, nor can the king of the Persians for the Romans; but these men of Palestine have imposed their laws alike on Romans and Persians, Thrasians and Scythians, Indians and Moors. Nay, all over the world, not only while living have they thus been powerful but also since they are dead; and of those by whom these laws have been received there is not one who would not a thousand times rather lose his life than revolt against them.’ (34. 17, 18.)

Chrysostom, like his Greek brother, Basil, does not so much as allude to the apostles as having successors in any sense. The apostles retain their office as rulers, and rule all the more since their death, and, in the sense in which they were rulers, could have no successors.

Cyril, of Alexandria, another Greek bishop, has quoted and applied the text in various parts of his writings, but he makes no allusion to any but the twelve apostles. He states:—

‘We say that the walls of Zion signify the Holy Apostles and Evange-

lists, that they are placed in this position by God, and approved by his sanction, which never ceases or fails. For their names are written in heaven, and they are placed in the book of the living . . . of whom David, that Divine man, makes beautiful mention, singing to Christ, the Saviour of all: "Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth, and they shall make mention of thy name for ever and ever." (37. 17.)

For two other instances where he cites and applies the text, see 37. 4, 14.

Verily, this Greek archbishop of the fifth century never conceived of the apostles as having any successors in this Anglican sense.

Theodoret, a fourth Greek bishop in this list, represents the apostles as being governors still. He states:—

'The Divine apostles—regarding the Fathers as the patriarchs—being constituted as prefects and generals by Christ the King after their death, governed both land and sea.' (39. 5.)

In the same connection, he also speaks of sons coming after the apostles, and ruling the Church; but, from the fact of his representing the apostles as ruling after their death, in that sense in which they were rulers, they could have no successors.

Eucherius, Arnobius, and Andreas so apply the text as to show they never conceived the twelve apostles as having any after them who inherited their power. (43. 45. 47. 3, 5.)

We have impartially given the whole testimony—at least as much as we could find—of the Fathers of the first five centuries, in relation to the interpretation and application of this text, and, to our mind, it is singularly fatal to the extravagant assumptions of these Anglicans.

243. Dr. Wordsworth's mode of succession is altogether different from that known to Augustine. The Doctor's theory is that 'ministers derive their commission by succession from the apostles, and this series was never interrupted; no, never.' It must, then, have come down through some monsters in human form. But he provides for its safe conduct through all these:—

'And this commission was not invalidated by the errors of those through whose hands it passed, so that the continuity of the apostolic succession could thus have received any interruption.'

And he introduced Augustine, innocent Augustine, on the shoulders of Bishop Andrewes, to help him. Thus:—

'Semblably is it with these; they that by the word, the sacraments,

the keys, are unto other the conduits of grace, to make them fructify in all good works, may well so be, though themselves remain unfruitful, as do the pipes of wood or lead that, by transmitting the water, make the garden bear both herbs and flowers, though themselves never bear any. *St. Aug. Tract. V. in St. Joann.*—Theoph. Ang. pp. 211, 212:

If the reader will refer to **33. 57, 58**, he will notice that the remarks of Augustine refer exclusively to the administration of baptism, and that there is no reference to ordination, much less to this Anglican notion of succession, of which he was absolutely ignorant. It is true, however, that Augustine, and Jerome, and other Fathers, regarded the rite of ordination as a sacrament; and although the privileges and honours of the condition which each of these rites represented might be forfeited by heresy or immorality, yet, on the restoration of the parties, on no account was either of these rites to be repeated. (See **91. 23.**) The rite of baptism, and the condition or state into which the baptised are initiated, are both of God's appointment, and in respect to which the administrator of the rite can neither give nor withhold anything of essential importance. He is little more than the mouth-piece on the occasion, and Augustine appears so to teach in the tract to which Dr. Wordsworth refers us. (**33. 57, 58.**) Did Augustine hold anything different in regard to the rite of ordination? We have not a particle of proof that he did, and these Anglicans have not given any. Let us suppose, then, for the sake of argument, what is no doubt the truth, that Augustine considered the rite of ordination, and the office to which the person ordained was designated, as being of God; and that, as in the rite of baptism so in ordination, the ordainer is little more than a mouth-piece on the occasion, and that, whatever power, grace, authority, or rights, the person so ordained obtains, these are not from the ordainer, but from the office, which is of God's appointment. But, according to this Anglican theory of ordination, the person ordained must receive from the ordainer a commission which he himself holds, to use the language and thought of Dr. Wordsworth:—

'Christ sent His apostles as His Father had sent Him. He gave them the Holy Ghost as His Father had given to Him; and commissioned them to execute the same apostolic, episcopal, and pastoral office, in their own persons, and in that of their successors.'—Ch. II. 11.

According to this teaching, then, a bishop of our Church, when he ordains another bishop, gives to the person he ordains the Holy Ghost, as God the Father gave to Christ his Son, and commissions him to execute the same apostolic, episcopal, and pastoral office which Christ did, in his own person; and that the Holy Ghost thus supposed to be given and the commission thus transferred have come down through a line of men, without any interruption, from the time when Christ said to his holy apostles, ‘Receive ye the Holy Ghost’ (John xx. 21–23). In regard to the administration of baptism, Augustine says:—

‘For those whom John baptised were baptised by John, but those whom Judas baptised were baptised by Christ. In like manner, therefore, they whom a drunkard hath baptised, or a homicide, or an adulterer, if the baptism was Christ’s, it was Christ baptised them. I do not fear an adulterer, nor a drunkard, nor a murderer, for I hearken to the Dove, through whom it is said to me, “This is He which baptiseth.”’ (33. 58.)

It is manifest from these words that Augustine considered the baptiser as of very secondary importance in the sacrament. But could he thus have conceived of an ordainer in the same light if he had entertained this Anglican notion of succession, viz. that the power, the grace, the authority, came to the ordained, not by virtue of the office to which he was instituted, and which was of God’s appointment, but mediately through the ordainer and through his ordainer up to the time that Christ said, ‘Receive ye the Holy Ghost,’ it cannot be supposed that he would. There is not the remotest evidence that Augustine held any such notion of succession, and it is an injury to the character of this great man, and deceptive to ‘the young student,’ that Dr. Wordsworth should have referred to this fifth tract of his as though he did, and thus make it appear as if Augustine himself held that all these wonderful things, believed by these Anglicans, should have come down unimpaired through all the vile characters they are supposed to have done.

244. One word respecting the doctrine of intention in regard to this point. Could this Anglican kind of commission be transferred by an archbishop who did not believe that he held it, and openly repudiated this Anglican doctrine respecting it? And could a candidate for episcopal consecration receive the

commission in question from such an archbishop while he himself held precisely the same opinions as his consecrator did? The one repudiating the intention of transferring such a commission, and the other repudiating the intention of receiving it; is the transfer of such a grace, supposing there is any reality in it, under such circumstances safe and sure? Here is an interesting question for an acute Anglo-catholic.

245. These Anglicans most distinctly claim to be a branch of that stump which bears the Romish system of superstition and falsehood, or, to vary the imagery, a daughter of that old gaudily attired lady so graphically described by our reformers and martyrs; and they are compelled to imitate the old lady in holding a doctrine of apostolical succession something like hers, but they do not hold such a succession as their affinities and chosen foundation would seem to intimate. If they did, they would have to go to Rome, where their more consistent brethren have already gone. By a favourite expression they define their position to be '*via media*,' that is, *mid way*, between Lambeth and the Vatican, Canterbury and Rome. The fact is, they want to be at Rome without leaving Canterbury. The golden cords that bind some of them to the latter place are five thousand five hundred fold strong, as well as other ties equally binding on the less ethereal part of human nature. To adopt, then, the Romish theory of apostolical succession would be to make their present position an open disgrace to their consciences. So they have adopted the '*via media*,' or *via sua*, theory of succession, by which the more substantial part of their nature can be at Canterbury and their souls at Rome.

246. Both Romanists and these Anglicans maintain that the apostleship is perpetuated in the Catholic Church, and there is no great difference between them as to the nature of the apostleship thus perpetuated. But as to the *mode* of its perpetuation there is an essential difference of opinion. These Anglicans, as we have seen, maintain that it is handed on from one person to another, and that this has been the mode of transmission since Christ first conferred it on the apostles. The Romanist maintains that it is not conferred by man at all, that bishops are not even instrumental in its transfer.

The Romish claimant to the apostleship professes to receive it from Christ only, and that he cannot be supposed to receive it from man, for this plain reason that no man among the Romanists even professes to confer it. Thus, a Romanist authority says:—

‘Christ in person bestowed supreme authority on St. Peter, whilst his successors receive the same power from Christ also, but yet by means of a lawful election to the see of Rome. . . . The Roman pontiff succeeds, therefore, to the apostles, both in episcopacy and apostleship; in episcopacy because he is invested with the episcopal character, which descends from the apostles by successive imposition of hands; in apostleship because he possesses jurisdiction over the whole world, and over all Christians, not by concession from any mortal, but by office, as occupying St. Peter’s chair.’—*Apostolic Succession explained, by a Priest of the Order of Charity*, pp. 31, 32.

Nicolas de Lyra, a Roman Catholic commentator, teaches the same thing. He says:—

‘Some say that the high-priest was consecrated by inferior priests, as the pope is consecrated by those inferior to himself.’—*In Lev. cap. viii. tom. i. col. 984.*

We learn the same thing from the writings of Bishop Jewel, where he says:—

‘For that you tell us so many fair tales of Peter’s succession, we demand of you wherein the pope succeedeth Peter; you answer, “he succeedeth him in his chair.”’

When the chair was vacant no one had the apostleship supposed to belong to it, but the person promoted to it is considered to receive the apostleship by virtue of the office. To this succession, as to *mode*, there can be no objection; and Bishop Jewel does not offer any. Provided there are the required qualifications for the office otherwise, one bishop may succeed another, as Manasses succeeded David. (73. 30.)

247. In this case the promoters to the chair of Peter do not even profess to confer the apostleship. And here we have an apt illustration of the way in which men are, or may be, promoted to the ministry, not only as respects the highest order, but any order. Those who are true ministers of the Church of Christ are ordained of Him, and in the strictest sense are His ministers. He appoints them to every part of their work, and

requires a faithful performance of it. Whatever human mode is used in ordaining such ministers, the offices to be executed by them are settled by the law of Christ, and their right and authority to execute them are not derived from those who promote or ordain them, but from Christ's law. The ordainers are not creators, or efficient causes of anything in the whole affair. They are but instruments conferring a mere human right; thus we are told that the pope is elected to the see of Rome, while the same authority informs us that the supposed apostleship is 'not by concession from any mortal, but by office as occupying St. Peter's chair.' If this unobjectionable mode of promotion will do for the highest order among the Romanists, why will it not do for any of their orders? Anyhow, the Romanist branch of what is miscalled the Catholic Church differs very materially upon this point from this Anglican twig, which pretends to be of the same stock; so much so that the mother branch will not acknowledge the daughter. The daughter, however, piteously cries, Mother! and catches at the shadow of a recognition, though accompanied with the anathema of disinheritance, unless she returns home. This wretched bantling cannot deny its parentage, for this would be to cut off all claim to the patrimony which, according to the most express teaching of Dean Hook and his party, would involve the loss of a Divinely instituted ministry, sacraments, and the very being of a Church, and all the revealed means of salvation.

248. In one of the above extracts it is stated that the Roman pontiff succeeds the apostles in an episcopacy which descends from the apostles by successive imposition of hands. But here, again, Rome teaches that the bishop and priest are of the same order and priesthood by Divine right, and that wherein a bishop differs from a priest it is by the right of the pope. Mr. Palmer, one of these Anglicans, has given the authentic teaching of Rome on this point:—

'In fine, the synod of Trent seems to favour this view, since it does not reckon the episcopate as a *distinct order* from the priesthood. . . . Such, too, seems to have been the sentiment of the bishops of England in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1536, and *The Necessary Doctrine*, 1543, where only *two orders* of bishops, or priests, and

deacons are reckoned of Divine institution. It seems, too, that many of the reformers in the sixteenth century entertained this opinion; and several theologians of our churches in that and the following ages have been cited in favour of it.—*Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. p. 283.

249. The private opinion of these Anglo-catholics on the doctrine of succession has scarcely anything in common with the teaching of Rome. It is true that they boast that some leading Romanists have acknowledged the ordinations of the English Church as valid; but the same authorities represent that Church as heretical and schismatical, and it is only fair to state that the same authorities acknowledge the ordinations of the Calvinists to be valid, which Dean Hook and others of his party deny, showing how great a difference there is between real Romanists and their wretched imitators. In fact, they are a *via media* offspring of two opposing qualities, like their father, Archbishop Laud. But what is most marvellous is that these hybrids should increase, and, instead of becoming less incongruous in the mixture of their natures, should become more so; but it should be borne in mind that we are speaking of what is moral, and not what is physical, and that there is no accounting for the freaks of the human mind when once it becomes unhinged. As good Bishop Hall addressed Laud, their father, so we, in the same words, address his still more degenerate offspring:—

‘I would I knew where to find you; then I could tell how to take a direct aim; whereas now I must rove and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours; the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs; your conscience finds you with both, and neither. I flatter you not; this of yours is the worst of all tempers: heat and cold have their uses; lukewarmness is good for nothing but to trouble the stomach. . . . Resolve one way, and know at last what you do hold, what you should. Cast off either your wings or your teeth; and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. . . . It is dangerous deferring that whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. God cryeth with Jehu, “Who is on my side, who?” Look at last out of your window to Him, and, in a resolute courage, cast down this Jezebel that hath bewitched you.’—Decad. iii. epis. v. *Works*, pp. 324, 325.

250. Another piece of evidence to be adduced from Augustine most fatal to these modern Anglican notions is the fact which he states respecting the Catholic Church of his day, viz. that the ordinations and baptism of heretics and schismatics on their

conforming to the Catholic Church were not to be repeated. According to these Anglicans, without their figment of succession, neither of these ordinances would be valid. Certainly not, according to Dean Hook and the earlier Tractarians. But, from some remarks of the Bishop of Oxford, it would seem as if some of them had changed their faith, somewhat in regard to what is commonly called the baptism of schismatics, which is now accepted by them in such a way as that it is not necessary to repeat it.

From the extract from Augustine's writings as given **33**. 30-33, it is plain that it was not lawful in the Catholic Church to re-ordain the presbyters and bishops coming from the schismatic and heretical party, but, as in baptism so in ordination, the ordinance was not repeated. He, however, regarded both their baptism and ordination of no avail so long as they were not in communion with the Catholic Church, but as held perniciously. It is plain from that extract that Augustine held what he considered heretical and schismatical ordination in the same light as baptism under similar circumstances, and of the latter he says:—

‘ But even though baptism be usurped without necessity, and baptism be given by anyone whatever to whomsoever it may, still that which has been given cannot be described as not given, but may be rightly spoken of as given contrary to rule.’ (**33**. 33.)

251. As these Anglicans have been very bold in their heresy, and most outrageous in their assumptions in its defence, it would seem to be necessary to confirm this teaching of Augustine, as that of the Catholic Church of the fourth century, lest even sound churchmen, but not well informed on these points, should be startled with his teaching. Of all the authorities that could be quoted on matters of this nature, the learned Bingham is the most competent, and one to whom these Anglicans ought not to object, for their preceptors, the Tractarians, have dragged him into their *Catena Patrum* in the defence of their doctrine of apostolical succession.

It will not be necessary here to do more than refer the reader to the extracts from Bingham as given **91**. in sects. 16-25, but especially sects. 16 and 23. This evidence from Bingham

having been consulted, the reader can be in no doubt as to his view of the practice of the Catholic Church. It is plain that this modern Anglican succession had no place there, or she could not have acted so indiscriminately in receiving the ordination of those who had no pretensions to it.

Bingham, so learned in patristic records, makes it clear that succession, in the Tractarian sense, had no place in his belief. So far from thinking that the English Church had any right to the administration of ordination and the sacrament, by virtue of any supposed succession which she had received from the Romish system of superstition, he shows that she had lost all lawful claim to the same, and could only regain it on her coming back to the faith of the Catholic Church, viz. to the faith of a mere handful of Christians whom the so-called Catholic Church ignored, and he even says:—

‘And though there had been no visible professors of that faith and doctrine entirely pure yet it had been sufficient for the first reformers to have returned to the profession of the faith itself; which, in effect, is returning to the unity of the Holy Catholic Church, the chief and principal part of whose unity is the sincere faith of the creed and Scriptures.’ (91. 17.)

252. Another point in which the teaching of Augustine condemns these Anglicans is their exclusive claim of dispensing Christian ordinances. In this respect they greatly resemble the Donatists, the only difference being that these Anglicans maintain the absolute necessity of the administrator having the benefit of their figment of succession, the Donatists that he should be a holy person. Each party assumed that it had its respective indispensable qualification. A Donatist shall speak for himself, and Augustine shall answer him:—

‘*Petilianus*.—Whosoever receives faith from an unbeliever receives not faith, but guilt. *Augustine*.—But Christ is not an unbeliever from whom I receive faith, and not guilt. *Pet*.—The character of everything depends strictly on its origin and its root, and if it has not something, it is nothing. *Aug*.—My origin is Christ, my root is Christ, my head is Christ. *Pet*.—Nor does anyone regenerate well, except he regenerate with good seed. *Aug*.—The seed by which I am regenerated is the Word of God, which I am admonished obediently to follow, although he through whom I hear it may not himself practise what he teaches, the Lord saying and making me safe, “What they say, do ye; what they

do, do not ye; for they say and do not. *Pet.*—How absurd to suppose that he who is guilty through his own transgression can absolve others from guilt. *Aug.*—He alone makes me free from guilt who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; for I believe not in the minister by whom I am baptised, but in him who justifieth the sinner, so that my faith is accounted unto me for righteousness.—*Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistæ*, lib. i. cap. 7, tom. vii. ff. 16, 17.

If the reader will refer to **33.** 55, 56, he will see how Augustine represents the Donatists as giving salvation in a manner to which the Catholic Church of Augustine's time had no pretensions, and he will also see how he represents the Donatist bishops as saying, 'I baptise, and what I give is holy; if thou receivest from another, thou hast received nothing; if thou receivest from me, thou hast received something.' The claims made by these schismatical Donatists in comparison of those made by the Catholic Church in their day are identical with those made by these Anglicans in comparison of the true Catholic Church in our day. The reader has only to call to mind how these Anglicans represent the ordinances of the Church of Scotland, a reformed sister Church to our own, and for which we are taught to pray as a part of the Catholic Church, according to the directions of the 55th canon; and how they represent other Churches similarly constituted, and he cannot but feel that the remarks of Augustine are as applicable to these Anglicans as they were in his time to the schismatical and exclusive Donatists.

CHRYSOSTOM.

253. Chrysostom is our next authority, and if we could accept the concessions of some of these Anglicans as faithfully representing their brethren, it would not be necessary to dwell long on him. Mr. Palmer says:—

'If we divide the sacred ministry according to its degrees instituted by God, and understand the word "order" in the sense of "degree," we may very truly say that there are three orders of the Christian ministry; but if we distribute it according to its nature, we might say that there are only two orders, namely, bishops, or presbyters, and deacons; for pastors of the first and second degree exercise a ministry *of the same nature*. Both are ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God; both are invested with the care of souls, and the government of the Church, in different degrees; both are sent to teach

and preach the Gospel of Christ, to make disciples by baptism, to celebrate the eucharist, to bless the congregation, to offer prayers and spiritual sacrifices in the presence of all the people, even to seal with the Holy Spirit in confirmation. In the power of ordination alone do the ministers of the first degree differ absolutely from those of the second; and, therefore, they might be considered, in general, as of the same order, though of different degrees. . . . We find that Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Firmilian, and others, sometimes speak of *two orders* in the Church, i. e. bishops or presbyters, and deacons, or else mention the pastors of the first order under the title of presbyters. Besides this, many writers employ language and arguments which go directly to prove the identity of the first and second degrees of the ministry in order. Amongst these may probably be mentioned Jerome, Hilary the Deacon, Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret, Sedulius, Primacius, Isidore Hispalensis, Bede, Alcuin, the synod of Aix in 819, Amalarius, and others quoted by Morinus; to these may be added the great body of the schoolmen, Hugo S. Victor, Peter Lombard, Alexander Alensis, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Abulensis, Turrecremata, Cajetan, &c. Many teach that the episcopate is only an extension of the sacerdotal order, such as Durandus, Paludanus, Dominic Soto, &c. In fine, the synod of Trent seems rather to favour this view, since it does not reckon the episcopate as a *distinct order* from the priesthood.'—*Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 282, 283.

The reader, in the above extract, may accept what is there said as true in relation to there being only two orders of Divine appointment by the several authorities whose names are given. Nor does it appear that anyone of them entertained any distinction of Divine appointment. Some of these modern authorities named, as well as the earlier ones, whom we have already considered, have so expressed themselves that it is certain to their minds that wherein there was any absolute distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, it was of human origin. Mr. Palmer refers us to the council of Aix; from the records of that council we give the following:—

'But only on account of the honour or dignity was the ordination of the clergy reserved to the high-priest.' (*Sed solum propter auctoritatem, summo sacerdoti clericorum ordinatio reservata est.*)—*Con. Aquis. Can. 8.*

Lombard, the chief of the schoolmen whose name Mr. Palmer gives, says:—

'Having briefly spoken of the seven degrees of the Church, we have shown what should belong to everyone, and all of them are spiritual

and sacred, notwithstanding the canons determine that, only *two orders* ought to be termed sacred by way of eminency, namely, that of the diaconate and that of the presbyterate; because we read that the primitive Church had only these two; and of these alone we have the command of the apostle: For the apostles did ordain bishops and presbyters in every city.'—Lib. 4, dist. 24.

The testimony of Amalarius may be found **56.** 1–10. The Bishop of Sevil, about the year 600, stated:—

'To presbyters as well as to bishops is committed the dispensing of the mysteries of God; they are set over the Churches of Christ, and in the mingling the body and blood of Christ they are alike with the bishops, and in the office of preaching to the people; only for the greater honour of the bishop, and preventing schisms, the power of ordination was restricted to him.—*De Eccles. Officiis*, lib. vii. cap. 7.

At a council held at the same place it was stated:—

'Although there are many functions of the ministry common to the presbyters and bishops, yet by the modern and ecclesiastical rules there are some functions denied to them, such as the consecration of presbyters, deacons, &c.'—*Conc. Hispal. secundum Decret.* 7.

254. The following extracts from the *Corpus Juris Canonici* will be interesting in this connection:—

'C. VIII. After what manner a presbyter should be ordained.

'In the council of Carthage (an. 398, in Africa). "When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop blessing him, and holding his hand on his head, all the presbyters who are present are also to hold their hands on his head together with the bishop."—*Decreti I. Pars, Distinctio XXIII.*

'C. IV. No one should be chosen for a bishop unless he is ordained in holy orders.

"No one should be chosen for a bishop unless he should be found living religiously in holy orders. But we call the diaconate and presbyterate holy orders. Forasmuch as the primitive Church is said to have had these only."—*Ibid. Dis. LX.*

'C. V. A bishop is the same as a presbyter, and by custom alone bishops are over presbyters. Jerome, on the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus, on the words, "That thou shouldest constitute" (an. 386, in Palestine). "A presbyter therefore is the same . . . that the seeds of schism might be plucked up." (For the whole passage, see **29.** 75.) And a little after, "Therefore, as the presbyters know . . . rule the Church in common." (**29.** 78.)

'C. VI. It is allowed to presbyters to teach in the presence of bishops.

'Jerome to Rusticus, respecting the seven degrees in the Church (about an. 378, in Palestine). (For the greater part of the quotation, see **29.** 34–37.)

'C. VII. Bishops and clergy should give honour one to another.

'Jerome to Nepotianus, ep. 2. (an. 392, Palæstina Roman). (For the quotation, see 29. 4, 5.)

'C. VIII. Presbyters should not go before bishops, but go along with or follow them.

'From the council of Laodicea, c. 56 (about an. 320).

'Presbyters ought not to enter and sit in the tribunals before the bishop has entered, but to enter with the bishop, except in case the bishop is sick, or on a journey.

'C. IX. A bishop should not regard himself as a lord, but as a colleague (*collegam*) of the presbyters.

'From the fourth council of Carthage, c. 34 (about an. 398, in Africa).

"In whatsoever place the bishop sits, it is not allowed to the presbyter to stand. The bishop may sit on a higher seat in the church, and in the session of presbyters; but within the house should regard himself as a colleague of the presbyters."—*Ibid. Distinctio XCV.*

255. Mr. Palmer has conceded a great deal, and has referred to long list of authorities, to which we have added a few more, who have conceded all absolute distinction except in the very attenuated degree that a bishop may be a *primus inter pares* in regard to the presbyters. He maintains that the bishops have, by Divine right, the power of ordination which presbyters have not. He says, 'In the power of ordination alone do the ministers of the first degree differ absolutely from the second.' In the fourth, or beginning of the fifth, century, Chrysostom considered that the only difference there was between a bishop and a presbyter was in the power of ordination. But his language plainly intimates that it was not of apostolic appointment, but of human origin. (See 34. 45.) If it were safe to accept Mr. Palmer's concession, this would be the only point needful to be considered in Chrysostom, but thus to pass over so important a writer as golden-mouthed John, some time presbyter of Antioch, and finally the Archbishop of Constantinople, would not be doing justice to our subject. Of all the Fathers of the fourth, or perhaps of any, century, Chrysostom was the most eloquent and rhetorical, but this, of all other things, unfits him to bear sober testimony on the subject of our book; he is so frequently on the wing soaring in rhetorical exaggeration on almost everything which he describes that it is only when we find him on *terra firma*, speaking in unadorned language, that we can venture to

take his testimony. A specimen of his rhetoric is given **34. 13.** Moreover, we have reason to think that, if Chrysostom had an object in view, which he believed was for the glory of God, and the good of man, exaggeration, and even deceit, he would regard as being legitimate for his purpose. He and another youth, both of some rank and position, well educated, and in favour with the Christian laity on account of their piety, were fixed upon by them to be elected for bishops, not as yet holding any office in the Church. The two youths consented to undertake the office, and meet together and prepare for their promotion. When the day of their ordination arrives, Chrysostom conceals himself, and avoids the promotion, and Basil is ordained without him. Basil grievously complained of Chrysostom having deceived him. The latter justifies the deception, and vindicates his conduct both from reason and Scripture. This has come down to us in his treatise on the priesthood, which is written in the form of a dialogue, a portion of which will be found **34. 2, 3.** This loose morality was not confined to Chrysostom. Clement of Alexandria recommended a similar practice. (See **9. 6.**) Dr. Newman, in his *History of the Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 81, quotes, with approval, Clement on this point, and informs us that he ‘accurately described the rules which should guide the Christian in speaking and writing economically.’ He also states that ‘the principle involved’ in the economy, as used by the ancients, is ‘that of representing religion for the purpose of conciliating the heathen.’ Dr. Gatty, in a Sheffield paper, informed his readers that what good ‘Dr. Newman did whilst he was with us, he left behind him when he went to Rome.’ Anyhow, he did not take this with him, for there are unmistakable proofs in this book that Tractarians, or their descendants, can imitate the ancients, and write ‘economically’ to defend their heresy.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, in his commentaries, acquits Jacob of falsehood and deceit in passing himself off for his elder brother, on the ground that, having purchased the right of primogeniture, he was, in truth, the first-born son. (Interr. lxxx. tom. i. p. 91.) Similar things may be laid to the charge of Ambrose and Jerome.

256. It is the more important to bear in mind this deceitful or economical mode of teaching, avowed and adopted by some of the Fathers, as we shall be better able to give a more consistent and harmonious interpretation of passages in one and the same Father, relating to the sacraments and the office of the Christian ministry, which often appear discordant and contradictory. When they were anxious to exalt the ministerial office, and enhance the value of the sacraments, to accomplish an end so desirable in their estimation, to use the language of Newman, they wrote 'economically.' Archbishop Laud, the father of these Anglo-catholics, and the chief originator of their heresy, though in a less developed form than it exists at present, appears to have been conscious that Cyprian did not always write the words of truth and soberness. He, being desirous to speak well of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, has made use of strong language in reference to him, of which the Romanists have taken advantage to exalt the office of the pope. On this strong language of Cyprian, Laud remarks:—

'In which fair way of returning his thanks, if he make an honourable mention of the Romans, and their faith, with a little dash of rhetoric even to a *non potest*, for a *non facile potest*, 'tis no great wonder.'—*Answer to Fisher*, p. 5.

Again Laud says, speaking in reference to Cyprian charging Stephen, the Bishop of Rome, with obstinacy and presumption:—

'I think it was no change, and that when he wrote to Cornelius, it was rhetoric and no more.'—*Ibid.*

No Father has dealt so largely in rhetoric to exalt the office of the Christian ministry as Chrysostom. Bishops and presbyters, putting little or no difference between them, he exalts above angels, and makes their office the medium of all the blessings of salvation. Ample proof of this is contained in the extracts made from his works. (See **34. 7, 12.**) Elsewhere, having laid aside his rhetoric, and ceased to speak 'economically,' he represents the communicants in the Lord's Supper as being all but equal with the bishop and presbyter. He says:—

'There are occasions in which there is no difference at all between the priest and those under him, for instance, when we are to partake of the awful mysteries, &c.' (**34. 40.**) 'I am about to say what may

appear strange, but be not astonished or startled at it. The offering (Lord's Supper) is the same, whether a common man, or Paul, or Peter, offer it.' (34. 48, 49.)

257. Mr. Palmer, as we have seen, concedes that the only absolute difference between a bishop and a presbyter is in the power of ordination. The foundation of this distinction rests, for the most part, on the authority of Chrysostom and Jerome. What Jerome has said on this point has already been considered; it remains that we examine the testimony of Chrysostom. He states:—

'There is no great difference between a bishop and a presbyter. Both had undertaken the office of teachers and presidents in the Church, and what he has said concerning bishops is applicable to presbyters. For, in the ordination only, have they gone above, and in that thing only seem to take advantage of, the presbyters.' (34. 45.)

Here it is plain that presbyters once had this power; but, as we have seen from Augustine, Jerome, and others, that certain things had been conceded to the Bishop from custom, and for the sake of adding to his dignity; it is most likely that amongst them was the exclusive power of ordination. Chrysostom says, 'For in ordination only have bishops gone above presbyters.' It is implied that they were not always above, but that at some subsequent time to the apostolic age, in this respect, they went above them.

The reader will notice that in 34. 45, five other translations are given from various authors; but it is probable some of these have followed the old Latin translation rather than the original Greek. That our mere English readers may be quite sure of the meaning of Chrysostom's language, we shall make him his own interpreter on the Greek word in question, which in New Testament use, and as used by him, signifies *to take advantage of anyone, to circumvent for gain, to defraud*. In the following passages the term in question will be rendered uniformly, and the reader can judge from the context in what sense it is used. On the text Matt. x. 32, Chrysostom states:—

'He that doeth right *taketh advantage* (πλεονεκτεῖ) in time, and the delay of the penalty is counted for gain by the sinner: he hath introduced an equivalent, or rather a much greater *advantage* (πλεονεξίαν), the increase of the recompense. "*Hast thou taken advantage*

(ἐπλεονέκτησας),” saith He, “by having first confessed me here? I also will take advantage of thee (πλεονεκτήσω σε) by giving thee greater things, . . . for I will confess thee there.”’

See **34.** 40, where the word occurs. Again, on the words, ‘Lest Satan should get an advantage of us (ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, *Lest we should be taken advantage of by Satan*),’ 2 Cor. ii. 11, he remarks, ‘Well naming it *taking advantage* (πλεονεξίαν). For he no more takes his own, but violently seizes ours.’ Again, on the words, ‘We have defrauded no man (οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν, *We have taken advantage of no man*),’ 2 Cor. vii. 2, he explains, ‘We plundered, have plotted against, no man.’ Again, on the phrase, ‘Did I make a gain of you? . . . Did Titus make a gain of you? (ἐπλεονέκτησα ὑμᾶς; . . . μή τι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; *Did I take advantage of you? . . . Did Titus take advantage of you?*)’ 2 Cor. xii. 17, 18, he remarks, “‘For tell me,” he says, “did any of those who were sent by us *take advantage of you?* (ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς;)” He did not say, “Did anyone receive aught from you?” but he calls the things “*taking advantage* (πλεονεξίαν),” attacking them, and blaming them exceedingly, and showing that to receive of an unwilling giver is *taking advantage*.’ And again, on the words, ‘That no man go beyond and defraud his brother (πλεονεκτεῖν . . . τὸν ἀδελφόν, *take advantage of his brother*),’ 1 Thes. iv. 6, he says, ‘Therefore, intercourse with another is transgression, and robbery, and *taking advantage* (πλεονεξία), or rather it is more cruel than any robbery. Dost thou call him brother, and *takest advantage of him* (πλεονεκτεῖς), and that in things which are unlawful?’

This passage from Thessalonians contains the identical Greek words, with the exception of a change in a preposition, which Chrysostom affirms of bishops. The language of each in a uniform translation is, ‘Let no man *go beyond and defraud* his brother.’ ‘For in the power of ordination only bishops *have gone above*, and in that thing only seem to *defraud*, the presbyters.’ Chrysostom, as we have seen, uses the verb ‘*to take advantage of*’ in a good sense, and admits that in some cases it is lawful *to take advantage*. We have not any ground to suppose that he here wishes in any way to reflect on bishops;

to use his own language, they might take advantage of, or usurp many things, in taking on themselves the greater share of the labour. (34. 40.) And to guard the apparent harshness of his language, he qualifies it by saying, bishops ‘*seem to take advantage.*’ Let it be noted well that Chrysostom says in the simplest and plainest language that bishops have gone above presbyters in the power of ordination. It is plain, then, that in that particular they were not always above them, and that, in consequence of having gone above them, they seem to take the advantage of them.

258. The next point to be considered is that of Timothy and Titus, who certainly acted very much in the character of our present bishops, and did so by Divine appointment; and if we had any persons coming immediately after them, claiming the same exclusive jurisdiction, and equally extensive as that claimed for them by Chrysostom, the case of episcopal government of that kind would be most conclusive; but the records of the first three centuries are absolutely silent in regard to any person claiming, or being represented as having, any such extensive jurisdiction. The nearest approach to it is the case of Cyprian, about the year of our Lord 250, at which time the episcopate had become largely developed; but even in his case, as has been already shown, he had not the absolute jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, for he could do nothing without the consent of his presbyters, and for the most part of his laity. Over other bishops or presiding presbyters he had no jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of Cyprian came immensely short of that claimed for Timothy and Titus.

259. Their cases have been stated by Dean Hook, and supported by the testimony he has adduced from Chrysostom, which shall be here given:—

‘When our Saviour established the Christian Church, he made his apostles governors thereof, and vested them with a power to ordain others to the ministry; and, accordingly, they ordained the seven deacons, and consecrated St. James bishop of Jerusalem, and he ordained presbyters of that Church. That Timothy, as soon as he was made bishop of Ephesus by the great apostle of the Gentiles, but not before, had this power of ordination is allowed by St. Chrysostom himself, who magnified the power of presbyters more than any of the Fathers; and he proves it thus, viz. because St. Paul gave Timothy a caution not to admit any-

one rashly to an ecclesiastical office. It is true he likewise bid him not to despise the gift which was given to him by prophecy, with the laying on of hands of the company of elders; but, he could not mean by those words an assembly of ordinary presbyters, for as such they could not have conferred any extraordinary commission, especially upon Timothy, because he was, at that very time, a bishop, and ordained by St. Paul himself. He had a jurisdiction over all the presbyters of Asia, for he had power given him by that apostle to enquire into their conversation and abilities, and then to admit them into that holy office if he found them qualified, and not otherwise. Titus had the same power throughout that populous island of Crete; and these things are so plain that they must deny the authority of the Scriptures who deny the power of ordination to be originally in bishops; and therefore they have invented a senseless objection, viz. that, though Timothy and Titus were superior to presbyters, yet their power was but temporary, for they were chosen by the apostles at that time, upon a particular occasion, to preside in the assemblies of presbyters, to moderate the affairs of those Churches, which power was to determine at the expiration of their commission.'—*Ordination, Church Dictionary.*

It is a mere assumption on the part of the Dean when he affirms that the great apostle made Timothy bishop of Ephesus. Eusebius, the great Church historian, who especially investigated these matters, informs us that the most reliable information is recorded in the New Testament; but here the evidence to be deduced is not for, but against, Timothy being bishop of Ephesus. Whitby, a most impartial and competent witness, says:—

'The great controversy concerning this (Epistle to Titus) and the Epistle to Timothy is whether Timothy and Titus were indeed made bishops, the one of Ephesus and the Proconsular 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.'—*Preface to Titus.*

260. We must now more especially consider the testimony of Chrysostom respecting Timothy as referred to by the Dean. Chrysostom represents Timothy as—

'Being entrusted with the public affairs of the world.' 'In whose hands the case of so many churches was placed, and who superintended whole cities, and nations; nay, the world at large.' 'Flew everywhere faster than those who have sound and vigorous constitutions; now to Ephesus; now to Corinth; often to Macedonia and Italy; appearing everywhere, by land and by sea, with the teacher.' (See 34. 14.)

The Dean also says, 'He had a jurisdiction over all the pres-

byters of Asia.' Timothy, then, according to the Dean, was the Bishop of Asia. But there were many churches in Asia, and each church, according to primitive antiquity, must have its bishop, or presiding presbyter, who, according to the testimony of Dean Hook, which in this case we accept, both taught and administered the sacraments in the church over which he presided. The Dean says:—

'From the time of the apostles, the office of public teaching in the Church, and of administering the sacraments, was always performed by the bishop, unless in cases of great necessity.'—*Presbyter, Church Dictionary.*

It was utterly impossible for Timothy every first day of the week to teach and baptise, and administer the Lord's Supper, throughout all Asia, and the only light in which we can view him is that of an archbishop, in fact, a bishop of bishops, having as much authority over other bishops as these Anglicans believe bishops then had over their fellow-presbyters. But if so, and we see no other conclusion to which we can come, Timothy's commission terminated with himself. In the year 250, when episcopal power had become greatly extended, Cyprian affirmed in council assembled, 'no one of us setteth himself up as a bishop of bishops, &c.' (13. 2.) The office of bishop of bishops, however, became a reality in the fourth century, and was distinctly recognised by the Catholic Church. So far is Chrysostom from representing Timothy as being a local bishop of any one place that he describes him as an attendant on the Apostle Paul, whom he calls the 'teacher;' and with him, and, as it would seem, under his direction, he was employed in the office of an evangelist, and was here and there and everywhere employed in founding churches, and ordaining presbyters. Titus was also so engaged, as appears from the account of Jerome. (29. 80.) These Anglicans obtain no assistance for their peculiar views from Timothy.

261. If the Dean had literally quoted and explained the passage to which he refers in the writings of Chrysostom, it would not in any respect have served his purpose. This we shall now do. 'With the bishops and deacons' (Phil. i. 1), or, as Chrysostom understood, or rather misunderstood, the Greek,

‘To the fellow-bishops and deacons.’ On this view of the text he remarks :—

‘Were there several bishops (such as we now call by that name) of one city? Certainly not; but he called the presbyters so. For they then still interchanged the titles, and the bishop was called a deacon. For this cause, in writing to Timothy, he said, “Fulfil thy ministry (*ἐπισκοπῆν*)” when he was a bishop. For that he was a bishop appears by his saying to him, “Lay hands suddenly on no man,” and again, “which was given thee with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.” Yet presbyters (such as are now called by that name) would not have laid hands on a bishop. And again, in writing to Titus, he says, “For this cause, I left thee in Crete that thou shouldest ordain elders (presbyters) in every city, as I had appointed thee; if any be blameless, the husband of one wife;” which he says of the bishop. And after saying this, he adds immediately, “For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, not self-willed.” So then, as I said, both the presbyters were of old called bishops and deacons of Christ, and the bishops presbyters; and hence even now many bishops write, “To my fellow-presbyter.”’ (34. 43.)

Again he says, on the text :—

“‘Laying on of the hands of the presbytery.” He speaks not here of presbyters (such as we now call by that name) but of bishops. For presbyters cannot be supposed to have ordained a bishop”’ (in our sense of that term). (34. 46.)

Again he makes Titus himself alone to be the consecrator of bishops; if so, the Fathers generally must have been ignorant of the fact, or they would not have been so stringent in having, at least, three employed in the consecration of a bishop. We generally understand Titus to have ordained a company of presbyters in every city in Crete, and so Jerome understands it. But Chrysostom, again misunderstanding his Greek Testament, or squaring its meaning with the custom of the age in which he lived, states :—

‘He is speaking of bishops, as we have before said. In every city, he says, for he did not wish the whole island to be entrusted to one but that each should have his own charge and care, for thus he would have less labour himself, and those under his rule would receive greater attention, if the teacher had not to go about to the presiding of many churches, but was left to be occupied with one only, and to bring that into order.’ (34. 52.)

Again Chrysostom says :—‘He (St. Paul) would not have given him (Titus) jurisdiction over so many bishops, &c.’ (34.

50.) For the present, then, we leave Chrysostom, with the assurance, after the most candid examination of his testimony, that he is no friend of these Anglicans of the nineteenth century, and that their views on the subject under discussion get no support from his voluminous writings.

VICTOR.

262. Some Fathers, as Cyprian, represent Peter only as having a primacy; and others speak of Paul also having a primacy, or being a leader in regard to the other apostles. Victor says, 'Peter, and James, and John, as leaders, obtained the primacy among the apostles.' (35.) Gregory Nazianzen also speaks of them as leading apostles. (25. 8.)

GAUDENTIUS.

263. The little this bishop has written respecting the subject of our book has, for the most part, been adduced and applied in other chapters. It appears to have been the custom for bishops, who were usually the only preachers, to preach immediately one after another, on the same occasion. (36. 2.) Augustine alludes to the same thing. (33. 82.) Roman Catholics maintain that Peter can only have one successor at a time, and they claim the pope to be that successor. It is certain Gaudentius entertained no such opinion, or he would not have called Ambrose 'a successor of Peter the Apostle.' (36. 2.) We should make a mistake if, when occasionally the Fathers speak of any of the twelve as having successors, we understood them to mean by successors what these Anglicans mean by the term, namely, successors to the apostleship of the twelve, and having their power and authority. As bishops in the early Church were considered to be primates of presbyters, and as the early Fathers held Peter to be primate of the apostles, so bishops, in a loose way of speaking, were represented as being successors of Peter. This was the opinion of Chrysostom. (34. 4.) It is certain Gaudentius did not consider Peter to have any exclusive authority or power different from the other apostles. From his

own account of St. Peter, he considers him to have been the leader or spokesman of a company, all the members of which were his equals in power and authority.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

264. We shall only make a few general remarks on the testimony of Cyril, as the greater part has been already quoted and applied in other chapters. He represents Peter as being prince and head of the other apostles. (**37. 8.**) In one place he seems to teach that the Church was built on Peter (**37. 1.**), and in another, that it was built on faith, such as that which was exercised by Peter. (**37. 13.**) He speaks of those who presided over the churches as coming after the disciples. (**37. 2.**) But the term he uses to designate these successors is as applicable to presbyters as to bishops. From the manner of his speaking of the apostles (**37. 3, 5, 6, 7, and 14.**), it is plain he never conceived of their apostleship being transmitted to others. He finds a correspondence to the Jewish priesthood not in the clergy only, but in all Christians. (**37. 9, 10, 12.**)

SOCRATES.

265. What is recorded in the *Catena Patrum* from this Church historian has been applied in other chapters to illustrate or confirm various points under discussion. (**38.**)

THEODORET.

266. This Father is one of the most sober-minded and valuable commentators of the century in which he lived. We especially commend his testimony to the intelligent and candid reader; and such a reader may be safely left to his own conclusions. (**39.**)

267. VINCENT (**40.**), SEDULIUS (**41.**), SOZOMEN (**42.**), and EUCHERIUS (**43.**) are authors who, though not so distinguished as some of their predecessors, yet, as they confirm and illustrate the main opinions of earlier times, and give information of im-

portance to the furtherance of our object in writing this book, their testimony and evidence have been adduced, and will be found in the *Catena* under the several numbers attached to their names.

LEO I.

268. This pope of Rome did more to prepare the way for the supremacy of the Roman bishop than any other man. The position he assigns to Peter in regard to his fellow-apostles, and the claims he makes on behalf of himself as bishop of the see which, it was believed, Peter founded, were quite new things in the Church. Origen had taught that—

‘All imitators of Christ derive their name from the Rock, that is, Christ; for as because they are members of Christ, by the name derived from him, they are called Christians, so from his being rock (*petra*), they are called Peters.’ (10. 4.)

Ambrose and Augustine speak in the same style. But it should be noticed how much more Leo makes of the text. Referring to Peter, he states, as in the language of Christ:—

‘Thou art also a rock, because thou art firm by my virtue, as those things which are proper to my power may be common to thee by participation with me. Divine authority attributed the great and wonderful fellowship of its power to this most beloved man.’ (44. 1.)

But the following statement surpasses all:—

‘But the Lord so wished the sacrament of this gift to belong to the office of all the apostles as to be placed principally in the most blessed Peter, the chief of all the apostles; that from himself, as from a certain head, to diffuse his gifts in the whole body, that it might be understood that he would be without any share of the Divine mystery who should dare to depart from the firmness of Peter; for that he had been taken into the fellowship of the undivided unity, he wished him to be named that which he himself was, saying, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.”’ (44. 8.)

This is blasphemous. Leo, however, does not pretend that he had succeeded to the power and authority of Peter. As these Anglican notions were not then invented, we are not to be surprised that Leo manifests no acquaintance with them. By ‘the name of Peter,’ ‘the chair of Peter,’ he assumed wondrous things; and the church history by Evagrius testifies to his

enormous power. (52.) But in his day, having made Peter into a Divine person, he rather presumed to be inspired by him than to have inherited by successive ordinations his power and authority. (44. 9.)

269. Here we shall only mention the names of the following Fathers, referring to the Catena where their testimony is given, ARNOBIUS, 45.; REMIGIUS, 46.; ANDREAS, 47.; PASCHASIUS, 48.; FULGENTIUS, 49.; ARETHAS, 50.; PRIMACIUS, 51.; EVAGRIUS, 52.

GILDAS.

270. This British presbyter, like many other early Christian authors, gives a dark account of the clergy. It is to be hoped, however, that none were so bad as the British, and one would desire that they were not half so bad as they are represented to be. (53. 1.) There is one point which we must especially notice, viz., his extreme care not to deprive the clergy of their proper title. In every instance in which he alludes to them it is in the following style: 'Priestly seat of the bishopric or presbytership.' 'The office of the bishopric or presbytership.' 'Bishops or presbyters.' (53. 2.) The circumstance of his being a presbyter perhaps made him more tenacious in retaining the older titles, though placed second. It is observable throughout our Catena that the presbyters and deacons have borne fuller testimony respecting the equality of bishops and presbyters. When the presbyterate was in the descent, and had lost its power of government in the Church, and the episcopate was in the ascendant, and had the exclusive government in it, unless these presbyters had some claims on the grounds of ancient practice and precedent, it would have been absurd to have started them for the first time in the fifth century. As a general rule the Fathers of the first five centuries, as may be seen in the Catena, do not place the title of saint before the names of the apostles and other sacred characters, as it is customary nowadays. But this British presbyter places the title before the names of prophets, and thus we have 'St. Amos,' 'St. Micah,' 'St. Haggai,' 'St. Habakkuk,' and 'St. Malachi.' (53. 1.)

GREGORY THE GREAT.

271. The chief part of the testimony of this Father has already been considered; we have only one or two points to notice. He teaches that the pastor, in remitting and retaining sins, acts ministerially, and that he contributes no more to the real remission of sin in the accused than the disciples contributed in giving life to Lazarus. But as the disciples loosed Lazarus after the Lord had given him life so the pastor looses the sinner after the Almighty has given him contrition. (54. 18.)

272. This Father recognised the supremacy of the Roman emperor 'over all persons in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal.' He distinctly states that 'power was given to my lords, over all men,' that God had committed his priests into the hand of the emperor. (54. 20.) He also represents the emperor as having 'received the power of ruling, not only over the soldiers, but also over the priests.' (54. 21.)

273. How this Gregory spoke of a papal or episcopal supremacy may be seen in 54. 24-28. The eloquence of the Bishop of Oxford could not have used more stirring, striking, stringent, stinging epithets than this eloquent pope in the condemnation of the Bishop of Constantinople, under the wing of the emperor assuming to be universal bishop. It is believed that Gregory spoke under the influence of excessive jealousy and wounded vanity, and that, if the emperor had encouraged him to have assumed the title, out of honour to St. Peter, and with due regard to his own exaltation, he would not have refused it. Mauricius the Emperor, on the whole an excellent man, had to make way for an execrable wretch who usurped the dominion, and who, without any provocation, put him to death, but before doing so, for his greater torment and grief, ordered five of his sons to be first inhumanly murdered before his face. To the wife of this wretch, who, according to history, was such a character as to be a suitable match for her husband, Gregory writes in the most fulsome style, and represents the infamous pair as good Christians, and solicits their patronage for Peter, which in reality meant himself. A portion of the letter is given 54. 29. A very few years after the papal supremacy of the Roman bishop was complete.

BEDE.

274. The testimony of Bede has for the most part been anticipated. His teaching in general is the counterpart of that of Augustine. We have only had access to two volumes of his writings, and these are on the New Testament, from which it may be gathered how little this English presbyter had in common with these Anglicans as to the origin of bishops, and how differently this greatest of ancient English divines interpreted their favourite texts on which they rest so much. (55. 1-12.)

AMALARIUS AND EUTICHIUS.

275. The later testimony of Amalarius (56.) and Eutichius (57.) has been added on the ground that the former is a commentator upon Jerome, and both confirm his teaching in regard to the Alexandrian bishops, from St. Mark to the time of Hereclas and Dionisius; Eutichius especially. Amalarius also makes quotations from an author whom he calls Ambrose, singularly contrary to these Anglican theories respecting the succession of bishops.

CHAPTER V.

A JUST EXPOSURE OF DEAN HOOK'S ATTEMPT TO PROVE THAT THE BIDDING PRAYER OF THE 55TH CANON HAS NO RELATION TO THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

1. NOTHING can be more certain than that since the Reformation our Church has belonged to, and has been considered a branch of, the Catholic Church, not that system of superstition to which the Romanists belong, and in which these Anglicans rejoice, but to those Churches, Christianly reformed, whose confessions have been conjointly published, and have been accepted as the joint faith of the Protestant Reformed Churches. Of these Churches the Scotch Presbyterian was one. And for this Church, in the 55th canon, we are taught to pray as for a part of the Holy Catholic Church. This is a fact as certain as any historical evidence can make it. Dean Hook and others, conscious of the dilemma in which they would be placed if such a fact were admitted, have wrestled very hard to upset it.

We shall here give the part of the canon in question, followed by the Dean's own statements respecting it:—

'The 55th canon of the Convocation of 1603 is as follows: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." . . . The special pleading of some Presbyterians and their advocates renders it necessary to observe that the Church of Scotland alluded to is not the present Presbyterian establishment. The assertion made by the adversaries of the Church of England is this, that the 55th canon bids us pray for the Church of Scotland, and must have recognised "that Church under a Presbyterian form as it now is, because none other, at that time, existed." Now we may commence our observations by remarking upon the extreme improbability of the alleged fact, that those who passed the 55th canon should contemplate in the Bidding Prayer the Presbyterian community of Scotland, and regard it as a sister to the Churches of England and Ireland. The leading members of the Convocation were Andrewes, Overall, and King, eminent men, and of most decided views on Church

government. Can the student of ecclesiastical history refrain from smiling when he is told that a convocation of the English clergy, headed by these divines, who had already given a character to the age in which they lived, intended to place the "Holy Kirk," as the Presbyterians style their denomination, on the same footing as the Churches of England and Ireland? The president of the Convocation was Bancroft. Dr. Sumner has taught us how immense are the powers which the president of a Convocation possesses, and how unscrupulously those powers can be used to silence the Convocation, if it be suspected that the majority of the members differ in opinion from the president. Bishop Bancroft was certainly not more likely to be tolerant of opposition than our present primate, and what Bancroft's opinion of Presbyterianism was is stated in a sermon which he published. Of the "Holy Kirk," as the Presbyterians call themselves, Bancroft said that "they perverted the meaning of the Scriptures for the maintenance of false doctrine, heresy, and schism," and he likens that "Holy Kirk" to "the devil's chapel in the churchyard in which Christ hath erected his Church." We consider Bancroft's language as unjustifiably violent; but, such *being* his language, it is monstrous to suppose that he intended to place that Kirk, in his estimation so unholy, on the same footing as the Churches of England and Ireland, or that he would not have discontinued the convocation, if he had suspected that it would recognise that Kirk as a sister Church.'—*Bidding Prayer, Ch. Dic.*

2. It is important to notice the peculiar animus manifested in the above extract. The Dean's notions of a bishop, and especially of an archbishop, in which his figment of succession is supposed to run, should have protected the primate of the English Church from being charged with being unscrupulous in using his enormous powers as president of Convocation, and with having unworthy motives, charges which are probably false. These Anglicans, as it has well been said, 'are for the bishop when the bishop is for them,' not otherwise. 'The assertion made by the adversaries of the Church of England.' Who are these? The Dean, by quotation and name, refers to Chancellor Harrington and Archdeacon Churton, and at once identifies himself with a particular controversy, and they who specially made the assertion are the present Bishop of Manchester and Dean Goode. It surely is not correct to call such persons 'adversaries' of the Church of England. In the *Guardian* of November 12, 1851, the Bishop of Manchester is reported to have said that—

'The Church of England, in the 55th canon, enjoined the people to pray for the Church of England, Scotland, and Ireland; although the

Church was then, as now, Presbyterian, and episcopacy was not yet established.'

Archdeacon Churton, in the same paper, on Nov. 19, denied that the Presbyterian Church was referred to in the canon. Subsequently Mr., now Dean, Goode vindicated the statement of the bishop; after this, Chancellor Harrington published a pamphlet with the intent to prove that the canon did not refer to the Presbyterian Church. The Dean's article on the Bidding Prayer is a standing perpetuation of the controversy, and again and again, to our knowledge, has been quoted publicly in defence of what is not true. It should be noticed how carefully the Dean avoids calling the congregation of our Scotch brethren a church. He affects to believe that they are not a church. He calls them a 'Presbyterian establishment,' 'a Presbyterian community,' 'a sect,' 'The "Holy Kirk," as the Presbyterians styled their denomination.' And why should not they so style themselves, and why should not Dean Hook so style them? especially as the 'supreme governor in these realms, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal' (55th canon), so acknowledges them, and worships with them, when she visits Scotland. Our Scotch brethren believe themselves to form a part of the Holy Catholic Church, and undoubtedly have been so acknowledged by our own Church and the laws of this realm, and, in the usual style of ecclesiastical language, they call themselves a Holy Kirk or Church.

3. We come now more especially to examine what Dean Hook ascribes to Bancroft. He states that Bancroft said, 'The Holy Kirk "perverted the meaning of the Scriptures for the maintenance of false doctrine, heresy, and schism."' If the reader will refer to **80. 3**, he will see the extract in question, and, taken in connection with the context, will find no allusion to the Church of Scotland. Those whom Bancroft charges with perverting the meaning of the Scriptures for the maintenance of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, were ministers of our own Church, such as the authors of the *First Admonition*, Field, Wilcox, and others, who were imprisoned in Newgate for their joint production. The authors of the *Second Admonition*, Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Martin Mar Prelate, Miles Monopodios, or

Gilby, and others of the like character, these were the persons, as the references in the margin of the sermon show, to whom Bancroft referred; and even these he will not venture to call false prophets, as he did the papists. 'The name of false prophets,' he says, 'I am content in divers respects to suppress.' The preface to his sermon shows that his remarks on heresy and schism were directed to some members of our own Church. He says:—

'Schismatics are such as, retaining with us the true faith, do separate themselves from us, for orders and ceremonies.'

This, of course, could have no application to the Scottish Church, which was then, as now, an independent church like our own. But Bancroft gives us one instance, and one only, in which he considers 'the meaning of the Scriptures to be perverted for the maintenance and defence of false doctrine, schism, and heresy;' which he thus states:—

'There are very many nowadays who do affirm that, when Christ used these words, "*Dic ecclesie*" (tell it to the Church), he meant thereby to establish in the Church, for ever, the same plat and form of ecclesiastical government, to be erected in every parish, &c. They had (say these men) in their synagogues (*The Certain Form of Church Government*) their priests, we must have in every parish our pastors, &c.' (80. 4, 5.)

Bancroft gives us an authority for this new doctrine, a book, called *The Certain Form of Church Government*, the joint production of Travers and Cartwright, neither of whom was a member of the Scottish Church. But in the mind of Bancroft it is plain he did not consider the Scottish Church to hold this doctrine of Cartwright and his followers, for in a book which he published a few years after the sermon from which Dean Hook makes his extracts, he states:—

'Master Cartwright and all his English followers (that I have read) do affirm it most confidently; that by the commandment of God, by the institution of Christ; by the rules of God's word; and by the practice and commandment of the apostles, "There ought of necessity to be an eldership in every parish:" "in every congregation:" "church by church:" "in every particular congregation, &c."' (80. 15.)

This doctrine Bancroft shows to be contrary both to the Scottish and Genevan Churches. He says:—

‘The reforming ministers of Scotland do account their platform, now in practice there, to be agreeable to the word of God, as M. Cartwright’s; and yet (as the chronicles do report) they have but fifty-two elderships in Scotland; and those places in their chiefest cities and great towns. Unto every of which eldership (as I am informed) twenty-four particular churches or parishes (for the most part) do appertain: none of them having any such particular eldership of their own, but are controlled, and censured, by those in the said cities and towns, &c. Lastly, as hitherto you have found M. Cartwright, with his friends, opposite in this matter unto Geneva and Scotland, &c.’ (80. 16.)

It is, then, simply and absolutely untrue that Bancroft charges the Church of Scotland with maintaining false doctrine, heresy, or schism. Nay, it is plain that, if any member of the Scottish Church had held and openly maintained such a doctrine as of Divine authority, and necessary for a Christian Church, he must have been a promoter of heresy and schism in the Scottish Church.

4. Dean Hook goes on to say:—

‘And he (Bancroft) likens that “Holy Kirk” to “the devil’s chapel in the churchyard in which Christ hath erected his Church.”’

There is not a particle of proof that Bancroft affirms this of the Kirk of Scotland. How could he? If that Kirk was the devil’s chapel in the churchyard of the Church, the question is, of what Church? Not the Church of Rome, for at this time, according to Dean Hook, it was defunct. He says:—

‘At the period of our Reformation it (the ancient Church) was annihilated; it was entirely subverted; not a vestige of the ancient Christian Church of that kingdom remained . . . In 1610, King James the First attempted to re-introduce the Catholic Church into Scotland.’—*Church in Scotland, Ch. Dic.* p. 167, ed. 1842.

The Dean, in applying what Bancroft affirmed only of certain members of the Church of England to the whole of the Church of Scotland, is making him state an absurdity. The Dean, however, in a subsequent edition of his *Dictionary*, represents episcopacy as being set up before 1610, for he gives with approval the following statement:—‘Henceforward, therefore, and indeed from the assembly at Perth (1597), the Church of Scotland must be regarded as Episcopalian.’ According to this statement, then, after the Romish Church had ceased, it is not

pretended that any other episcopal church was set up until 1597. According to the Dean's own showing, not only in his *Dictionary* of 1842, but in a subsequent edition, when Bancroft, in the year 1588, preached his sermon, from which the quotation is made, there was no Church in Scotland; it 'was annihilated, was entirely subverted: not a vestige of the ancient Christian Church of that kingdom remained.' In the year 1588 there was no Church, according to the statement of Dean Hook, in Scotland. Will he inform us in what churchyard Bancroft considered the devil's chapel—that is, the Church of Scotland—to be? According to the Dean's own evidence, there was no 'churchyard' in Scotland in which to place it. And if even any vestige of the Romish Church did remain, it is plain from Bancroft's sermon that that system of superstition, in his estimation, was no church at all; for he plainly represents papists as false prophets, a term he suppressed in reference to some of the extreme Puritans, against whom his sermon is for the most part directed. (See **80**. 1, 2, 11, 13.) And in the same sermon, in a passage quoted by Dean Hook, we are led to infer that Romanism is a system of falsehood, is antichrist, and is of the devil. (**80**. 13.) The church which Bancroft regarded as a Church of Christ was undoubtedly the Church as constituted in this country. But for him to liken the 'Holy Kirk' of Scotland to the devil's chapel in the churchyard of the Church of England is making him talk intolerable nonsense and absurdity. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland was at that time as much the Kirk of Scotland as our Church was the Church of this realm, and was so recognised by Bancroft himself. The simple truth is this, there were some parties in the Church, to whom we have just alluded, who laboured hard to alter our Church, as then constituted, and in effect to erect another. And it is to these, as the references in the margin of his sermon show, that he refers, and not to the 'Holy Kirk of Scotland.' Of these Bancroft says:—

'They have had their subscriptions, their synods of divers sorts, classical, provincial, and general. In those synods they have practised censures, made laws of their own, and disallowed some of those which the state of this realm hath made. Unto these and such like, their private conventicles, they have appropriated the name of the Church;

and having separated themselves, in a sort, from all those Christians that favour not their mistress, they have become joined into a new brotherhood.'—*Bancroft's Survey of the Pretended Discipline, &c.* p. 57.

Again he says in the same book :—

'In the year 1572, the first admonition was offered to the Parliament, as containing a perfect platform of the worthy pretended discipline, to have been established within this realm.'—P. 65.

Writing of the same persons, he states :—

'There are two especial points, for the which we dislike them, their departing from our Church, and the framing to themselves of a Church of their own, &c.' (See 80. 28.)

The phrase or proverb, 'Devil's chapel, &c.,' did not originate with Bancroft; he, in the margin of his sermon, refers it to Luther. Becon, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, had before used it, and especially applied it to the papists in their attempts to erect another church in this kingdom. (See 68. 3, 4.)

The Dean most systematically endeavours to unchurch the Kirk of Scotland, but affects to cry out against this language of Bancroft, and says, 'We consider Bancroft's language as unjustifiably violent.' But this cry was not required, for it is certain Bancroft made no such assertion respecting the Scottish Church.

5. We have one other quotation from this celebrated sermon, in which the Dean misapplies the language of Bancroft :—

'How the members of this "Holy Kirk" spoke of the Prayer Book, we learn from the president of the Convocation himself. Their language was, "That it (the Prayer Book) is full of corruption, confusion, and profanation; that it contains, at least, five-hundred errors; that the orders therein described are carnal, beggarly, dung, dross, lousy, and antichristian." They say, "we eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the poor silly souls believe they have an English mass; and so put no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil." See *Bancroft's Sermon*, p. 284.'

If the reader will refer to 80. 13, he will see that the authorities to which Bancroft refers for his statement were not, as the Dean affirms, 'members of this "Holy Kirk,"' but the authors of the *First Admonition*, and Miles (Monopodios), or

Gilby, as Bancroft elsewhere calls him, to whom he refers in the margin.

Of this *First Admonition*, Neal, in his history, gives the following account:—

‘The Puritans, finding it in vain to hope for a reformation from the Queen or bishops, resolved, for the future, to apply to Parliament, and stand by the constitution; for this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth their chief grievances in one view. It was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Field, minister of Aldermary, London, assisted by Mr. Wilcox, and was revised by several of the brethren. It was entitled an *Admonition to the Parliament*, &c.’—Vol. i. pp. 284, 285.

Bancroft gives this account of the book:—

‘To this purpose, certain persons assembled themselves privately together in London (as I have been informed): namely, Gilby, Sampson, Lever, Field, Wilcox, and I wot not who besides. And then it was agreed upon (as it seemeth) that an admonition (which the now L. Archbishop of Canterbury did afterwards confute) should be compiled, and offered unto the Parliament approaching, anno 1572.’—*Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, &c. pp. 54, 55.

The other author to whom Bancroft refers, under the assumed name of ‘Miles,’ was not a member of the Church of Scotland, but, like the authors of the first admonition, a member of our own Church. From the manner in which Bancroft refers to his authorities in the margin, it cannot be ascertained which part of the outrageous language which the Dean ascribes to members of the Scottish Church was uttered by the authors of the *First Admonition*, and which part by Miles. But Bancroft, a few years afterwards, again quoted from these precious documents, as may be seen in **80.** 29. Miles, or Gilby, as he is there called, is the author of the latter part of the extract, which the Dean ascribes to members of the Scottish Church:—

‘That we eat not the Lord’s Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the silly souls believe they have an English mass; and that so we make no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil.—*Gilby*, p. 2.’

Rogers, in his book, entitled *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, which he shows to be in exact accordance with ‘all the neighbour churches, Christianly reformed,’ and

which he dedicates to Bancroft, gives us an additional point of Gilby's faith, under his assumed name :—

' Miles Monopodios numbereth parsons and vicars among the hundred points of popery yet remaining in our Church.'—*On the 36th Article*, p. 331.

The question is, was this Gilby a member of the Scottish Church? If he were, the Dean should be pardoned for stating—

' How the members of this " Holy Kirk " spoke of the Prayer Book, we learn from the president of the Convocation himself. Their language was, " We eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the silly souls believe they have an English mass; and that so we put no difference betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil."'

But Gilby was no member of the ' Holy Kirk ' of Scotland, he was a member of the Church of England. Grindal, Archbishop of York, writing to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, thus refers to Gilby :—

' But, as for Mr. Gilby, I cannot deal with him; for he dwelleth at Leicester, out of this province, and much nearer to London than to York.'—*Remains of Abp. Grindal*, p. 327.

To this, Strype adds the following note :—

' Many of these were ministers who enjoyed benefices and places of profit in the Church, and yet lived not in obedience to the rules and injunctions of it. The men of this rank of the most fame were Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburne, Goff, Whittingham, Gilby. These the said commissioners thought fit to convent before them, and to press their duty upon them; and if they persisted in their refusal of it, to deprive them. Some part of this work would lie upon the Archbishop of York: for Lever, Whittingham (Dean of Durham), and Gilby, being of the North, and so of his province, were thought to fall under his cognisance. These two last had been exiles at Geneva in the days of Queen Mary.'—*Strype, Grind.* p. 252.

Bancroft, as we have seen, mentions three of these, namely, Lever, Sampson, and Gilby, as authors of the *First Admonition to Parliament*.

6. On the strength of these three unaccountable misapplications of what Bancroft affirmed concerning a few members of the Church of England to the Church of Scotland, the Dean remarks :—

‘It is monstrous to suppose that Bancroft intended to place that Kirk, in his estimation so unholy, on the same footing as the Churches of England and Ireland, or that he would not have discontinued the Convocation if he had suspected that it would recognise that Kirk as a sister Church.’

Is it not ‘monstrous’ rather that a dignitary of our Church should publish, year after year, what reflects so seriously on a Christian Church, and on a National Church second only to our own in the history of the Church of Christ, and all without a vestige of foundation!

7. It is true, Bancroft did not like the Church of Scotland; this is seen in the sermon in question, to which some of the members of the Scotch Church took exception. They did not, however, regard those parts of the sermon which the Dean has quoted as in any respect referring to themselves. It is certain that Bancroft had nothing in common with these Anglicans of the nineteenth century, as is plain from his sermon. He speaks of all the Reformed Churches of Europe, the Church of Scotland not excepted, as clapping their hands at the Reformation of the English Church. He speaks of the confession drawn up by Bishop Jewel as having obtained principal commendation among all the Churches, the Church of Scotland not excepted. The only exception he makes is that of the papists. He speaks with great commendation of Bucer and Peter Martyr, whom these Anglicans greatly dislike. But the reader must consult **80.** 11–13, 17, for fuller information.

8. This sermon of Bancroft’s was preached in the year 1588; but we have access to his opinions nineteen years after this date, and some years after the cañon was framed in which we are enjoined to pray for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In the year 1607, his chaplain dedicated to him an exposition of the thirty-nine articles, ‘proved to be agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant confessions of all neighbour churches, Christianly reformed.’ He speaks with intense interest of the laudable attempt of Archbishop Cranmer to obtain a conjoint confession from all the Reformed Churches. In reference to which he says:—

‘But this proved a work of much difficulty, if not altogether impos-

sible in men's eyes, especially in those days, to be brought about; the next course and resolution was that every kingdom and free state, or principality, which had abandoned the superstitious and antichristian religion of the Church of Rome, and embraced the Gospel of Christ, should divulge a brief of that religion, which among themselves was taught and believed, and whereby, through the mercy of God in Christ, they did hope to be saved: which to God his great glory and the singular benefit and comfort of all Churches, both present and to come (as the extant harmony of all their confessions doth most sweetly record), with no great labour, was notably performed.' (82. 4.)

The confession of the Church of Scotland formed one of this harmony. In the history of these confessions, that of Scotland is thus described:—

'XII. The confession of Scotland was first exhibited to, and allowed by, the three estates in Parliament, at Edinburgh, in the year 1560; again ratified at the same place, and on the same authority, in 1567; and finally subscribed by the King's Majesty, and his household, at Holyrood House, the 28th day of January, 1581.'—*The Harmony of the Protestant Confessions, &c.* Rev. P. Hall. Intro. p. xxxix.

In the year 1607, some years after the canon in question was framed, we find a most distinct and public recognition of the whole system of the Church of Scotland. Rogers would not have written what would have been uncongenial to the feelings and sentiments of Bancroft, to whom he was chaplain, especially in his dedication. And that Bancroft approved of the book and its dedication is certain from the fact that he commanded it to be disseminated in his province. Again Rogers said:—

'The doctrine in this land allowed, and publicly graced and embraced of all sorts at his entrance into the realm, hath been not only acknowledged to be agreeable to God's word, sincere, and the very same which both his highness and the whole Church and Kingdom of Scotland, yea, and the primitive Church, professed.' (82. 18, 19.)

9. There were discontented spirits both in our own Church and in that of Scotland, but surely neither Church is to be judged of by a small fraction of each. Rogers alludes to these discontented persons in our own Church, and facetiously describes them, while at the same time he maintains, according to their own statements, that in all main things they agreed with the Church of England. (See 82. 8, 11–14.) The reader will do well to consult the whole of that part of 82. from sect. 1 to 22,

the entire spirit of which is as much opposed as possible to the well-known sentiments of these Anglicans. It is true that Bancroft in this sermon uttered sentiments respecting the origin of the bishop in the Christian Church that were in advance of any which had been publicly maintained since our Church had been reformed, and sentiments, perhaps, which were nearer the truth, but were received as new in our Church, and were strenuously opposed by that very learned man, Dr. Raynolds. (See **81.**)

10. Bancroft, in the year 1610, most distinctly acknowledged the ministers of the Church of Scotland to be lawfully and Scripturally ordained. Three presbyters of the Church of Scotland came to this country to be consecrated bishops. Spotiswood, one of the three, gives the following account of the transaction:—

‘A question in the meantime was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish bishops, who, as he said, “must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no ordination from a bishop.” The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained, “That thereof there was no necessity, seeing, where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise, that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.” This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at the day, and in the place appointed, the three Scottish bishops were consecrated.’—*Spotiswood*, bk. vii. p. 514.

Several years after this, and when many of our bishops and clergy had become influenced by the heresy of Laud, and, to use the language of Dean Hook, ‘the Catholic Church became extinct in Scotland,’ ‘four Scottish divines were again consecrated in London in 1661.’ But in this case these Scottish presbyters were ordained deacons, and then re-ordained presbyters, before they were consecrated bishops.

11. The *à priori* reasoning of Dean Hook—for such he calls it, founded as it is in delusion—gives no proof that Bancroft, as the president of Convocation, was against praying for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that his powers were as immense as those which the Dean ascribes to Archbishop Sumner, and that he was disposed to use those powers as unscrupulously as he says the late Arch-

bishop was, Bancroft, no doubt, would be guided, for the most part, in his acts and expressions of opinion regarding the Scotch Church by King James I., by whom he was about to be promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Bancroft had a pliant and easy way of accommodating his conscience and his opinions to that profane man. Perhaps there is some excuse for him, for he appears, with some others, to have regarded swearing James as the very Solomon of his age. We are told by Bishop Short, in his *Church History*, that—

‘His majesty was particularly eloquent in favour of oaths *ex officio*, and made a long speech to prove their utility and necessity. This topic so pleased the episcopal party that the Archbishop (Bancroft) declared that the King spoke by the especial assistance of God’s Spirit; a line of compliment too well received by James himself, and unfortunately repeated by most of the courtiers who were present.’—*Short’s History of the Church of England*, sect. 509.

12. Now, Dean Hook has made the attempt to prove that King James could not possibly have given his consent to Convocation to pray for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and if King James was opposed to it, we freely admit that Bancroft might have been so too; but we also maintain that, if the King were not opposed, neither was Bancroft likely to be.

We now proceed to give the Dean’s second part of *à priori* reasoning, founded on the recorded sentiment of King James, several years after the canon became the law of the Church. He says:—

‘The King, who gave his consent to the canons, and who, in giving his consent, acted not, as a sovereign in these days, on the advice of his ministers, but on his own authority, was James I., and King James’s opinion on Presbyterianism was sufficiently decided, and by this time well known. “That bishops ought to be in the Church, I have ever maintained as an apostolic institution, and so the ordinance of God; contrary to the Puritans, and likewise to Bellarmine, who denies that bishops have their jurisdiction immediately from God. (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritans’ side, since Jesuits are nothing but Puritan Papists.) And as I ever maintained the state of bishops, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy for order’s sake, so was I ever an enemy to the confused anarchy or parity of the Puritans, as well appeareth in my *Basilicon Doron*. Heaven is governed by order, and all the good angels there; nay, hell itself could not subsist without some order, and the very devils are divided into legions, and have their chieftains; how can any society then upon earth exist without order and degrees? and therefore

I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this Answerer could say *that I was a Puritan in Scotland and an enemy to Protestants*. I that was persecuted by Puritans there, not from my birth only, but ever since four months before my birth? I that, in the year of God 1584, erected bishops, and depressed all their popular parity, I then being not eighteen years of age? I that, in my said book to my son, do speak ten times more bitterly of them nor of the papists; having, in my second edition thereof, affixed a long apologetic preface, only *in odium Puritanorum*? I that, for the space of six years before my coming into England, laboured nothing, so much as to depress their parity, and re-erect bishops again? Nay, if the daily commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland were written (as Julius Cæsar's were), there would scarcely a month pass in all my life, since my entering into the thirteenth year of my age, wherein some accident or other would not convince the cardinal of a lie in this point. And surely I give a fair commendation to the Puritans in that place of my book where I affirm that I have found greater honesty with the Highland and border thieves than with that sort of people."—*Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, p. 44. Now is it credible that a monarch, despotic in his disposition, and peculiarly despotic in what related to the Church, in an age when the supremacy was asserted, and exercised with as much of inconsiderate tyranny as the most determined liberal of the present age could wish or recommend,—is it credible that a despotic sovereign, holding these opinions, would give his sanction to a canon which would raise the system he dreaded and abhorred to a parity with the Church of England and Ireland? Certainly the advocates of Presbyterianism must be prepared to believe things very incredible to men of reasoning minds if they can believe this to be probable.'—*Bidding Prayer*, Ch. Dict.

13. The *Premonition to the Apology*, from which the Dean has given the King's sentiments on Puritans, is quite out of court, it being written and published some years after the canon in question was framed. Gunpowder-plot, as it is called, did not occur until the year 1605, which was the occasion of the oath of allegiance. Cardinal Bellarmine, under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote against the oath, and this occasioned the apology of King James. The premonition to this, then, is of too late a date, unless King James was always of the same mind in Church discipline and religious doctrine, but his changeableness in these points is too notorious to be disputed. In the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, when standing, bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven—

'He praised God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospel; to such a place, as to be king of such a Kirk,

the sincerest kirk of the world. "The Kirk of Geneva," said he, "kept Pasch and Yule, what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English, they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same, and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly, &c." There was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour but praising God, and praying for the King.—*Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 256, 257.

Again, in his speech in Parliament, 1598—

'He declared what great care he had to adorn and commodate the Kirk, to remove all controversies, to establish the discipline, and to restore the patrimony. To effectuate this, he said, it was needful that ministers should have vote in Parliament, without which the Kirk could not be vindicated from poverty and contempt. "I mind not," said he, "to bring in papistical or Anglican bishops, but only to have the best and wisest of the ministry appointed by the General Assembly to have place, in council, and Parliament.'—*Ibid.* p. 418.

Upon his leaving Scotland, in the year 1603, to take possession of the crown of England, he gave public thanks to God in the Kirk of Edinburgh:—

'That he had settled both Kirk and Kingdom, and left them in that estate which he intended not to hurt, or alter any ways, his subjects living in peace.'—*Ibid.* p. 473.

14. The question is, when did the King change his views respecting this Presbyterian Church? We have all the evidence we could reasonably expect, and that from the King himself, that he had not changed his views at the time the canon was framed, nor two years after. It is true the King, in the extract which the Dean has given from the premonition, refers to his *Basilicon Doron* respecting his sentiments regarding the Puritans, and if, in the mind of the King, Puritans and Presbyterians were one and the same, the extract would have in some measure served the Dean's purpose for which he quoted it. Now, had the Dean read the preface, a most important part of a book, he would have seen that no amount of railing against the Puritans would prove that he then railed against the Presbyterians. In a later edition of his *Basilicon Doron, or His Majesty's*

Instruction to his dearest Sonne Henry the Prince, in a prefatory address 'to the reader,' he states:—

'First, then, as to the name of Puritans. I am not ignorant that the style thereof doth partly belong only to that vile sect amongst the anabaptists called The Family of Love: because they think themselves only pure, and in a manner without sin, the only true Church, and only worthy to be participant of the sacraments, and all the rest of the world to be an abomination in the sight of God. Of this special sect I principally mean, when I speak of Puritans, divers of them, as Browne, Penry, and others, having at sundry times come into Scotland to sow their popple amongst us. But, on the other part, I protest upon mine honour, I mean it (the name Puritan) not generally of all preachers, or others that like better of the single Form of Policy in our Church (the Church of Scotland) than of the many ceremonies that are in the Church of England—that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy—that the surplice, the cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which, for my own part, I ever esteemed as indifferent), as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions.'—*The Works of King James*, pp. 143, 144.

15. Dean Hook says, 'King James's opinion on Presbyterianism was sufficiently decided, and by this time (1603) well known.' In proof of this, the Dean gives no evidence of a sufficiently early date, excepting the King's reference to his *Basilicon Doron*, to which, in his premonition, the King alludes, and affirms that he has found greater honesty in border thieves than with Puritans. But we will give the passage to which the King alludes:—

'Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to such Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weale, whom no desert can oblige, neither oathes or promises binde, breathing nothing but sedition and calunnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their owne imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the Great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never finde with any Hie-land or Border theeves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these phanaticke spirits.'—*Basilicon Doron*, book ii. pp. 160, 161.

The Dean must have been sadly wanting in information on the subject on which he was writing, and, to make the matter worse, most reckless in making use of the partial information he had. If King James were bad enough, he was not bold enough to represent the members of the legally established Church of

the country in which he lived and reigned, and the Church to which he belonged, as worse than thieves. It is certain, from his own statement, that the affirmation was not made respecting Presbyterians at all, but a certain class of English Puritans, two of whom he mentions by name; and the fact that he refers to *Highland* and *Border* thieves significantly indicates that he alluded to persons that were not Scottish, that in his estimation Scottish thieves were better than certain English Puritans.

16. But we advance a step further; the Dean dates the canon in question 1603. In the year 1605, we have an important declaration made by the King himself. We are told by Archbishop Spotswood, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, that King James had put off a meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and—

“These proceedings of the council were openly condemned by divers preachers; and, to make them more odious, it was everywhere given out that the suppressing of assemblies and *present discipline*, with the *introduction* of the rites of England, were the matters intended to be established: whereupon the declaration following was by His Majesty’s command published:—

“Whereas we have ever since it pleased God to establish us in the imperial crown of Great Britain equally regarded the good of both kingdoms, now happily united in our royal person in one monarchy, ever minding to maintain and continue the good and laudable customs and laws whereby each of them hath been these many ages so worthily governed: nevertheless, some malicious spirits, enemies to common tranquillity, have laboured to possess the minds of our well affected subjects with an opinion that we do presently intend a *change* of the *authorised discipline* of the Church, and by a sudden and unseasonable laying on of the rites, ceremonies, and whole ecclesiastical order established in this part of our kingdom of Britain, to overturn the former government received in these parts; which none of our good subjects, we trust, will be so credulous to believe.” . . . “Like as for the more verification of our own honourable intention, and to stop the mouths of those unquiet spirits, raisers of that false scandal of alteration, &c.” . . . “Given at our honour of Hampton-court, the 26th of September, 1605, and in the third year of our reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.”—*Spotswood’s Church History*, book vii. pp. 487, 488.

17. Much more evidence might be adduced, but obviously enough has been brought forward to show that, so far from King James representing the Presbyterians of his own kingdom, in the year 1603, as being worse than Highland or border thieves,

about that time, or a little before, as we have seen, he declared on his honour that he loved them, and two years after, he represents those persons as ‘raisers of false scandal,’ who had given it out that he intended to change the Presbyterian discipline of the Church of Scotland. The Dean, then, has signally failed to prove that, at the time the canon was framed, the King repudiated the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

18. The Dean advances from what he calls *à priori* reasoning to what he designates history. He says:—

‘But if we refer to history, what we find to be thus improbable is proved to be impossible. “The Church, under a Presbyterian form, as it now is,” did *not* at that time exist as a recognised body, or an establishment.’

And here he adduces what he calls historical proofs, which are not worth quoting. Nothing could be more to the point than the King’s own state declaration, two years after the canon in question was framed, as recorded by Archbishop Spotiswood. From that document, as we have already seen, we learn, with absolute certainty, what the Church of Scotland then was, and what it was not, in the judgment of James and Archbishop Spotiswood, two competent, and in this case most impartial, witnesses. ‘It was everywhere given out,’ says the Archbishop, ‘that the suppression of assemblies and present discipline, with the introduction of the rites of England, were the matters intended to be established.’ In the mind, then, of the Archbishop, in the year 1605, the assemblies and present discipline of the Presbyterian Church existed, and the rites of the Church of England did not exist, in the Church of Scotland, but ‘some malicious spirits’ had given it out that the suppression of the present Presbyterian discipline, with the introduction of the English rites in its place, were matters *intended* to be established, and King James commanded his declaration to be published ‘to stop the mouths of these unquiet spirits, raisers of that false scandal of alteration.’ If we admit that the King lied about his intentions (though the Archbishop believes he spoke the truth, for he says, ‘copies of this declaration were sent to the ministers remaining in ward, that they might see the *vanity* of these rumours’), we must receive his admissions

respecting the Scottish Church as still having its Presbyterian discipline, and as yet without the polity of the Church of England. If the Church of Scotland was then, or two years before, what Dean Hook and his unfortunate instructors would fain persuade us it was, perhaps all, or any one of them, will account for the statements and admissions in the official declaration of the King?

19. The Dean, to show how our Church dealt with the Presbyterians of Scotland, quotes the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th canons, and then, as if his common sense for the moment had left him on some roving commission, he declares:—

‘We can conceive nothing in the records of absurdity more absurd than the idea that the very parties by whom Presbyterians were excommunicated should be the parties to speak of their denomination as a sister church. At the time when the 5th canon was enacted, the two kingdoms had been united, and the king of the two kingdoms had expressed his determination to unite the two Churches; he had already taken measures to effect his purpose, and in a few years he succeeded in his object. The Convocation, acting under his commands, excommunicated the Presbyterians, whom he hated, and held out the hand of fellowship to the Church which he was rearing amidst the ecclesiastical anarchy of Scotland. “True,” says a learned writer, “the bishops were not consecrated till a few years later, but when the law of the land had recognised their estate, and the men were known and appointed, it appears to me a verbal shuffle, and something more (unintentional, of course), to say, ‘the Church of Scotland was then, as now, Presbyterian.’”’

The reader will notice the statement of the Dean, ‘the two kingdoms had been united.’ This is incorrect; each kingdom, at that time, had its separate and independent laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, as also separate houses of parliament, and separate and distinct estates of the realm. The Dean says, ‘the King of the two kingdoms had expressed his determination to unite the two Churches.’ The Dean does not say when, nor where, he had expressed such a determination; on or before the year 1603. If the Dean means by this union that the King intended to have one and the same kind of government in each Church, the King, in the state declaration made two years after the canon was framed, as we have seen, affirms the contrary, and speaks in terms of extreme disapprobation of those who had given it out that he contemplated a change of the Presbyterian

Church which then existed, into one in discipline and rites like the Church of England. The Dean says, 'The Convocation, acting under his (King James's) commands, excommunicated the Presbyterians.' He regards the canons, which manifestly were intended to be only applicable to subjects of this realm, as applying to the separate and independent Church of Scotland, and in effect to all the sister reformed Churches, who for the most part had not episcopal government, and in most cases at that time preferred being without it. If, by the canons, which the Dean quotes, the Convocation excommunicated the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, they equally excommunicated the Roman Catholics throughout the world. The 8th canon is unquestionably levelled at the Roman Catholics, who most emphatically deny that either bishops, priests, or deacons are lawfully made, and they maintain that they require some other calling to those offices. When Archdeacon Wilberforce, the brother of the Bishop of Oxford, went to Rome, his orders were repudiated. The Dean shall have the benefit of his own statement as given in his own words. We can conceive nothing in the records of absurdity more absurd than the idea that the very parties by whom Romanists were excommunicated should be the parties to speak of them as being of the Holy Catholic Church. Perhaps these Anglo-catholics will be rather tender of the Romish communion, and affirm that the canons could have no reference to those Roman Catholics who did not live in England. Be it so. No more have the canons reference to Presbyterians not living in England. In fact the canons are altogether irrelevant to the purpose for which the Dean has quoted them.

20. The Dean then quotes, with approval, that the law of the land had recognised the estate of bishops. Now, this can only tend to deceive the reader not acquainted with the history of the case. For the men which formed this so-called estate of bishops differed nothing whatever from their brethren the presbyters, except only that they had a vote in parliament; but their history shall now be given. Calderwood states:—

'Concerning the number of the ministry that should have a vote in parliament in name of the Kirk, it was likewise concluded and thought

expedient that as many of them should be chosen for vote in parliament as were wont of old in time of the papistical kirk to be bishops, abbots, and priors, that had the like liberty, videlicet, to the number of fifty-one.—Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 421.

How these members of parliament, for indeed they were nothing more, were chosen, and under what conditions they held the office, the same historian states:—

‘Concerning the manner of choosing of him that shall have vote in parliament in name of the Kirk, it is condescended upon that the Kirk shall nominate six for every place that shall have need to be filled, out of which number His Majesty shall choose one. As for the cautions to keep him that hath vote in parliament from corruption, they are these following:—

‘1. That he presume not at any time to propound at parliament, council, or convention, in name of the Kirk, anything without express warrant and direction of the Kirk, and such things as he shall answer for to be for the weal of the Kirk, under the pain of deposition from the office; neither shall he keep silence, or consent in any of the said conventions to anything that may be prejudicial to the liberty and weal of the Kirk, under the same pain. . . .

‘5. He shall be bound to attend faithfully upon his own particular congregation where he shall be minister, in all the points of a pastor; and hereanent shall be subject to the trial and censure of his own presbytery and provincial assembly, as any other minister that beareth not commission.

‘6. In administration of discipline, &c. he shall neither usurp nor acclaim to himself any power or jurisdiction farther than any of the rest of his brethren, under the pain of deprivation. . . .

‘7. In Presbyteries, Provincial and General Assemblies, he shall behave himself in all things, and be subject to their censure, as any of the brethren of the presbytery.

‘8. At his admission to his office of missionary, these and all other points necessary he shall swear and subscribe to fulfil under the penalties foresaid; otherwise not to be admitted.

‘9. In case he be deposed by the General Assembly, Synod, or Presbytery, from his office of the ministry, he shall lose his vote in parliament *ipso facto*, and his benefice shall vaik’ (be vacant).—Pp. 439–41.

Spotiswood gives the same account. The King himself was present when the General Assembly, in 1600, ratified these things. The King, on a former occasion, had defined what he wished these voting ministers to be, and what he wished them not to be.

‘He said it was needful that ministers should have vote in parliament, without which the Kirk could not be vindicated from poverty and

contempt. "I mind not," said he, "to bring in papistical or Anglican bishops, but only to have the best and wisest of the ministry appointed by the General Assembly, to have place in council and parliament."—P. 418.

21. It is painful to find that the Dean quotes so-called history to the effect that from the time these voters in parliament were instituted, 'the Church of Scotland must be regarded as Episcopalian.' But what were the chief motives in introducing these commissioners, as they were called, to occupy the place in parliament of the former popish bishops? Certainly not any common to these Anglicans; their notions about a bishop as a representative of an apostle, and as an office without which there could be no church, never entered the heads of the promoters of this scheme. The Duke of Argyll has given so just a statement on this point that his testimony shall be stated; in which, at the same time, we shall have confirmed the exact position of these so-called bishops. He says:—

'The popish hierarchy had never been legally dispossessed of the emolument of their sees, and, with the exception of a small portion which had been assigned for the maintenance of the reformed clergy, they had been suffered to continue in the enjoyment of the property of the Church. The Scottish nobles had long cast a wistful eye on so valuable a prize; and now, when death and forfeiture had made some important vacancies among the Romish priesthood—now was the time to secure the acquisition of those revenues. But none could legally hold ecclesiastical property but such as were themselves ecclesiastics. A parliamentary secularisation, or seizure, was too bold a measure, opposed as it would be by the whole influence of the reformed ministers, who loudly denounced the selfish avarice which prevented the application of the property of the Romish Church to the much-needed objects designated by the Book of Discipline. How then, was the desired appropriation to be effected? A most notable scheme was planned. There were already superintendents in the Reformed Church, and why might there not be bishops too? Every possible concession might be made to the Presbyterian character of the existing constitution of the Church—there need be little change but a change of name—it was not necessary that the new bishops should be possessed of any spiritual power, or any authority in the government of the Church, superior to that already delegated to superintendents as representatives of corporate authority; they might be examined and admitted according to the same forms; they might be subject, like them, to the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court—to the control, to the censure, and finally, to the deposition, of the General Assembly. All these concessions the Regent and the nobles were willing to make, and did make. What then, it may be asked, was the object

of a change at all? It could not be a desire to maintain the "Catholicity" of "the Church"—it could not be a desire to secure the blessings of apostolic and episcopal succession. There was no provision for this—no thought of it; it was an idea, of which the Earls of Lennox, Mar, and Morton had not the remotest conception. One object, and one object only, had those men in view; one requirement, and one requirement only, was made of the presentee to a vacant bishopric—that he should not be too greedy of its revenues—that in consideration of a certain part he should pass on the greater portion into the exchequer of his patron.'—*Presbytery Examined*, &c. pp. 62, 63.

Such is the origin of the so-called episcopacy of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. These so-called bishops were for the most part a wretched caricature of the office and character of a bishop. Calderwood, in his history, after giving their origin in the manner described by the Duke of Argyll, says:—

'Therefore the bishops, admitted according to this new order, were called, in jest, *Tulchane* bishops. A *tulchane* is a calf's skin, stuffed full with straw to cause the cow give milk. The bishop had the title, but my Lord got the milk or commodity. Yet in this book, no further power is allowed to bishops or archbishops than before to superintendents. Nothing here concerning discipline, process of excommunication, order of ministration of the sacraments.'—P. 55.

The writer, Calderwood, goes on to say:—

'Adamson, in his sermon, divided bishops into three sorts, my lord Bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop, said he, was in time of papistry: my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my lord's right sure. The Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel.'—P. 55.

22. According to Dean Hook, then, and some of his friends, we are not directed to pray for the *Presbyterian* Church of Scotland, but for the episcopal, and the episcopal in the sense we have described, that is, a *tulchane* episcopate, a mere sham, not having a vestige of anything peculiar to the office of the episcopate. And for *such* an episcopal church the Dean and his teachers and friends affect to believe that a grave company of divines in convocation assembled taught, and in fact enjoined, all the members of our Church to pray. A bold affectation of faith, certainly, and most audaciously maintained; for the Dean quotes with approval the statement, 'It appears to me a verbal shuffle, and something more, to say the "Church of Scotland

was then, as now, Presbyterian.”’ But the Dean and his friend, whom he calls learned, shall be answered by Dean Goode:—

23. ‘The Archdeacon (Churton) adds, “True, these bishops-designate were not consecrated till a few years later; but when the law of the land had recognised their estate, and the men were known and appointed, it appears to me a verbal shuffle, and something more (unintentional, of course) to say that the Church of Scotland *was then, as now, Presbyterian.*” So that the Archdeacon would have us suppose that the law of the land had then authorised the episcopal form of Church government, and that bishops were accordingly appointed, and their consecration only in a state of abeyance. No description could be further removed from the facts of the case. The state had been in the habit of appointing these titular bishops since 1571, for the very purpose of their voting in parliament; and, so far from the law of the land recognising their estate as governors of the Church, it had established Presbyterianism in 1592 as the form of Church government to be followed, and had not in 1604 annulled that arrangement. And so little was the appointment made on the understanding of a future consecration that, when such consecration was proposed by King James in 1610, it was objected to at first by the “bishops” themselves, on the ground that the Church of England might claim some power over them. In fact, it is evident that consecration would never have been thought of, but from the circumstance, which happened subsequently, of King James’s accession to the throne of England.

‘I regret that the Archdeacon should have used the somewhat offensive phrase of a “verbal shuffle, and something more;” and in the present case he is peculiarly unfortunate in his application of it, when his own cause rests solely upon the use of the *name* of bishop, where the *thing* had no place. The *reality* is precisely what the Bishop (of Manchester) has described it to be, and the Archdeacon is only able to throw discredit upon the statement, by parading before the reader what turns out to be an empty shadow. His *tulchane* bishops are men of straw, that may do very well to frighten young birds, but will not have the slightest effect upon old ones. The facts of the case lie in a nutshell. There were no bishops in 1604 (Dean Goode gives this date of the canon, but Dean Hook 1603) in the Church of Scotland, having either episcopal consecration or the episcopal office, or even any immediate prospect of one or the other. There were no orders but Presbyterian orders. The Church was under the government (subject, of course, to the King) of a General Assembly, consisting of presbyters and laymen, the representatives of the local presbyteries, by which the affairs of the different districts into which the country was divided were directed; to which the “bishops” were subject; these “bishops” not being allowed, previous to 1606, to be, by right, even the moderators of the synods held in their dioceses.

‘If this is not a Presbyterian form of Church government, will the Archdeacon say what he calls it? And, be it observed, whatever name may be given it, it certainly is a non-episcopal form, and *destitute of*

episcopal orders; so that the purpose for which the canon has been adduced, namely, to show that our Church recognises, as a church, one which is destitute of episcopal orders, is equally answered, whatever name be applied.'—*A Reply to Archdeacon Churton, &c. on the term 'Church of Scotland' in the 55th Canon, &c.* by W. Goode, pp. 9, 10.

24. It is much to be desired that Dean Hook would forthwith delete from his *Church Dictionary* the unaccountable application of the statements of Bancroft to the Scottish Church, which in truth were meant only to apply to a few members of the Church of England, together with the false conclusions founded thereon; as also the strange misconceptions respecting the language of James I. and its entire bearing. If he should ever do this, perhaps he will therewith give an explanation, and make an apology to the Scottish Church and to the Christian world for the publication of such things.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORDINAL, AND ESPECIALLY THE FIRST ONE, CONSIDERED IN ITSELF, AND IN ITS RELATION TO THE TEACHING OF THE REFORMERS BEFORE THEY DREW IT UP, AND THE TEACHING OF OUR CHURCH AUTHORITIES AFTERWARDS, DURING THE REMAINDER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWN TO BE MOST INIMICAL TO THE TEACHING OF THESE ANGLICANS ON CLERICAL ORDERS, AND FOR THE MOST PART ADMITTED TO BE SO BY DEAN HOOK AND OTHER TRACTARIANS.

1. THE first Ordinal of our Reformed Church, with its collateral evidence, proves beyond a doubt that it never was constructed to be a house or habitation for these Anglicans of the present age; that viewed as a living structure these Anglicans are as Babylonish bricks or Romish cement in it, which give an unsightly, unreal appearance to the building; and that an entire church constructed of such materials could not be regarded as a Christian Church, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets; but rather as a synagogue of strangers, founded on the vain tradition of mortals.

2. It must be admitted, however, that the second Ordinal, which is the one now in use, differs from the first. Still, the Church, in its main outlines, is the same as reformed and reconstructed in the year 1552. The change in the Ordinal, and the conditions imposed for the first time in the year 1662, of episcopal ordination before anyone could be admitted into her ministry, made no fundamental change, as is plain from the fact that our thirty-sixth Article affirms alike of the first Ordinal, which had been in use for 113 years, as of the second, by which it was replaced, that all consecrated or ordered according to it were 'orderly and lawfully consecrated and ordered.'

In the last Act of Uniformity, all subscribers to the Articles were to construe this thirty-sixth, and take it to extend to the present Ordinal. That the amount of difference between the

two Ordinals may be appreciated and understood, the main points of each shall be given in parallel columns.

Ordering of Priests.

The parts of Holy Scripture selected in each for the Epistle and Gospel.

The Ordinal of 1549.

3. Acts xx. 17-35.—‘Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (bishops), to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.’—V. 28.

5. 1 Tim. iii. 1-16.—‘This is a true saying. If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. A bishop, then, must be blameless, &c.’—V. 1, 2.

6. Matt. xxviii. 18-20.—‘And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.’

8. John x. 1-16.

10. John xx. 19-23.—‘Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.’

The Ordinal of 1662.

4. Eph. iv. 7-13.—‘And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; &c.’—V. 11.

7. Matt. ix. 36-38.—‘When Jesus saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He may send forth labourers into his harvest.’

9. John x. 1-16.

11. 'When this prayer is done, the bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of everyone that receiveth orders, &c.'

13. 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

12. 'When this prayer is done, the bishop, with the priests present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of everyone that receiveth the order of priesthood, &c.'

14. 'Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy Sacraments. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

The Form of Consecrating a Bishop.

15. 'Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee, by imposition of hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.'

16. 'Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.'

The texts as given for the Epistle and Gospel in the old Ordinal for a priest, compared with those given in the new Ordinal for a bishop.

Priest.

- 17. Acts xx. 17-35.
- 19. 1 Tim. iii. 1-16.
- 21. Matt. xxviii. 18-20.
- 23. John xx. 19-23.
- 25. John x. 1-16.

Bishop.

- 18. Acts xx. 17-35.
- 20. 1 Tim. iii. 1-7.
- 22. Matt. xxviii. 18-20.
- 24. John xx. 19-23.
- 26. John xxi. 15-17.

27. Nothing can be more plain from the first Ordinal than that the ordination of a priest and a bishop was, in the minds of its framers, one and the same. The texts so specially chosen by Dr. Wordsworth, as we have seen, and applied exclusively to bishops as successors of the apostles, are here applied to priests. It is true the same texts in the present Ordinal are now applied to bishops. Dean Hook says:—

‘Our Church refers us to those texts of Scripture occurring in the history of the Acts, and the apostolical epistles, which are usually urged for the proof of the episcopal order.’—*Episcopacy, Ch. Dict.*

Well, be it so; but the fact that the Church previously had applied identically the same texts, and that for the space of 113 years, to the office of a presbyter just as certainly shows that, in her mind, the office of a presbyter and of a bishop was the same. And this, we shall find, was the doctrine taught and held by all our leading ecclesiastical writers of the latter part of the sixteenth century. So conscious were the Tractarians of this that in their *Catena Patrum* on apostolical succession they have significantly passed over the authors of that period. In the seventeenth century, chiefly through the instrumentality of Archbishop Laud, of unhappy memory, it must be admitted a great change came over many in our Protestant Reformed Church, which culminated in its overthrow for a season. At the Restoration, such changes were effected in the outworks of the Church as in some measure to alter its character, but not in reality to change its constitution and principles; and yet this change, slight though it was, is the foundation on which these Anglicans ground, or profess to ground, their principles. Dean Hook says:—

‘The Reformation was completed, and the principles of Anglicanism were fully established, before Elizabeth was taken from the Church to which she had acted as a nursing mother. But it was not till the epoch of the Restoration that they were fully recognised by Convocation, and accepted by Parliament.’—*Discourses bearing on the Controversies of the Day*, p. 32.

28. The Dean, instead of viewing our Church from ‘the mountains’ of Scripture, to use the language of the Fathers, views it from the seven hills in the vicinity of the Tiber, from

which point of view the aspect is entirely changed. This will account for the following sentiment, as expressed by him:—

‘The lax reign of Edward was necessary to allow the Protestant principle to be freely promulgated and fairly discussed through the length and breadth of the land. And when it was proceeding to excesses, it received a timely check from the hand of Mary.’—*Ibid.* p. 29.

When it (the Church, its bishops and rulers) was proceeding to excesses, ‘it received a *timely* check.’ In other words, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, when they were proceeding to excesses, were ‘*timely*’ roasted alive for the preservation, or rather the restoration, of the heresy of Dean Hook and these Anglicans generally. A very hot remedy truly! But, though hot, yet, according to the Dean, it was *timely*; the check neither came too soon nor too late, but just when it was needed, that is, *timely*. The Dean, a little before, in the same sermon, says:—

‘We only discern the guiding hand of a merciful Providence more clearly when, after these considerations, on referring to the pages of history, we see that the English Reformers, if they had not been checked and controlled by circumstances, would have followed Luther, not only where he was Scriptural, but also in his error.’—P. 28.

But what was his error? The Dean shall tell us:—

‘But placed by circumstances in opposition to the bishops of his own Church, he failed to observe that the administration of the sacraments is connected with the commission given by the Divine Head of the Church to those who act in his name—a commission which has been handed down from generation to generation, by the apostolical succession. He failed to see that, as the Bible is the depository of the truth, so the Church is the depository of grace.’—P. 26.

29. We have no wish to perplex the Dean or any of his brethren when we ask who of our Reformed Church during the sixteenth century saw what Luther, it seems, failed to see, viz. that ‘the Church is the depository of grace;’ and if any did see it, pray where and when have they made a note of their marvellous vision? The Dean, by the use of the term Church, does not mean the laity; and to call the clergy by that name is a misnomer, according to the teaching of Holy Scripture and our Liturgy. By the term Church he means for the most part the bishops; but these, for 126 years, were by our Church

authorities confounded with and regarded as being, according to their view of Holy Scripture, substantially the same as presbyters. He admits that—

‘The first English Reformers were inclined to sympathise with those of the Continent; the Elizabethan Reformers, having, with the exception of the true-hearted Parker, almost all of them been sojourning abroad during the Marian persecution, returned to England with foreign predilections and prejudices. And it required nothing less than the stern will and the strong hand of Elizabeth to compel the bishops, who bore rule in our Church in the first years of her reign, to act as bishops ought to act, and, while inculcating the Protestant principle, to preserve the framework of the Church. From them she obtained rather a cold *acquiescence* than a cordial support.’—P. 31.

30. The arbitrary conduct of Elizabeth to some of our bishops and her popish innovations in our Reformed Church, for which the Dean is so thankful, and for which he extols her, on his own showing, were in violation of the laws of the land, and the order and authority of the Church. He says:—

‘But it was not till the epoch of the Restoration that they (the principles of Anglicanism) were fully recognised by Convocation, and accepted by Parliament.’—P. 32.

This arbitrary woman compelled the bishops to do things which were neither recognised by Convocation nor accepted by Parliament, which did not take place until after the reigns of James and Charles in the year 1662. It was this arbitrary interference with the bishops on the part of the sovereign, and their but too ready acquiescence to submit, that occasioned the very name of bishop to be hated and repudiated with abhorrence in Scotland, and by many in this country. We ought, however, to acknowledge with thankfulness that this reproach is washed away, and that the bishops of no country in the world, or any age of the Christian Church, were ever held in higher esteem than those of our own Church, at the present day.

31. But before returning to the Ordinal, we must come to the point for which the apparent digression has been made, namely, the perpetration of the Act of Uniformity, so precious in the estimation of these wretched Anglicans, but so disastrous to the fair fame of our Protestant Reformed Church, that, although her heart was not changed by that Act, and other

changes made about that time, yet her demeanour to her sister Reformed Churches, and her apparent preference for the harlot of Rome, must be regarded as a blot upon her character.

Of that Act we shall speak in words borrowed from an arch-deacon, and given with approval by Canon M'Neile in his *Church and the Churches*:—

'A strange voice passed through England, a voice which spake of unity; but it was soon stifled by the tumultuous cries of opposite parties clamouring in rivalry for uniformity. And ere long all hope was blasted by that second, most disastrous, most tyrannical and schismatical, Act of Uniformity; the authors of which, it is plain, were not seeking unity, but division. But this strait-waistcoat for men's consciences could scarcely have been devised except by persons themselves of seared consciences and hard hearts—by persons ready to gulp down any oath, without scruple about more or less. Verily, when I think of that calamitous unprincipled Act, of the men by whom it was enacted—Charles the Second, and the aristocracy and gentry of his reign—of the holy men against whom it was enacted—it seems almost a prologue to the profligacy and infidelity which followed close upon it. . . . Yet how grievous was the wound in the Church at the time; how grievous it is still at this day in its enduring effects. Some two thousand ministers, comprising the chief part, it seems scarcely questionable, of the most faithful and zealous in the land, were silenced in one day, were severed out of one Church for the sake of uniformity. On that, our English Bartholomew's day, the eye wandered over England, and in every fifth parish saw the people scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd.'

32. It must be admitted that these men effected other changes in the Church at the Restoration, which these Anglicans, with their views, have reason to look upon with favour, and but for which they would not have had the shadow of an excuse for remaining in the Church. It should be borne in mind, however, that the dogmatic teaching of the Church, as made known in her Articles, has not been affected by these later changes; that her definition of a Christian Church and her recognition of Presbyterian Ordinations are still the same. In fact, her constitution and the main features of her character are the same as when reformed and purified about the year 1552. It is base in the extreme that these Anglicans of this nineteenth century should make so much of these changes as in their minds to regard and represent her as a daughter or younger sister of the 'whorish bawd of Babylon,' and to represent her as repudiating all her 'Christianly Reformed' sister Churches, whom she once

loved and rejoiced to recognise. How foul a libel this is upon our Church may be inferred from almost every extract as given in the second part of the *Catena Patrum*, taken from our martyred bishops, and other illustrious defenders of our Church.

33. We thought it necessary to say thus much respecting the changes effected in the year 1662, and the admissions of these Anglicans of the state of things before that period. We are now prepared to examine the principal points of the first Ordinal, and to prove from it, and other legitimate evidence, that, although in 1662 some changes were effected in the Church, yet it was not so changed as really to make it what these Anglicans represent it to be; while, for the space of 126 years previously, the doctrine taught respecting the bishop, and acted upon for 113 years in the Ordinal, absolutely ignored that order as distinct from the presbyter.

The reader is especially called upon to notice the words used in the ordination of a priest, and those used in the consecration of a bishop in the first Ordinal, as given in this chapter, sects. 13, 15. It must be observed that these words used in the consecration of a bishop are peculiar to our own Church. The quotation from 2 Tim. i. 6, 7, perhaps was never so used in any ordinal before. Their use is significant, and their meaning in this connection easily explained. When St. Paul applied these words to Timothy, he had received the grace or gift which Dr. Wordsworth explains as 'the grace or gift of holy orders,' which interpretation is somewhat similar to the one as given by the framers of the Ordinal. But it is important that this should be confirmed and illustrated. In an important document, having the imprimatur of all the authorities both of Church and State, we are told that—

'Beside the power of the sword, there should also be continually in the Church militant certain other ministers or officers, which should have spiritual power, authority, and commission under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God, &c. . . . This said power and administration is called in some places of Scripture a gift and a grace . . . according to the saying of St. Paul (1 Tim. iv. 14), 'Neglect not the gift, &c.' and also Eph. iv. 8, 'and gave gifts unto men' (gifts of office), by which words it appeareth evidently . . . that St. Paul accounted and numbered this said power and office of the pastors and doctors among the

proper and special gifts of the Holy Ghost. . . . The truth is that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and priests (presbyters) or bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other authority before mentioned.' (59. 2, 5.)

34. There can be no mistake as to how these men understood the term gift or grace, and as to the class of persons to whom they believed it to be committed, namely, to one, and one only; making no distinction as of Divine appointment between a bishop and presbyter. But it may be said that, although these men framed the Ordinal, yet as the above sentiments were published in 1536, and the Ordinal in 1549, their opinions might become considerably modified. Their views on popish doctrine underwent an entire change, but on clerical orders it would seem that there was no change beyond that they ceased to regard ordination as a sacrament, in consequence of which their theories on the office of the Christian ministry became identical with those of Calvin, with the single exception that they nowhere appear to recognise lay presbyters (see secs. 38, 41 below). The leading Reformers considered the term presbytery in the following phrase of Scripture, 'laying on of the hands of the presbytery,' to use the language of Archbishop Potter, as 'referring to the office to which Timothy was ordained, and not to the persons who ordained him.' This was, undoubtedly, the opinion of Jerome, the most learned and able biblical scholar of all the Fathers; and when it is borne in mind that of all the Christians of the age in which he lived he was the best acquainted with the ecclesiastical doctrine and opinions both of the Eastern and Western Churches, we may well pause and enquire respecting the most ancient teaching on this point, and these Anglicans should listen to it, and, according to their own canon, implicitly believe it. We may well assume that the practice of promoting persons to the office of a presbyter or bishop was universal in the Church, and that of necessity they must have language to express it; and what more natural and suitable than to adopt that of Holy Scripture?

35. We find this to be especially the case with Eusebius, in his *History of the Church*. Speaking of the learned Origen, he says, 'He had not yet obtained the laying on of hands—or the

ordination—of the presbytery, or the office of a presbyter (*τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας*).’ Again, when he speaks of his ordination, he says, ‘He received the laying on of hands, or the ordination of the presbytery, or the office of a presbyter (*πρεσβυτερίου χειροθεσίαν*) at Cæsarea, from the bishops of that country.’—Lib. vi. cap. xix. xxiii. pp. 425, 430. In the first Greek phrase the laying on of hands is not necessarily expressed, but it is expressed in the latter phrase, and the latter term explains the former, and is applied both by Jerome and Chrysostom in ecclesiastical usage to denote laying on of hands in ordination. (29. 43; 34. 36.) In this early history of the Church it is certain they understood the words as relating to the office to which Timothy was ordained, and not to the persons who ordained him. Eusebius frequently uses the term in question to denote the office of a presbyter. The term occurs in part of a letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, about 251, giving an account of Novatus, or Novatian. The words are:—

‘He was honoured with the presbytery, or office of a presbyter, and that by favour of the bishop placing his hands upon him to the order of the presbytery, or office of a presbyter.’—Lib. vi. cap. 43, p. 470.

36. Socrates, another Greek Church historian, uses the same nomenclature in the ordination of the clergy. Describing the promotion of Proclus, he says:—

‘Atticus promoted him to the order of the diaconate (*διακονίας*), and being worthy of the presbytery, or office of a presbyter (*πρεσβυτερίου*), as is said, he was promoted by Sisinnius of Cyzicum to the episcopate (*ἐπισκοπήν*).’—Lib. vii. cap. 41, p. 386.

37. But the most valuable witness of antiquity is the Peshito-Syriac version of the New Testament, made at the close of the first, or the beginning of the second, century. This invaluable version renders the Greek term *πρεσβυτέριον* (‘presbytery’), 1 Tim. iv. 14, by the same term it renders *ἐπισκοπή* (‘office of a bishop’), 1 Tim. iii. 1. There are only two other instances in which the term *πρεσβυτέριον* occurs in the New Testament, and the Syriac in both instances renders it by the term elders or presbyters (Luke xxii. 66; Acts xxii. 5). The ancient Syriac translator, with the other ancient authorities, most certainly considers the term in the text in question to denote the office of

a presbyter or bishop, and not a company of them. Bishop Hall confirms this view. He says:—

‘Calvin himself interprets the place, not of the men, but of the office; following herein Jerome, and Anselm, Haimo, Lyra, and others.’—*Episcopacy by Divine Right*, pt. ii. sect. xv.

Sedulius and Primacius are considered to maintain the same view. (**41.** 7; **51.** 5, 6.)

37. We have most ample proof that our reformers were conversant with the teaching of these men, and, on this point, adopted it. Nicholas de Lyra, one of the writers above referred to, was the author of a commentary on the Holy Scriptures, which he completed in the beginning of the fourteenth century. This ponderous work was printed in the year 1508, and again in 1529, and it appears to have been a household book with all the Reformers, both English and Foreign. The former are constantly quoting it. See **63.** 2, and **64.** 4, as a specimen of a great number of instances. Of Luther it has been well said—

Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset.

‘If Lyra had not played his lyre, Luther would not have danced.’ On the words, ‘with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery’ (1 Tim. iv. 14), he says:—

‘The term presbytery is the honour or office of a presbyter, and the word presbytery is here used for the word episcopate, as under the convertible name of bishop or episcopate is comprehended the presbytery or office of a presbyter.’

Again, on the words, ‘Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands’ (2 Tim. i. 6), he says:—

‘That is the grace of the pontifical honour which is said to be stirred up when for the act of preaching great and uncommon fervour appears to proceed from it.’

38. Calvin, a great authority with our English Reformers, states on the above words:—

‘For what is said in the first epistle of the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, I do not understand as if Paul were speaking of the college of presbyters. By the expression I understand the ordination itself; as if he had said, act so that the gift you received by the laying on of hands, when I made you a presbyter, may not be in vain.’

Erasmus held the same view, and alleged it to be that of the ancients.

We may be quite certain that the first Ordinal was framed in accordance with these views. It is not necessary that this should be the right interpretation, but it serves our purpose as the true key to the language of the Ordinal, and especially the use of the phrase of Scripture, 'Stir up the grace or gift.' When the presbyter was consecrated a bishop, these words were applied to him. Our Reformers, as we have shown, regarded the office of a presbyter to be this gift or grace. They had no additional office as of Divine appointment to confer, and therefore, when promoted to be a bishop, they called upon him to stir up the gift or grace he already had. Dean Hook considers Timothy to have been a bishop when these words were addressed to him. (Chap. IV. 259 above.)

The fact is that in this Ordinal it was supposed that the presbyter had received the full degree of the ministerial office, viewed from a Scriptural point of view. Still there was the higher office of a bishop in the Church, and probably had been from the time of the apostles; in the earlier ages of the Church he was a *primus inter pares*, and from the third century had independent power over presbyters, and was regularly consecrated to his office. This office our Reformers wished to retain, and framed an ordinal of their own for the promotion of bishops, in which, however, as we have seen, they studiously avoid conferring, to use the language of Dr. Wordsworth, any grace of Holy Orders, but call upon the person promoted to stir up what he already had. We have already noticed how in the ordination of priests, the framers of the Ordinal applied those texts to their office which in the present Ordinal have been applied to bishops. This may be seen by referring to sects. 17, 18, &c. of this chapter. He will also notice (sect. 15, 16) the difference of the words of consecration of a bishop in the old Ordinal from those now used in the new. 'Remember thou stir up the grace of God, which is given thee by *this* imposition of our hands, &c.' In the old Ordinal it is: 'Remember thou stir up the grace of God, which is (already) in thee, by imposition of hands' (when thou wast ordained presbyter).

39. The reader should note well the important document to which we have already referred. It is there distinctly stated that there are but two orders, and that presbyters or bishops, making no distinction between them, make the second order, and that the gift or grace conferred in ordination is nothing else but the office of a bishop or presbyter. (59. 5.) Most of those who signed their names to this document, Cranmer in particular, were the same persons who framed the Ordinal. It was then with reason and judgment that they avoided conferring the gift or grace, that is, as explained by them, the office of a bishop, twice over, but in promoting a presbyter or a bishop to the office of a bishop, as now held in the Church, they called upon him to stir up the grace he already had. 'As for the consecration of bishops, by a new imposition of hands, it doth not,' says Bishop Burnet, 'prove them a distinct office; being only a solemn benediction, and separation of them, for the discharge of that inspection committed to them.'

40. But before proceeding further, we should especially notice what an outrageous use Mr. Perceval, one of Dean Hook's authorities on apostolical succession, has made of the document we have above referred to. That there may be no mistake, we have placed side by side Mr. Perceval's extracts (59. 3, 7, 10) from the document beside fuller extracts (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11) from the same document, with his own preliminary remarks coming before sect. 3, where he calls these men, who then believed the seven sacraments, the doctrine of transubstantiation, &c. &c.—'our *Protestant* Fathers.' Nothing could be further from the truth. The date he gives to the document is 1536. If the reader will turn to 60. 1, 2, 3, he will see the testimony of the learned John Lambert respecting clerical orders, which in fact is the same as that borne throughout the *Catena*. But he will also notice his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation (60. 4, 5), his examination by Cranmer in the presence of King Henry VIII., his condemnation (sect. 6), and finally his most horrible punishment as a martyr (sects. 7, 8). This part has been inserted in the *Catena* for no other purpose than to show what sort of men they were whom Perceval had the audacity to call *Protestants*. The reader must note well how sig-

nificantly he stops short of the part where presbyter and bishop are affirmed to be one order, according to the truth of the New Testament. See **59.** 10, and notice how he has left out sect. 11. The very office in which he believes the succession to be handed interruptedly down is ignored, yet he so quotes from the document as to give his readers the impression that in it his doctrine of apostolical succession is taught. For he says:—

‘Nothing can be more contrary to the truth, as far as the Church of England is concerned, than the allegation which forms the ground of this objection, namely, that our Protestant Fathers, in the sixteenth century, were either ignorant or unmindful of this doctrine, as the following documents will show.’

41. Another important record, to which we shall refer, expresses the views of the authorities of our Church when they had partially adopted the principles of the Reformation. This was about the year 1548. Certain questions were asked respecting bishops and priests, as to which were first in the Church, and whether priests in the first instance made the bishop. Archbishop Cranmer said that both were one office in the beginning of Christ’s religion. Other bishops and doctors expressed the like sentiments, and some of them quoted Jerome, approving of his account of the first origin of bishops. But we refer the reader to **61.** 1–13, for full information on these points. Having made himself acquainted with what is there said respecting the origin of bishops and their consecration, as to whether it was necessary or not, let him ask himself, Could these men have entertained the modern notions of these Anglicans respecting the office of a bishop, and the consequences dependent thereon, and have so expressed themselves respecting his origin and his office? &c. &c. It will be seen from the answer given that these bishops and doctors had not as yet entirely relinquished all their Romish doctrine; they had, however, rejected the authority of the pope, and with him the Romish doctrine of apostolical succession, for, according to the authentic teaching of Rome, as we have seen, the pope was the only recognised successor of an apostle.

A few years after these questions had been put and answered, the Ordinal was framed, and Cranmer, as archbishop, and

leading English Reformer, was the prime mover in the undertaking. The preface, from which we shall give an extract, is generally ascribed to him:—

‘It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the apostles’ time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, bishops, priests, and deacons.’

These Anglicans quote, requote, and quote again, this sentence. But pray, what does it serve them? Is *this* order of bishops such as would satisfy them? No such thing. This order of bishops, so far as it is distinct from that of presbyters, and has rule over them, is maintained, as we have seen, to be of human origin, and is expressly so maintained by Cranmer, the prime mover in preparing the offices for our Reformed Church. What *kind* of bishops these were, we infer from the Ordinal itself, as we have already explained in connection with their consecration. ‘At this time our Reformers,’ says Dean Hook, ‘were inclined to sympathise with those of the Continent;’ ‘and when the Protestant principle was proceeding to excess, it received a timely check from the hand of Mary.’ Now it is notorious that that great divine Calvin and his brethren were the men by whom our English Reformers were chiefly influenced, and their doctrines were those to which prominence was given in the writings and public teaching of our clergy, down to the time of Laud; also, when King James changed from being an ignorant Calvinist to be a rabid Arminian, and a persecutor of his former faith. Calvin, in his greatest and most important work, *The Institutes*, expressed the like sentiments of the extract in question. He says:—

‘That the twelve had one among them to direct all is nothing strange. Nature admits, the human mind requires, that in every meeting, though all are equal in power, there should be one as a kind of moderator to whom the others should look up. There is no senate without a consul, no bench of judges without a president or chancellor, no college without a provost, no company without a master.’—Book iv. chap. vi. 8.

And, again, he says:—

‘All, therefore, to whom the office of teaching was committed, they called presbyters, and in each city these presbyters selected one of their number to whom they gave the special title of bishop, lest, as usually happens, from equality, dissension should arise.’ . . . ‘In

another place he (Jerome) shows how ancient the custom was (of choosing a bishop). For he says that "at Alexandria, from Mark the Evangelist, as far down as Hieroclas and Dionysius, presbyters always placed one, selected from themselves, in a higher rank, and gave him the name of bishop."—Bk. iv. chap. iv. 2.

These Anglicans might just as well claim Calvin as holding their views on the order of bishops, because, as in the preface to the Ordinal, he admits bishops, in the sense which he explains, to have been from the times of the apostles, certainly from the time of the Evangelist Mark.

42. The Roman Catholics have pointed out what they consider the defectiveness of this Ordinal in the consecration of bishops. But perhaps we shall be met by the fact that Courayer, a Roman Catholic writer, in *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, &c.* acknowledges the validity of the consecration of bishops. The Tractarians have favoured us with a new edition of this book, in which our Church is represented as heretical and schismatical; he evidently looks upon our orders and sacraments after the same manner as Augustine did upon the orders and sacraments of some of the heretics in his day, which we have noticed in Chap. IV. 250. Surely the Tractarians must have been exceedingly anxious to have a little recognition from one of their elder brethren, and display not a little humility in accepting it on such terms. If all these elder brethren, with the pope at their head, would but acknowledge, not only the validity of the orders, but the catholicity also of the English Church, would not these Anglicans kiss the pope's toe? especially as the thing itself, from their point of view, has at least two things to make it attractive. First, the practice is seasoned by an antiquity which they generally prefer, neither being too ancient nor too modern, commencing in the time of Leo I., but still when, as it is said, the Church was undivided. Secondly, the toe of the pope is not really kissed, but an attractive cross outside the slipper; for Dean Hook, in his *Church Dictionary*, informs us that—

'The custom of kissing the pope's feet is very ancient; to justify which practice it is alleged that the pope's slipper has the figure of the cross upon the upper leather; so that it is not the pope's foot, but the cross of CHRIST, which is thus saluted.'—*The Pope*.

Alas for these Anglicans! The pope, by his naughty Encyclical Letter, has for some time to come dashed their hopes, and blighted their prospects of any such recognition by their elder brethren, the Romanists.

43. We have said Courayer acknowledges the orders of the Church of England. But that is not all. He also acknowledges the validity of the orders of a non-episcopal Church. We shall give his own statement in full:—

‘The question, then, has been only of the validity of the sacraments; and the position reduced to these terms labours under no difficulty; the facts and the reasons concur alike to prove that the changes which are made in the forms of the sacraments cannot render them null, at least when the substance is not altered; and that there is no essential alteration in those wherein there is still retained what is determined by Scripture, or by a certain and uniform tradition, whatever alterations are made in the rites which have been added. This is clear by the conduct observed with regard to the baptism administered by the English, or by the pure Calvinists. The whole form has been altered therein, excepting the invocation of the Holy Trinity: the prayers, the unctions, the exorcisms, everything has been either changed or suppressed: their baptism is nevertheless received. And why these different weights and measures as to their ordination?’—*A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, &c.* by Courayer, ch. x. pp. 183, 184.

These Anglicans must esteem small favours of great value when they can publish to the world this faint and cold recognition of this their popish quasi-friend, who denominates them schismatics and heretics, and denies that their Church is catholic, and very properly denies it, if he uses the term in any such sense as it is applied to the papal system. The Presbyterians get nearly as much help from Courayer as these Anglicans do; and surely, at best, he must be but a very poor witness for them, for he bears testimony, such as it is, to their heresy and schism, and to the validity of the ordinations of the Calvinists.

44. We have seen what was the unmistakable teaching of our Reformers before they framed the Ordinal; we shall now, in a very condensed form, show what their successors, during the sixteenth century, taught on the same subject, referring to the second part of the *Catena* for fuller statements.

John Bradford held, and the popish archdeacon admitted, that there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter in Scripture. (64. 2.) Becon, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, most distinctly held the same opinion. (68. 2.) Bishop Pilkington so expresses himself on the point as to admit the same thing, and also teaches that 'the privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers are rather granted by men for maintaining of better order, &c. than commanded by God in his Word.' (69. 1-4.) Dean Nowell is very explicit on the point. (72. 3.) To which may be added the authority of both houses of Convocation. (See 72. at the commencement.) Bishop Jewel teaches that originally a bishop and a presbyter were the same, and holds that the distinction between the two, as it subsequently existed, was of human origin and appointment. This he maintains in various parts of his writings. (73. 1-4, 10, 11.) Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, when disputing, not with a Roman Catholic, as was the case with Jewel, but with a most zealous anti-episcopalian, who believed and maintained that another discipline was ordained of God, and was binding on all Christian Churches, held that neither that nor any other government was unalterably binding on the Churches of God, and at the same time accepted the general teaching of Jerome respecting the origin of bishops as distinguished from presbyters. (74. 14, 15, 19, 21-25.)

Whitgift, though disputing with the great enemy of episcopacy, teaches and admits things utterly incompatible with the expressed opinions of these Anglicans; and though he was the great enemy and bitter persecutor of the Puritans of his day, yet these Anglicans of the present time cannot but regard him as being a Puritan himself, at least in his views of clerical orders. Fulke, the learned defender of the Protestant translations of Holy Scripture against the papists, most distinctly holds that the difference between a bishop and a presbyter, as it now exists, was not of Divine but of human origin. (75. 13, 14.) He states, also, that Jerome held the same opinion respecting the bishop as Ærius did, which he accepts as true. (Sect. 15.) Whitaker, one of the most learned and illustrious defenders of our Church, maintains the same views on the origin of the

authority of the bishop as now exercised in the Church. (78. 11, 25-27.) Archbishop Bancroft went a little beyond his predecessors, and gave utterance to sentiments respecting the origin of the bishop which startled some of his brethren, especially Dr. Raynolds, of whom Bishop Hall thus speaks:— ‘He alone was a well-furnished library: full of all faculties, all studies, of all learning.’ ‘The memory and reading of that man were near a miracle.’—Wood’s *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, p. 14. This able man charges Bancroft with introducing a new doctrine, and makes an elaborate answer to his statements, and represents him as expressing opinions opposed to those of both the Regius professors of divinity in the two universities and to those of Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphrey, Fulke, and to those of all the Reformed Churches, &c. (81. 1-6; more especially sect. 4.)

45. Five years after Bancroft had published his sermon, which called forth the above remarks, he published a volume in which his doctrine of the episcopate was considerably modified, and in which, in effect, he claims Raynolds to be on his side. Bancroft was anxious to go as far as he could to uphold the office of a bishop in contradistinction to that of a presbyter, but comes entirely short of the modern Anglican assumptions. We think him not far from the truth on the office of a bishop, as maintained in this latter production; and in order that the reader may have the opportunity of judging for himself, we have given the important part of the book containing it. (80. 18-27.) Stillingfleet has given very full testimony in relation to this point, which will be found 90. 7-13.

46. It is impossible to have evidence more decisive than this on the point in question. It might be asked, Is there no evidence to be quoted on the other side during the sixteenth century? Cannot these Anglicans, who boast so much of the Divine authority of the bishop, and regard him as a successor of an apostle, in a sense in which a presbyter is not, find some one or more authorities who held their opinions? We can find no such person, and we believe there is no such authority to be found. The Tractarians, in their *Catena Patrum* on the apostolical succession, have omitted, for very necessary reasons, all

the Reformers of the sixteenth century. But they shall speak for themselves:—

‘In selecting them, it has been thought advisable, as in the two previous Catenas [including the one on apostolical succession], not to include the writings of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, because the particular complexion of their opinions is the very subject keenly debated and claimed by opposite schools of opinion at the present day. It has been thought safer to show that the succession of our standard divines ever since their times understood them to hold that view of doctrine which it has been the endeavour of these tracts to recommend.’—Tract 78, p. 1.

47. These Tractarians are here writing deceitfully, or, as Dr. Newman would call it, ‘*economically*.’ They pass over the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and why? They do not give us the real reason. Here is Tractarian, or Anglican, reserve. The real reason is they cannot quote a single Reformer of our Church of the sixteenth century who held their doctrine of apostolical succession, or anything like it. Having concealed the true reason, they account for their omission as follows:—

‘It has been thought safer [for their heresy] to show that the succession of our standard divines, ever since the time of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, understood them to hold that view of doctrine which it has been the endeavour of these Tracts to recommend.’—*Ibid*.

In plain English, these Tractarians endeavour to make the impression on their readers that the authors they have quoted in their *Catena Patrum* on apostolical succession express the sentiments of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Nothing could be further from the truth, for it is absolutely false. We here remark that, although the authors they have selected from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differ in their views on clerical orders from those of the sixteenth, yet none of these, though very varied and numerous, hold or maintain the doctrine of apostolical succession as held by Dean Hook, Dr. Wordsworth, and others of these Anglicans; but this will form the subject of a distinct chapter.

48. This is the place to consider the Ordinal of the seventeenth century, prepared when many of our Church undoubtedly had become more episcopal in their views of church government. But when one and the same Article given in the sixteenth

century is made to affirm identically the same things of the Ordinal of the seventeenth as it did, and now does, of the sixteenth, for it even now applies to both, we are certainly not authorised to expect that there would be any great or fundamental difference between them. The main point of difference is in the words of the consecration of a bishop. Both forms are given in sect. 15, 16 of this chapter. In the old Ordinal, the newly consecrated bishop is called upon to stir up the gift or grace which he had previously received when he was ordained presbyter, precisely as in the case of Timothy. But in the last Ordinal, the newly consecrated bishop is called to stir up the grace or gift which he had just that moment received. In the former case, the distinction between a bishop and presbyter was but slight, in the latter it is made plain and decisive. There can be no question but that at the time the second Ordinal was framed there were many besides the disciples of Laud who believed the bishop to be distinct from the presbyter, and as having rule over him, and that by Divine appointment. The excellent Bishop Hall zealously maintained this view, and wrote in defence of it. This is no doubt the view held at the present day by the great majority of our clergy, and consequently the present Ordinal is more consonant with their views. It forms no part of the design of this book to controvert that opinion. We believe that a moderate episcopacy is more in accordance with Scripture and antiquity than any other form of church government. Our own views on this point will be given in a distinct chapter. At present it is sufficient for our purpose to show that the doctrine of apostolical succession, as held by these Anglicans, has no foundation in the present Ordinal. The Ordinal of itself does not teach it. But, strange to say, Dean Hook connects the doctrine with the Ordinal:—

‘The solemn office of thus conferring the grace of God by the imposition of human hands, which would clearly be blasphemous, except there existed a commission from God to do so, which commission, without the apostolical succession, cannot be proved, unless by miracle.’
—*Ch. Dict. Ordinal.*

49. This is indeed a most random statement. It must surely have been made without reflection, and in ignorance of the

extent of its application. In this case Papists as well as Protestants are chargeable with blasphemy if they profess to confer the grace of God, or the office of a presbyter, without ‘apostolical succession.’ But what does the Dean mean by this phraseology? He shall tell us:—

‘A perfect and unbroken transmission of the original ministerial commission, from the apostles to their successors, by the progressive and perpetual conveyance of their powers from one race of bishops to another.’

But, as we have already seen, apostolical succession, as held by Rome, is altogether different. Their authentic teaching is that—

‘The Roman pontiff succeeds to the apostles in apostleship because he possesses jurisdiction over the whole world, and over all Christians, not by succession from any mortal, but by office, as occupying St. Peter’s chair.’—*Apostolic Succession Explained by a Priest of the Order of Charity*, p. 32.

On the papal chair becoming vacant, no one has the apostolical office, and no one professes to confer it. The candidate for the office being elected, consecrated, or set apart to the vacant chair, he is believed to have the apostleship, ‘not by succession from any mortal, but by office, as occupying St. Peter’s chair.’ If that mode of receiving the so-called apostleship is satisfactory, surely the like mode would not be inapplicable to the receiving of the presbytership, not by succession from any mortal, but by office, as occupying the presbyter’s chair. And this, in fact, is the mode in most Christian Churches, our own not excepted, in which the ministerial office is believed to be received. Both Romanists and Protestants are chargeable with blasphemy, one in the way the pope is promoted, the other in the way the presbyter is promoted. In both cases it is believed that the office, in its essential character, or the grace peculiar to it, is directly of God, and not necessarily by man.

50. But the Dean is most seriously at fault with the dogmatic teaching of his own Church. He believes that, in our own Church, persons are commissioned by Divine authority to confer the grace of God by the imposition of human hands. Here, then, is a sacrament in the strictest sense of the term, as defined by our Church; but in her 25th Article it is affirmed of orders that

they 'have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.' Imposition of hands, or any other visible mode of conferring grace in ordination, is not ordained of God. And to this Article the Dean has subscribed. Rogers, the first expositor of the Articles, and who wrote in 1607, on this Article, says:—

'The Church of England, and of other places reformed, do acknowledge an order of making ministers in the Church of God, where all things are to be done by order. But that order is a sacrament, none but disordered papists will say.' 'Where can it be seen that either orders, as some, can make one, or seven sacraments; or priesthood, as others think, is a sacrament? What element hath it? What form? What promise? What institution from Christ?'—Pp. 258, 259.

Hear how papists themselves spoke on this point in the Council of Trent:—

'Gregory the Ninth saith, it (imposition of hands) was a rite brought in, and many divines do not hold it to be necessary, howsoever others be of the contrary opinion. It appeareth, also, by the decretal of Innocentius the Third, in this point, that unction was not used in all churches. And the famous canonists, Hostiensis, Johannes Andreas, Abbas, and others, do affirm that the pope may ordain a priest with these words only, "be thou a priest;" and (which is of more importance) Innocentius, father of all the canonists, saith that, if the forms had not been invented, it had been sufficient if the ordainer had used these words only, "be thou a priest," or others equivalent, because they were instituted by the Church afterwards to be observed. For these reasons Cornelius gave council not to speak of necessary ceremonies, but only to condemn those who hold them to be superfluous, or pernicious.'—*Paul's History of the Council of Trent*, p. 594, ed. 1629.

The laying on of hands is represented as unessential to ordination even by the *Maynooth Text-book*, where we read:—

'I answer, thirdly, that this last (imposition of hands) is not *essential*. 1st. Because it has never been used in the Greek Church. 2nd. Because neither has it been always in use in the Latin Church. For neither in rituals, nor councils, nor in the writings of those who have discoursed upon Divine offices and ordinations, is any trace (*vestigium*) of it to be found.'—*De Ordine*, p. 46.

51. It is true our Church does lay on hands, which is in accordance with an apostolic practice, and that of almost all Christian Churches. But if she believed that ordination was a Divinely appointed sacrament, and the laying on of hands the outward sign of the same, still, according to her dogmatic

teaching, the outward sign would not confer the inward grace, for her statement in the 25th Article is, ‘They (sacraments) be certain sure *witnesses*, and effectual *signs* of grace.’ In this light Archbishop Whitgift explains this part of the Ordinal under consideration :—

‘In which words (1 Tim. iv. 14) the apostle signifieth that God doth bestow his gifts and spirit upon such as be called to the ministry of the word, whereof imposition of hands is a token, or rather a confirmation ; and therefore, saith Mr. Calvin, that “it was not a vain ceremony ; because God did fulfil with His spirit that consecration which men did signify by imposition of hands.” And surely, as that is no vain ceremony, though it be done by men, so these be no vain words, though they be spoken by men.’ (74. 12.)

If the reader will refer to **74.** 10–13, he will see the immediate context of the above extract, and will notice how the ordainer had been charged with blasphemy, and how it was answered by Whitgift, who assuredly must be considered, for the most part, as speaking the mind of the Church of which he was the archbishop. Fulke too has, by anticipation, contradicted the Dean, and repudiated his notion respecting the necessary transfer of grace in ordination, by whomsoever the rite is performed. (See **75.** 2–5, but especially 5.) Let M. Martin represent the Dean, and that learned presbyter Fulke will represent the general opinion of our Church, and most emphatically repudiate, by anticipation, his teaching.

Overall, whom the Dean describes as an ‘eminent man, and of most decided views on church government,’ says, ‘That the apostles had power, through imposition of hands, to give the Holy Ghost by visible signs,’ but affirms that this was no essential part of the ministry, and ‘could not be communicated by the apostles unto any others.’—*Overall’s Convocation Book*, p. 164.

52. But we have another point to consider in this random statement of the Dean. He maintains that it would be blasphemous to attempt to confer the grace of God without a commission from God, ‘which commission, without apostolical succession, cannot be proved without a miracle.’ We think the Dean will want a miracle to prove that any class of men, anywhere in the world, have the commission of which he speaks, that is, if they

cannot have it without his apostolical succession. According to the Dean's teaching, and that of his brethren, the commission is handed on from the apostles, not through presbyters, but through bishops, who are equal to apostles. We read in the New Testament of the ordination of presbyters, but we do not read of the ordination or consecration of a presbyter to the office of a bishop, or of any ordination or appointment to the apostolic office, in such a way as to lead us to suppose that the apostolic office must be *perpetuated*. But this is the point to be examined. The Dean refers to Timothy as a case in point. He says, 'That Timothy, as soon as he was made bishop of Ephesus, by the great apostle of the Gentiles, but not before, had this power of ordination, is allowed by St. Chrysostom himself.'—*Ch. Dic. Ordination*. Hilary the Deacon and Augustine, or some one under his name, hold that Timothy was ordained a presbyter. Had they affirmed that he was ordained an evangelist, they would have been nearer the truth. The question is, at what time was he ordained? St. Paul, in his epistle, says, 'As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia' (1 Tim. i. 3), and in the same epistle we read of the ordination of Timothy. Was he ordained the local bishop of Ephesus just before the apostle left him there? Had such been the case, it seems unaccountable that the apostle, having a distinct knowledge of such an event, should have said, 'I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus.' But at what time did St. Paul leave him there? Suppose we give as late a date as possible, and admit that his being at Ephesus was subsequent to any such event recorded in the New Testament, and that St. Paul ordained him but a little time before he finished his course. Even then this serious difficulty occurs, how could Timothy, for so many years previously, fulfil the work of an evangelist without any ordination, without being set apart to that holy office?

53. The Dean has referred to Chrysostom. We shall do so now, for the double purpose of refuting the Dean and answering our own question:—

'Luke, who informs us that he (Timothy) was "well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium." (Acts xvi. 2.) He became at once a disciple and a teacher. . . . Paul, it is said, "took

and circumcised him" (Acts xvi. 3), though he was of adult age, and so trusted him with his whole economy.'—*Argument to 1st Epis. of Tim.*

The general opinion is that he was ordained at Lystra, and Chrysostom confirms the same. Timothy was left at Ephesus to perform the office of an evangelist, as he had done in other places. (See **34.** 14.) Thus St. Paul, in his second epistle to him, says, 'Do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.' (2 Tim. iv. 5.)

54. Dr. Wordsworth attempts to prove that persons were promoted to the apostolic office by adducing other instances. In his notes on Acts xiii. 1–3, he says:—

'In the passage now before us, which describes the first ordination to the apostolic office after the day of Pentecost, we hear the voice of the Holy Spirit himself. "The Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Barnabas and Saul are ordained to the apostleship. Henceforth they are called "apostles," and perform apostolic acts. They are equal in dignity to the original Twelve, who had been chosen by Christ upon earth. Paul says of himself, that he is not "a whit behind the very chiefest apostles." . . . Here is a strong testimony for episcopacy, as distinguished from the theory of the Papal Supremacy on the one side, and from Presbyterian parity and Lay Ordinations on the other. In fine, this subject derives a solemn importance from the considerations:—

'1. That the Son of God was sent by the Father to be the apostle and bishop of our souls. (1. Peter ii. 25.)

'2. That, when on earth, He chose the Twelve. (Matt. x. 1.)

'3. That, when he had ascended into heaven, He appointed Matthias to succeed to the place in the apostleship from which Judas, by transgression, fell. (Acts i. 24–26.)

'4. That after the day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost chose Paul and Barnabas to the same office. (Acts xiii. 1–3.)

'5. That the bishops of the Church are the successors of the holy apostles; and that their office includes within itself the two inferior orders of priests and deacons.'

Again, in his *Introduction to the Acts of the Apostles*, p. xxviii. he says:—

'Here, then, and in other places, He (Christ) has shown the necessity of a Christian ministry; and He has also taught the world what the due organisation of that ministry is. As we have seen, He declared the *continuity* of the apostolic office by the election of Matthias; and He proclaimed the duty of *extending* it, by calling Barnabas and Paul to the apostleship. He constituted elders in every church by their hands. He instituted by the agency of the apostles the holy order of deacons. Thus He has delivered a Divine exhortation from heaven to

all Churches, to take good heed to maintain the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons ; and to seek for His blessing by a right use of that ministry in extending His kingdom throughout the world.'

55. The practice which these Anglicans have of building much upon a small or no foundation is perilous in the extreme. We think it has been demonstrated in this book that the apostleship of the Twelve was not perpetuated. It is certain that authors of the greatest reputation, and the highest standing in our Church, do not believe that it was continued. Least of all do they believe that Paul and Barnabas became apostles, in the same sense that the Twelve were, from the circumstance of their being sent on a missionary tour by their brethren, as directed by the Holy Ghost. For Dr. Wordsworth to take such liberties with our Lord and Master, and to make Him the author of his own misconceptions, seems to border on profanity.

56. The case of Matthias does not affect the question. That of Paul and Barnabas does. We now proceed to examine it. That those who laid hands upon Paul and Barnabas had not the apostolical office is sufficiently obvious. Here Dean Hook's miracle is required, to which we have referred above. Dr. Wordsworth says :—

'The Holy Ghost made a special revelation to the Church concerning them, and they are said to be sent forth by the Holy Ghost. And God authorized their mission by miracles.'—*Notes on Acts*, xiii. 3, 4.

From the circumstance of Paul and Barnabas being sent on this mission, it is most probable that from that time they were *called* apostles. But in what sense were they apostles? Dr. Wordsworth says :—

'Barnabas and Saul are ordained to the apostleship. Henceforth they are called "apostles," and perform apostolic acts. They are equal in dignity to the original Twelve, who had been chosen by Christ upon earth. Paul says of himself that he is not "a whit behind the very chiefest apostles."' '

According to this statement, Barnabas was equal to Paul, and both, from the circumstance of their being thus sent, after the manner described, from Antioch, were equal to the apostles sent

by Christ himself. Now, in this case, both Paul and Barnabas were sent by men. But St. Paul himself affirms that he was *not* sent by man. He also declared, 'Am I not an apostle, have I not seen the Lord Jesus Christ?' In neither of these senses was Barnabas an apostle. (See 29. 63.) St. Paul, as there explained, obviously belonged to the first kind of apostles, and St. Barnabas, as obviously, to the second kind, and to which any properly appointed presbyter might belong. Clement of Alexandria affirms that Barnabas was one of the seventy disciples, or apostles, as the Fathers call them. (9. 3.) Other Fathers, of less importance, maintain the same thing. But if we accept this as the truth, these Anglicans obtain no help therefrom, as they consider the seventy to represent presbyters only.

57. But before we examine the setting apart of Saul and Barnabas, on which so much is founded, it is suitable we should let Dr. Wordsworth have the assistance of a brother, who claims 'the special custody of doctrines,' and by virtue of the assumption of the apostleship with its power and authority ought to give most valuable help. At the consecration of Bishop Colenso, that remarkable man, the Bishop of Oxford, preached the sermon, and, believing that Dr. Colenso was about to receive the veritable apostleship with its power and authority, he called into exercise all his power, both natural—such as he might possess before his consecration as a bishop—and his spiritual power—such as he received in his supposed apostleship—to ground on Holy Scripture the right and power to confer the apostleship of the Twelve on Dr. Colenso. The text he selected is, 'The Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And, when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.' (Acts xiii. 2, 3.) The main point of the sermon is to show that the teachers and prophets of the Church of Antioch ordained, or consecrated, Barnabas and Saul to the apostleship of the twelve. The Bishop states:—

'The voice of God summons two of that company to a special work. They had learned before this that His work was to be wrought by earthly instruments; that He had appointed the apostleship; and even as the first Twelve filled up their number so did they now add these to that company of witnesses of Jesus.'—P. 10.

After describing the office of the apostleship, the Bishop of Oxford remarks, 'Here, then, was the work to which the two were separated, and this was the office in which it was to be fulfilled.'—P. 15.

Now of what kind was 'the work' to which the Holy Ghost had called Barnabas and Saul? The term 'work' is indefinitely used in Scripture; in one instance it includes the office of an apostle: 'He gave some, apostles . . . for the work of the ministry.' (Eph. iv. 11, 12.) The Bishop gives this text, and several others where the term is used, evidently to produce the impression that the work to which Barnabas and Saul were separated on that occasion was the apostleship of the Twelve. Happily for us, St. Luke has explained his own language. For he has recorded, 'And thence sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God *for the work which they fulfilled.*' (Acts xiv. 26.) The work, whatever it was, they *had fulfilled.* Barnabas and Saul, on a former occasion, had a ministry to perform at Jerusalem: for thus we read, 'And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministry.' (Acts xii. 25.) In modern translations, the Greek aorist is rendered by a pluperfect tense, '*had fulfilled,*' or '*accomplished.*' The identical Greek word and tense is rendered by the pluperfect in Luke vii. 1, '*When he had ended* all his sayings.'

58. It is needless to remark that, when the Apostle Paul returned to Antioch, he had not ended, fulfilled, or accomplished, the work of his apostleship. We, of course, prefer St. Luke's explanation of his own language rather than the Bishop's perversion of it: we abide by the statement of Luke, a real evangelist, rather than by that of Dr. Wilberforce, an assumed apostle. Hear what an undoubted apostle says of Saul, though he calls him by another name, 'Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man.' (Gal. i. 1.) But hear what Dr. Wilberforce says, 'Saul (Paul), an apostle of men, and by man,' for he maintains that these teachers and prophets of Antioch, men of a second order, as compared with the Twelve Apostles, conferred the apostleship on St. Paul. The Bishop states:—

"I have called them," ye must "separate" them. Though all the

power is from Me, yet it is by your hands that I will array them with it.'—P. 10.

St. Paul himself maintained that it was not by the hands of any of the apostles that he received his apostleship, but the Bishop makes it out that he received it by a class of men inferior to the apostles.

59. The Bishop of Oxford is much more eloquent than erudite. We shall, therefore, confirm our remarks by extracts from the writings of two men of considerable erudition, Archdeacon Mason and Archbishop Potter, who ought not to be unacceptable to these Anglicans, as they often quote their sentiments with approbation. Mason distinctly states:—

'It is certain that they did not ordain Paul and Barnabas bishops. For Paul, being an apostle, could not receive any episcopal grace from man, as hath been declared. Wherefore this imposition of hands was not to give them any new power, but, as the text saith, "To set them apart for the work whereunto the Lord had called them," which when they had fulfilled, they "sailed back to Antioch, whence they had been commended to the grace of God." It is not said they sailed to Antioch, where they were made bishops, or where they received episcopal grace, but whence they had been commended (with fasting and prayer) to the grace of God. To which truth Suarez the Jesuit giveth testimony affirming that this imposition of hands was only precatory, and denying that Saul and Barnabas were here ordained either priests or bishops, which seemeth also to be the opinion of Aloysius de Leon, and other late writers.'—*Of the Consecration of the Bishops of the Church of England, &c.* p. 33.

Archbishop Potter states:—

'Neither was St. Paul inferior to the rest of the apostles in this mark of honour; for he often asserts himself to be an apostle not of men, nor by man, but immediately, and without the intervention of men, to have been appointed by Jesus Christ, in opposition to those who denied him to be an apostle, as was shown in one of the former chapters. But then it will be asked for what end Paul and Barnabas received imposition of hands. To which it may be answered that this rite was commonly used both by the Jews and primitive Christians in benedictions; Jacob put his hands on the heads of Ephraim and Manasseh when he blessed them; and, to mention only one instance more, little children were brought to Christ that he should put his hands on them, and bless them. Accordingly, it is probable this imposition of hands on Paul and Barnabas was a solemn benediction on their ministry of preaching the Gospel in a particular circuit, to which they were then sent by the Holy Spirit's direction. Hence it is called, in the next chapter, a recommendation to the grace of God for the work of minis-

tering the Gospel to certain cities, which they are there said to have fulfilled. So that this rite was not their ordination to the apostolic office, because the end for which it was given is here said to be fulfilled, whereas their apostolic office lasted as long as their lives. And, therefore, Paul and Barnabas seem only now to have had a particular mission to preach the Gospel in a certain and limited district, in the same manner as Peter and John were sent by the college of apostles to Samaria to confirm the new converts, and settle the Church there.'—*Discourse on Church Government*, ch. v. p. 202.

60. To this we add that, if Paul and Barnabas, on this occasion, were ordained to the apostolic office, then Paul was reordained after the same manner to the same office, and at which time Silas was also ordained an apostle, and Jerome and Theodoret include him among apostles. (29. 64; 39. 28.) Let it be observed, after they had finished the work to which they had been called, it is said 'they sailed to Antioch, from whence *they had been recommended to the grace of God*, for the work which they fulfilled.' (Acts xiv. 26.) Having returned to Antioch, and rehearsed to the Church all that God had done by them, and after having remained some time, a further missionary tour was undertaken, and we are told 'Paul chose Silas and departed, being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God.' (Acts xv. 35–40.) How did the brethren recommend them unto the grace of God in the former instance? We are told that they 'fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them.' We have reason to conclude that they did precisely the same things in this instance.

These Anglicans must be put to desperate shifts when they can bring no better instances of persons being ordained to the apostolic office subsequent to the day of Pentecost than those adduced. It is evident that, neither by miracles nor otherwise, are they able to connect their boasted succession with the apostles. It breaks down at the very commencement.

61. We have already adverted to the striking contrast there is between the eloquence and erudition of the Bishop of Oxford. A remarkable instance shall now be given of the defectiveness of the latter. He has published a dozen 'addresses to the candidates for ordination.' In the last address, entitled *Obedience to Ordinary, &c.*, in a single duodecimo page, where, in all the book,

accuracy and correct information were required, there is a tissue of error and misconception. We shall first give the page, and then prove the statement:—

‘Those of you who have read with any care the writings of St. Ignatius must remember how frequently repeated are his exhortations on this head, as, for instance, to the Church at Smyrna, “Let all follow the bishop as the apostles” (3. 49, 50), and again, in his letter to Polycarp, “Give heed unto the bishop, that God may give heed to you.” (3. 4, 5, 6.) And to the same effect speak the succeeding fathers; amongst whom, as bearing remarkably on the special point with which we are now concerned, I may remind you of Tertullian’s words, “Dandi quidem (baptismum) habet jus, summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate” (8. 11); in which words he expresses the then universally admitted principle that the priesthood and diaconate derived their authority from the apostolical commission, given to the episcopate, which accordingly he traces up to St. John himself, where, speaking of the succession of bishops, he says, “Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias . . . Ordo . . . episcoporum ad originem recens in Joannem stabit auctorem.” (8. 12.) And St. Irenæus asserts that Hyginus, Bishop of Rome, “had the ninth lot of episcopal succession from the apostles,” and that “to Linus, when they were founding and ordering the Church, the blessed apostles delivered the episcopate for administering the Church.”

‘The same principle pervades others of the earliest writers; as, for instance, where St. Jerome, that stout maintainer of the rights of presbyters, expressly declares, “Thence it has come to pass that without the command of the bishop neither the presbyter nor deacon has the right of baptising” (29. 21); and St. Ambrose adds, “Though the presbyters may have done this, yet is the beginning of their ministry from the highest priest—a summo sacerdote” (30. 12), an expression explained, as we have seen, by Tertullian to mean the bishop.’—Pp. 241, 242.

From the manner in which the Bishop of Oxford introduces his remarks respecting Ignatius, we at least suppose that he had read his writings with *some* care; but judging from the use he has made of them, we are in great doubt upon the point. A mere cursory reading of the epistles of Ignatius would convince an intelligent reader that he nowhere assigns the place of the apostles to the bishop, but uniformly to the presbyters. When he does assign a place to the bishop, it is that of God. The extract, when rightly quoted, as far as it goes, confirms our statement. For Ignatius does not say, ‘Let all follow the *bishop* as the apostles,’ but ‘Let all follow the

presbytery as the apostles.' But of the bishop he says, 'All follow the bishop as Jesus Christ the Father.' (See 3. 49, 50, and also Chap. IV. 27.) The other quotation from Ignatius is correct, and is recorded in those writings of Ignatius which are generally admitted to be genuine. (See 3. 4-6, and Chap. IV. 36.)

62. The first statement taken from Tertullian, translated, is:—

'The right of giving (baptism) indeed hath the chief priest who is the bishop: then the presbyters and deacons, *yet not without the authority of the bishop.*'

This extract, given by the Bishop of Oxford without the context, and as prefaced and supplemented by his remarks, serves his purpose admirably, but changes the character of Tertullian's testimony. The Bishop states:—

'In which words he (Tertullian) expresses the then universally admitted principle that the priesthood and diaconate derived their authority from the apostolical commission, given to the episcopate.'

In those words Tertullian makes no such statement, but in immediate connection with those words in effect denies it. He teaches that the bishop is allowed to have the power for the honour of the Church, but maintains that every layman has the right to baptise, and that the rights conceded to the bishop have been conceded for the peace of the Church, on the ground of expediency. See 8. 11, and the reader can have no doubt of the nature of Tertullian's teaching respecting the rights of bishops, though he may think him wrong in his teaching. Bishop Kay, in his *Ecclesiastical History Illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, states:—

'In this passage (from which the Bishop of Oxford made his quotation), the inherent right of the laity to baptise is expressly asserted.'—P. 349.

It is believed Tertullian wrote his *Tract on Baptism* before he became a heretic.

63. The Bishop of Oxford gives another extract from a different part of Tertullian's writings, written after he had become a heretic. The passage translated is:—

‘We have the foster churches of John. . . the line (*ordo*) of bishops traced or recounted to its origin will terminate in John the Author.’

Bishop Kay remarks:—

‘But how clearly soever the distinction between bishops and the other orders of clergy may be asserted in the writings of Tertullian, they afford us little assistance in ascertaining wherein this distinction consisted. By the expression *Ordo Episcoporum*, he did not mean the *Order of Bishops*, as distinct from priests and deacons, but the *succession* of bishops in the churches founded by St. John.’—*Ibid.* p. 234.

Tertullian has no reference whatever to a commission being handed on from the apostles through the bishops. Succession, as described by himself, was in no respect essential to a church being considered apostolic, as he teaches that a church is not the less apostolical without it, provided it has the *doctrine* of the apostles. (See §. 9.) We shall best appreciate the extract from Tertullian by considering it in connection with the context, both of which shall here be given:—

‘If it is manifest that that is truer which is earlier, and that is earlier which is from the beginning, that which is from the beginning is from the apostles, then it will be equally manifest that that which has been delivered by the apostles will be the most sacred with the Churches of the apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians derived from Paul, by what rule the Galatians were corrected, what the Phillippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians read, what also the Romans close by sounded forth, to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel, sealed also with their own blood. We have also the foster churches of John: for if Marcion rejects his Apocalypse yet the line of bishops, recounted to its origin, will terminate in John the Author.’—*Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv. cap. v. p. 406.

What Tertullian means by the term author may be seen on a comparison with the use of the term in the same connection in other extracts from his writings. (§. 7, 8.)

64. Irenæus affirms the very same things of presbyters as of bishops, and includes Hyginus, the person the Bishop names, among presbyters. (See §. 17, also 3, 11, 12, 15, 16.)

What Tertullian, Irenæus, and Epiphanius mean by succession, and the use they make of it, may be seen by referring to other parts of this book: Chap. IV. 47, 53, 55, and 182.

Jerome has repeated the exact sentiments of Tertullian, but,

as in his case, so in that of Jerome's, the Bishop has left unquoted the most important part of the testimony. Jerome, so far from holding a bishop of his day to be distinguished by having authority over presbyters by apostolical commission, expressly maintains that he was so distinguished 'rather for the sake of his honour than the necessity of law.' What the Bishop has omitted to state may be seen on referring to **29. 21**. See also Chap. IV. 209, 210, where this part of Jerome's testimony has already been noticed.

65. But the Bishop's quotation from Ambrose is the crowning blunder. On referring to **30. 12**, it will be seen, first, that Ambrose does not refer to baptism at all, but to the washing of feet, which he regarded as a religious rite; and, secondly, that the term high-priest, as the context shows, refers only to the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Bishop, after having concocted this extraordinary page of episcopal utterance, on the strength of it goes on to remark:—

'All of these details, therefore, lead us back to what was then the universal estimate of the bishop's office, namely, that it was derived from the direct appointment and mission of Christ himself, and so was the fountain and head of the derived authority and mission of deacons and priests.'—P. 243.

Now what are the *details* to which the Bishop refers? Manifestly the extracts from the Fathers, as headed and tailed by himself, which entirely change their character and meaning; and on no better foundation than this does he ground his assumptions for the extraordinary powers he exclusively claims for bishops as of Divine right.

66. It is plain from the concessions of Roman Catholic and other authors that the form of ordination has become very much developed since the times of the primitive Church. And it will be found, on instituting a comparison between the Jewish mode of installing a high-priest and the consecration of a bishop, that there is almost an exact correspondence. We shall conclude this chapter by a brief examination of some of the ancient ordinals on points bearing upon the subject of this book. Some of these Anglicans lay great stress on the phrase, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' as used in our Ordinal. But its use in this

way can be shown to be of modern origin, and what the chief authorities of our Church understood by its use in ordination is distinctly expressed by Archbishop Whitgift. (74. 10, 11.) He seems shocked at the thought of anyone professing to confer the Holy Ghost.

67. Bingham has given a very ancient form of ordaining presbyters, and maintains that the phrase in question is of recent origin. (See 91. 13-15; see also 24. 2.) Courayer says:—

‘How prevalent soever may have been the opinion of the schoolmen, who have maintained that these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* are the form of ordination, it is difficult not to yield to the reasons which Morinus and Martene bring to refute it, and of which the most convincing are that these words have never been in use among the Eastern Christians, and that the use of them in the Latin Church is of very recent date. “No ancient Latin rituals (says Morinus) have these words in them; they appear nowhere: even in many of the more modern ones no mention is made of them. . . . Among the Latins it is scarce four hundred years since they began to be used; as for the Greeks and Syrians, they neither use them now nor ever did use them. By no means, then, can they be said to belong to the substance of ordination.” Martene is of no different opinion on this subject from the learned Morinus. “Those words,” says he, “*Receive the Holy Ghost*, which before the aforesaid preface are uttered with the imposition of hands by the consecrator himself, in which the schoolmen of later times place the form of episcopal ordination, were unknown to all antiquity; so much so, indeed, that they are scarcely found in any pontifical that is four hundred years old.” These assertions are supported by all the proofs that can be desired in a case of this nature, since of all the Oriental and Latin rituals published by Morinus, Mabillon, and Martene, there are not above two or three, and those modern enough, in which these words are contained.’—*Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, &c.* chap. vi. p. 96.

68. Mr. Perceval, in the appendix to his *Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, among several forms of ordination, has given us that of the Greek Church used in the consecration of a bishop, in which the ordaining words are these:—

‘By the vote and consent of the most holy metropolitans and archbishops, beloved of God, and of the holy presbyters, the Divine grace, which healeth that which is weak, and supplieth that which is wanting, promotes N. the presbyter, beloved of God, to be a bishop of the see of N. which is under the protection of God. Let us pray for him, that the grace of the Holy Spirit may come upon him.’

‘*All the congregation say,*’ &c. &c.—P. 126.

It would be difficult, as we have seen, to obtain any form, or vestige of any form, in the New Testament of ordaining a presbyter to the office of a bishop; and in the various forms of ordination, as given by Mr. Perceval in his appendix, there is much more allusion to the Jewish high-priest than to any other representative character in the New Testament. Thus, in the office for consecrating a bishop in the Eastern Churches, the promoted bishop is said to ‘undertake the pontifical dignity.’ Allusion also is made to the consecration of ‘high-priests.’—P. 127. He is also said to have received ‘The grace of the high-priesthood.’—P. 128.

69. ‘The most ancient office for consecrating a bishop in the West now known to be extant is, I believe, that in the *Missale Francorum*, which is supposed to be about the date of A.D. 550. It consists merely of an address to the people, and the following prayer: “O God of all honours, God of all dignities, which minister to Thy glory in the sacred orders; God who, instructing Thy servant Moses with the affection of a secret friend, among other documents of heavenly culture commandedst the chosen Aaron to be clothed in a mystical garment at the sacred [offices], that succeeding posterity might gather sense of understanding from the examples of the ancients, that no age might be wanting in instruction of doctrine; and since that kind of significations obtained reverence among the ancients, while we have rather trial of the realities than enigmatical figures: for the habit of that earlier priesthood was adorned for the service of our mind, and the glory of the high-priesthood is commended to us, not by honourable garments, but by the splendour of souls; for the things which then pleased the carnal vision required rather that which was to be understood by them. Therefore, upon this servant N, whom thou hast chosen to the ministry of the high-priesthood, we beseech thee, O Lord, largely bestow this grace, that whatsoever those garments signified by the brightness of gold, and splendour of jewels, and variety of all sorts of work, the same may shine in his conversation and actions. Complete in Thy priest the chief of Thy ministry, &c. &c.”—Pp. 129, 130.

70. The practice of using gorgeous vestments in the promotion of a presbyter to the office of a bishop is borrowed directly from ancient Jewish usages, as contained in the Old Testament. (See 25. 2.) Evidence of this kind prompts the question, How is it, if these ancients were at all conscious of the views of these Anglicans, that a presbyter could be promoted to the office of an apostle, that they should rather wander to Moses in the desert for a precedent to grace the promotion of a presbyter

than to anything recorded in the New Testament? The answer is that, as they had adopted the custom of promoting a presbyter to the higher office of a bishop, as exercised subsequently to apostolical times, and being conscious of no New Testament precedent for such a rite, they borrowed one from the Jews, which has now been obsolete for upwards of 1,800 years.

71. The custom of the Jews in ordaining their presbyters gave rise for the most part to the canons of the primitive Church. It is only necessary to state the practice as recorded by Maimonides, and given in the writings of the learned Light-foot, and the reader himself will be enabled to institute the comparison:—

‘After what manner is the ordaining of elders (presbyters) for ever? Not that they should lay their hands upon the head of an elder, but only should call him rabbi, and say to him, Behold, thou art ordained, and thou hast power of judging, &c. Anciently, everyone that had been promoted to be an elder promoted his disciples also. But this honour the wise men indulged to old Hillel, namely, decreeing that no person should be ordained to be an elder but with the license of the president. But neither is the president to ordain any person unless the vice-president assist him, nor the vice-president unless the president assist him. But as to what belongs to the other societies: it is lawful for one man to ordain with the allowance of the president, but let him have two more with him; for it is not an ordination unless by three; nor do they ordain elders out of the land.’—Vol. ii. p. 686.

On all this Selden remarks that the office of presbyters, and the manner of their ordination, whether by imposition of hands or forms of speech, depended not upon any Divine institution, but arose from the custom of their ancestors, and human right.—Lib. ii. cap. vii. sect. 4, p. 182.

CHAPTER VII.

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE THEORY OF THIS ANGLICAN TEACHING
IN REGARD TO THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY, IN THE CLAIMS ASSERTED
FOR THE SAME BY THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1. LET it be borne in mind that, if bishops are successors of the apostles in the sense explained by these Anglicans, certain inevitable results follow therefrom, one of which is that the Church, clergy as well as laity, must submit to the teaching, the judgment, and the authority, of these so-called successors of the apostles, as if they were the holy apostles themselves. Now, this is the very thing claimed by the Bishop of Oxford in his last charge to his clergy. He does not, of course, mention bishops by name, but speaks of the Divine authority of the Church, yet he does not mean by that term 'a congregation of faithful men,' as defined in our Nineteenth Article, but the rulers of the Church; although the term is never used, in that sense, in Holy Scripture.

2. The Bishop asks two important questions, both of which are to be understood in a strong affirmative sense:—

'And how could the Church fulfil this office unless, of a truth, God were personally with her? Unless her whole system be supernatural, unless a Divine breath inspire her judgment, how could she discern the truth amidst the conflicting claims of many writings, &c.?'—*Charge*, 1863, pp. 60, 61.

The Bishop here, no doubt, claims the promise, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20), and applies to his purpose the text, 'And he breathed on them, and saith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghost' (John xx. 22). In both cases he adopts this modern Anglican explanation of the texts, as we have explained in Chap. I. 36-54, in defiance of the all but universal consent of the Fathers of the first four centuries. These Anglicans have far outstripped their early

preceptors, the Bishop not excepted. As a proof of this, we shall call in the aid of Archbishop Laud to correct the Bishop. Rome had made a similar claim for her system, to which Laud gave an answer. See **89.** 2, 3, and 5, but especially sect. 3, which the Tractarians adroitly left out of their *Catena Patrum* on apostolical succession. His answer shows that, in his judgment, and that of antiquity, God promised to be as much with his believing people generally as with the bishops.

3. We readily admit that, if apostolical succession is what these Anglicans would persuade us it is, then the Bishop's claim for his Catholic Church might have some show of reason. But after having carefully and fully considered their attempts to prove the doctrine in question, it must be considered that they have most signally failed. The so-called doctrine is a delusion, an insult to common sense, and a libel on the holy apostles by misrepresenting them. Without this succession, then, the assumptions of the Bishop for his Catholic Church fall to the ground. We say 'his,' because he, as we shall see, includes the corrupt systems of Christianity called the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, and excludes all 'Christianly Reformed' and Evangelical Churches not supposed to have this Anglican apostolical succession. We must, nevertheless, examine these utterances which have produced so great sensation both among Protestants and Roman Catholics. We shall give the whole of the Bishop's language at one view, which is to form the subject of our remarks:—

'For it is, we are told, "not without fair reason considered" that it is "an unhappy thing on the whole for the English Church to have preserved its chain of episcopal consecrations unbroken;" because, as we gather, if it wanted this, instead of trusting to its membership in the Church Catholic, and receiving its Bible, its creeds, and believing in the teaching of the Spirit, instead, that is, of believing in the Holy Ghost, and, therefore, in the Holy Catholic Church. Thus, for example, we shall in the long run be unable really to maintain the Divine authority of Holy Scripture if we give up the Divine authority, in its proper place, of "the Holy Catholic Church." The two are absolute correlatives. In our sense of the words we could have no "Bible" if we had no Church; if, that is to say, the primitive and as yet undivided Church had not, under the breath of the Divine Spirit, settled for us its canon, and if the Church universal had not maintained it. . . . Although, when the Bible is once given, the Church must receive its

teaching implicitly, as the Word of God, yet in priority of time the Church was of necessity before the Bible. For it is the record of God's dealings with, and revelations to, the Church, and the thing recorded must in time precede its record. That it did so, in fact, we know. The Church of the Old Testament was founded on that day when God made a covenant with Abraham; but four hundred and thirty years passed away, patriarch after patriarch lived and died in the faith, before Moses set his hand to those inspired books, the earliest in Scripture, which bear his name. It was not otherwise with the Church of the New Covenant. That was born on the day of Pentecost; but it was many years before the earliest Gospel, that probably of St. Matthew, was given to the Church. Moreover (as we have seen) to have that fixed canon of Holy Scripture which defines what is "the Bible," the Church must receive it; and upon this authority of its reception it must propound the Bible to each separate soul as the Word of God. There can, in the strife which is forced upon us, be no intermediate position between the dull naturalism to which so many are tending and a simple faith in God's presence with his Church, and so a hearty belief alike in her sacraments, her creeds, her orders, and her Bible, as the separate portions of the great system of instruments through which her God, her Saviour, and her Sanctifier are present with and working in her.—Pp. 55, 58-61.

4. It may be especially noticed how, in the above extracts, the Bishop has confounded Divine things with human, heavenly with earthly, and, contrary to the Creeds of the Holy Catholic Church, alike believes in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Scriptures, and *in* the Church, *in* orders, and *in* sacraments; and also how he puts the Church before the Scriptures in point of time, and regards the Church of equal, if not of superior, authority to them. These are points of the gravest importance, and, if incorrect, as we believe they are, demand correction and refutation. We should, indeed, be glad if we could be certain of the Bishop's meaning in some of the above extracts. We are not a little perplexed with this sentence, 'Instead, that is, of believing in the Holy Ghost, and, therefore, *in* the Holy Catholic Church.' Why this 'therefore?' Of this we can only conjecture, and therefore pass it over, but shall more especially notice his faith *in* the Church. The Bishop avows 'a hearty belief in the Church's Creeds.' And yet the Article on the Church in the two Creeds he in effect contradicts, and certainly holds a faith opposed to the Article as there given. Our version of the Apostles' Creed relating to the Church is, 'I believe in the Holy

Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.' Perhaps some English readers would understand this part of the creed as stating a belief *in* the Church, and would read it thus: 'I believe *in* the Holy Catholic Church.' This, however, would be to make the mistake the Bishop has done. The proper meaning is, 'I believe the Holy Catholic Church.' In fact this is what the Greek version of the creed expresses, 'I believe the Holy Catholic Church.' This part of the creed is expressed exactly in this way in *King Edward VI.'s Catechism*, 1553. The Nicene creed confirms this meaning of the article, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, . . . and I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church.' The early Fathers repudiated faith *in* a Church. Eusebius, Bishop of Emessa, in the middle of the fourth century, states that he and others did not—

'Believe *in* the Holy Catholic Church, but they believed *in* God, that the Church is not the author of salvation, that man is not of the Church, but the Church takes its beginning from man.' (20. 1.)

The learned Ruffinus, in his exposition of the Creed, remarks:—

'The preposition "in" is not added that it might be said *in* the Holy Church: but that the Holy Church is to be believed, not as we believe in God, but as a congregation gathered to God, &c. So, then, by this syllable "*in*" the Creator is distinguished from the creatures, and Divine things are separated from human.'

For a much fuller statement, see **32. 2.** Augustine considered that the Creed made the same important distinction between things Divine and things human. When speaking of the Church, he says:—

'We ought to believe the Church, not, however, to believe *in* the Church, because the Church is not God, but the house of God.'—*In Vigilia Pentecostes*, sermo i. tom. x. col. 993.

Again he says:—

'It is of great importance whether anyone believes that Christ is He Himself, and whether he believes *in* Christ. For the demons believe that Christ is He Himself: demons do not, however, believe *in* Christ. For he who believes in Christ also hopes in Christ, and loves Christ. For if he has faith without hope, and without love, he believes that Christ is, but does not believe in Christ.'—*De Verbis Domini in Evang. secundum Joan.* s. lxi. tom. x. col. 228.

Augustine is here interpreting Scripture not by its own phraseology, but by that of his Creed. We may not blame him for not knowing that in Hebrew we might say, 'I believe in God,' and 'I believe in Moses,' and that the self-same style is transferred to the New Testament. We learn, however, with certainty, that Augustine did not, and could not, believe *in* the Church.

5. Paschasius, a deacon of Rome, wrote a book on the Holy Ghost. Of the book and its author, Gregory the Great spoke very highly. In this book we learn that a heretic taking a similar view of this part of the Creed to that of the Bishop of Oxford, not having faith in the Divine authority of the Church, but regarding it as a company of fellow-creatures, explained the phrase, 'I believe *in* the Holy Ghost,' in the same way as he explained the phrase, 'I believe *in* the Holy Catholic Church,' which Paschasius considered to be a blasphemous persuasion. He says :—

'He who believes *in* the Church believes in man. For man is not of the Church, but the Church began to be from man. Desist, therefore, from this blasphemous persuasion to think that thou oughtest to believe in any human creature: since thou must not in anywise believe in an angel or an archangel.'

For fuller information see **48.**

6. Such is the united testimony of the 'primitive and as yet undivided Church,' which the Bishop represents as being then 'under the breath of the Divine Spirit.' What a contrast between the faith of the Bishop of Oxford and the yet undivided Church of antiquity! The Bishop jumbles together Creator and creatures, Divine persons and human things, alike believes in the Divine authority of Scripture and in the Divine authority of the Church; which latter proposition in plain English means in the Divine authority of himself and all canonical bishops, those of the Roman and Greek Churches, so called, not excepted. On the contrary, the yet undivided Church exercised a most discriminating faith, distinguishing between what related to the Godhead and what related to mortals, and sacraments; not confounding the Creator with his creatures, but separating Divine things from human. Paschasius, as we have

seen, regards it as blasphemous persuasion to think that we are to believe in any human creature such as he considers the Church to be.

7. Without laying any particular stress upon the absence or presence of the preposition 'in,' it is certain the early Christians regarded the Church and its authority very differently from the Bishop of Oxford; and had he lived in those early times, and had he been as devoted in the dissemination of his novelties as he is now, he must have been rebuked, if not put out of the Holy Catholic Church.

He speaks of having 'a hearty belief alike *in* the Church's sacraments, her orders, and her Bible.' We ask how many sacraments are we to have a hearty belief *in*? Two or seven? In how many orders? In two, or three, or more? Such is the peculiar style of the Bishop's charge, and, looking as it does so much towards Rome, we are compelled also to ask, What Bible are we to have a hearty belief in? He tells us that if—

'The primitive and as yet undivided Church had not, under the breath of the Divine Spirit, settled for us its canon: and if the Church universal had not maintained it, &c.'

And to this he appends the following note:—

'Of course the Anglican Church, though a true branch of the Church Catholic, yet as only a branch, could not settle such a matter as the canon of Holy Scripture.'—P. 59.

8. The Bishop, as all these Anglicans do, includes the Roman Catholics, and excludes all Christian Churches not having the supposed apostolical succession. It is true that our Church and all Christianly Reformed and Evangelical Churches have one Bible, and it is equally true that the Romanists have another, which includes the uncanonical books of the Apocrypha. The Bishop says 'settled for us the canon.' Then he considers the canon was settled. And he goes on to say, 'and if the Church universal had not maintained it,' that is, Roman Catholics and others. We cannot but infer that the Bishop includes the Romish orders, sacraments, and apocryphal writings, as the objects of faith.

It is bad enough to require us to have 'alike hearty belief *in*

our orders' as in our Bible. Enough has been said in this book to lead us to think that in our orders there may be much that is human, but our Bible we believe to be Divine; but to have a hearty belief *in* Romish sacraments, *in* Romish orders, and *in* Romish uncanonical books! against this we protest.

9. The Bishop, in the sentence a little above, speaks very loosely about 'the breath of the Divine Spirit.' Apostles had the Holy Spirit, and, according to this modern Anglican teaching, they handed on their undiminished power and authority to the bishops, which he calls the Church, and, in this sense, the Church is supposed to stand in the place of the apostles, and, under the breath of the Divine Spirit, to have settled the canon.

It is painful to find that we have in our Protestant and Evangelical Church a bishop who, to use the language of good Bishop Hall, 'wrongs Scripture by hanging all the authority of the canon upon the sleeve of the Church.'—*No Peace with Rome*, sect. xiv.

10. We especially request the reader to consider with attention the way in which Ruffinus has spoken of the canon, and its being received in his time. Not a word about its resting on the Divine authority of the Church, not a syllable that it was settled under the breath of the Divine Spirit by the successors of the apostles. So far from this, he, in immediate connection with that subject, places the Church among God's creatures, as a thing not to be believed in, but to be believed as existing. (32. 2.)

11. Athanasius has also given us a list of the canonical books of Holy Scripture, and his reasons for doing so, which we shall do well to consider, and see its bearing on the teaching of the Bishop of Oxford respecting the 'Divine authority of the Church' in regard to the canon. Athanasius says:—

'But since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation: and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity, by the subtilty of certain men, and should afterwards read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books: I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and

advantage of the Church. In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying, "Forasmuch as some have taken in hand," to reduce into order for themselves the books termed apocryphal, and to mix them up with the Divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word delivered to the fathers; it hath seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by the brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to bring before you the books included in the canon, and handed down and accredited as Divine; to the end that anyone who has fallen into error may correct those who have led him astray; and that he who continues steadfast in purity may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance.'

Here follow by name the canonical books both of the Old and New Testaments, and then he adds:—

'These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsteth may be satisfied with the words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to them, neither let him take aught from them. . . . But for greater exactness, I add this also, considering it necessary so to write; that there are other books besides these, not indeed included in the canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who are come of late, wishing for admonition and instruction in godliness. The wisdom of Solomon, and the wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Shepherd. But the former (the canonical books as received by us), my brethren, are included in the canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there any mention of apocryphal writings. But this is an invention of heretics, writing them to favour their own views, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, and producing them as ancient writings, that thereby they might find occasion to lead astray the simple.'—*Festal Epistles, Fragment of Epist. 29, pp. 137, 138, Library of the Fathers.*

12. Athanasius is asked by his brethren to give his opinion on the number of the canonical books of Holy Scripture, probably from the circumstance of his being a leading bishop, and an illustrious Christian of those times. He, on his own authority, and in his own name, undertakes the task, not for a moment supposing that he was under the breath of the Divine Spirit in what he did in any other sense than every good man may be considered to be when he does what is acceptable to God. And so far from the Church at that time assuming the so-called Divine authority in settling the canon of Scripture after the

infallible manner the Bishop intimates, it is certain this great Athanasius and his brethren did not know, certainly did not acknowledge, any such delusion. Verily, the Bishop has made a claim for his Catholic Church which was absolutely unknown to early antiquity.

13. To show how uncertain this figment of apostolical succession is, on which the Bishop rests so much for the claims of his Church, in addition to what has already been stated, we shall refer to some of the martyrs and leading defenders of our Church, by whom succession is most distinctly denied to be any necessary mark of a Church. John Bradford, martyr. (**64.** 1, 2.) Hooper, bishop and martyr. (**65.** 6-8.) Philpot, martyr. (**66.** 2, 3.) Bishop Jewel. (**73.** 13-19.) Fulke. (**75.** 9, 10.) Whitaker. (**78.** 3, 22, 23.) Bancroft. (**80.** 17.)

14. Archbishop Laud is another witness against the doctrine of apostolical succession as held by these Anglicans, but it would be a mistake to include him among the above witnesses without some qualification. The texts on which nearly all these Anglicans ground their belief that the apostleship was transmissible are by Laud, on the authority of some of the Fathers, applied to believers generally. (**89.** 3, 5.) Again, he contends that a local visible and continual succession is no necessary mark of the true Church. (**89.** 6, 7.) From this we learn that, however alien his general teaching was to the real doctrines of our Church, yet he is far surpassed by his pupils.

15. Our next authority is the learned Bingham, a host in himself, and an authority often quoted by these Anglicans when it suits their purpose. (**91.** 17.)

16. The next point to be considered is the Bishop's putting the Church before the Word of God in point of time. The whole passage to which attention is directed will be found at sect. 3 of this chapter.

The Bishop says, 'The Church of necessity is before the Bible.' Of course it is. Human beings, and not the Holy Ghost, made the parchment or vellum, and prepared it for the reception of significant signs to represent to the eye the Word of God. Human beings, and not the Holy Ghost, committed these signs to the parchment or vellum, arranged the books in a given

order, and bound or stitched them together, and thus *the Bible* was produced. Call those human beings the Church whose main interest it was to have the Bible, and of course in that sense the Church was before the Bible. But surely the Bishop, on the occasion of addressing so many learned fellow-presbyters, would not trifle with them by narrating so trite a truism. He must *mean* to say something more than this, and we have proof of it in the following remarks: 'Although, when the Bible is once given, the Church must receive its teaching implicitly as the Word of God.' Again he remarks, 'For the Bible is the record of God's dealings with and revelation to the Church, and the thing recorded must in time precede its record.' By the term Bible it is certain the Bishop means the Holy Scriptures or written Word of God.

The Word of God, when spoken or communicated to his servants, is the same whether recorded or not. The 'revelations to the Church,' of which the Bishop speaks, were the Word of God communicated by His inspired servants to His people. But that Word of God received no additional authority by the mere circumstance of its being subsequently written by the Church. The Word of God did not write itself; it was not committed to parchment by the Holy Ghost. This was done, of course, by human hands, but not necessarily by those of an inspired man. St. Paul did not generally write his epistles by his own hand; the hand might be that of a mere amanuensis, which would neither add to nor diminish from what was written. The Bishop says, 'That (the Church of the New Covenant) was born on the day of Pentecost; but it was many years before the earliest Gospel was given to the Church.' By what means was the Church born? By the Word of God through St. Peter, as accompanied by the Holy Ghost. (See 1 Cor. iv. 15.) The Word of God then of necessity was before the Church. In the ancient Peshito-Syriac version of the Gospels, each is prefaced by a statement showing where and in what language each evangelist 'uttered and preached' his Gospel. But written or unwritten, these Gospels were equally the Word of God.

17. The Bishop speaks as if the Church or people of God must have been without His Word until the time of Moses. But he

means the written Word; yet even that is not true. The most competent and well-recognised Biblical critics admit that the Book of Job was written long before the time of Moses; this is admitted by the sceptic Renan. Most certainly Abraham was not before the Word of God, for we read, 'Because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.' (Gen. xxvi. 5.) Abraham must have had a canon of the Word of God, and if such a poem as that of Job, acknowledged to be the finest in the world, in all probability was written about this time, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Abraham had a written revelation.

18. It must be conceded that the Bishop has not got much credit to his Catholic Church or himself by this abortive attempt to raise from the dead this old popish argument, viz. that the Church was before the Scriptures, and that the authority of the Word of God depends on the Church which our Protestant forefathers tried, condemned, executed, and consigned to the grave, two or three centuries ago. He, however, in attempting to act the part of a resurrectionist, in this case has caused a good deal of gossip both among Papists and Protestants, but, not having succeeded, has done no great harm, except to himself as a bishop of a Protestant and Evangelical Church. A bishop of our Church should, more than all other men, have hands clean from popery, and have no peace with Rome until Rome becomes pure. But we must show, as we have intimated, the exact treatment which this doctrine of the Bishop received at the hands of our Protestant forefathers. It should be noticed that the Bishop puts the Church before the Gospel by referring to the Gospel of St. Matthew, as given subsequently to the Church, and also how the Bishop makes the Church add to the authority of Scripture, and holds that the Divine authority of the Scriptures and the Divine authority of the Church are correlatives. To all which Tyndale, the apostle of England, gives a most complete and satisfactory answer. (58. 15-17.)

Rogers, who made the first exposition of the Articles of our Church, not long after they were framed, answering certain 'popish assertions,' has by anticipation answered the popish assertions of the Bishop, which answer he has confirmed by

stating the testimony of all the Reformed Churches: for he says, 'Of this judgment be the Churches Reformed.' Here he includes all evangelical Christendom of those days. (82. 27-30.) The next authority to which we shall refer is the learned Whitaker, a most able and successful champion against popery. Let the reader place the Bishop with his arguments and illustrations among the papists with their arguments and illustrations, which in fact are identical, and we shall leave him to his own reflections. (78. 19-21.)

19. The testimony of the very learned Archbishop Usher on these points is most valuable. He says:—

'This testimony of God's Spirit in the hearts of his faithful, as it is proper to the Word of God, so it is greater than any human persuasions grounded upon reason or witnesses of men; unto which it is unmeet that the Word of God should be subject, as papists hold [and the Bishop of Oxford], when they teach that the Scriptures receive their authority from the Church. For by thus hanging the credit and authority of the Scriptures on the Church's sentence, they make the Church's word of greater credit than the Word of God. Whereas the Scriptures of God cannot be judged or sentenced by any; and God only is a worthy witness of himself, in his Word and by his Spirit; which give mutual testimony one of the other.

'Show some further reasons that the authority of the Scriptures doth not depend upon the Church. First, to believe the Scripture is a work of faith; but the Church cannot infuse faith. Secondly, any authority that the Church hath, it must prove it by the Scripture; therefore the Scripture dependeth not upon the Church. Thirdly, if an infidel should ask the Church, how they are sure that Christ died for them? if they should answer because themselves say so, it would be ridiculous.'—*Substance of Christian Religion*, p. 9.

20. For the third time, and finally on these points, we shall call in the aid of Archbishop Laud, the erring preceptor of his still more erring sons, to correct them on the points in question. What we are about to quote from Laud will apply to all we have quoted from the Bishop's charge, as given at sect. 3 of this chapter. In what, then, is to be added from the writings of Laud, the reader will have to put the Bishop in the place of 'Fisher the Jesuit,' the arguments and assumptions of each being alike, and he has only to consider well the arguments of Laud, and he must conclude that Fisher the Jesuit is most triumphantly answered, and by anticipation, therefore, the Bishop of Oxford, whom he accurately represents:—

‘ You cannot be right that resolve faith of the Scriptures, being the Word of God, into only tradition. For *only*, and *no other* proof, are equal. To prove the Scripture, therefore (so called by way of excellence), to be the Word of God, there are several offers at divers proofs. For, first, some fly to the testimony and witness of the Church and her tradition [as the Bishop of Oxford], which constantly believes, and unanimously delivers it. Secondly, some to the light and the testimony which the Scripture gives to itself; with other internal proofs which are observed in it, and to be found in no other writing whatsoever. Thirdly, some to the testimony of the Holy Ghost, which clears up the light that is in Scripture, and seals this faith to the souls of men, that it is God’s Word. Fourthly, all that have not imbrutished themselves, and sunk below their species and order of nature, give even natural reason leave to come in, and make some proof, and give some approbation upon the weighing and the consideration of other arguments. And this must be admitted, if it be but for pagans and infidels, who either consider not or value not any one of the other three, yet must some way or other be converted, or left without excuse, and that is done by this very evidence.

‘ For the first: the tradition of the Church, which is your way [and that of the Bishop of Oxford]: that taken and considered alone, is so far from being the only that it cannot be a sufficient proof to believe by Divine faith that Scripture is the Word of God. For that which is a full and sufficient proof is able of itself to settle the soul of man concerning it. Now the tradition of the Church is not able to do this. For it may be further asked why we should believe the Church’s tradition. And if it be answered, we may believe because the Church is infallibly governed by the Holy Ghost [“under the breath of the Divine Spirit settled the canon”]; it may yet be demanded of you how that may appear. And if this be demanded, either you must say you have it by special revelation, which is the private Spirit you object to other men; or else you must attempt to prove it by Scripture, as all of you do. And that very offer, to prove it out of Scripture, is a sufficient acknowledgment that the Scripture is a higher proof than the Church’s tradition, which (in your grounds) is or may be questionable till you come thither.

‘ Again, if the voice of the Church (saying the books of Scripture, commonly received, are the Word of God) be the formal object of faith, upon which alone absolutely I may resolve myself: then every man not only may, but ought, to resolve his faith into the voice or tradition of the Church: for every man is bound to rest upon the proper and formal object of the faith. But nothing can be more evident than this, that a man ought not to resolve his faith of this principle into the sole testimony of the Church. Therefore neither is that testimony, or tradition alone, the formal object of faith. The learned of your own part grant this: although in that Article of the Creed (I believe the Catholic Church) peradventure all this be contained (I believe those things which the Church teacheth) yet this is not necessarily understood, that I believe the Church teaching as an infallible witness. And if they did not confess this, it were no hard thing to prove.

‘It seems therefore to me very necessary that we be able to prove the books of Scripture to be the Word of God, by some authority that is absolutely Divine. For if they be warranted unto us by any authority less than Divine then all things contained in them (which have no greater assurance than the Scripture, in which they are read) are not objects of Divine belief. And that, once granted, will enforce us to yield that all the Articles of Christian belief have no greater assurance than human or moral faith, or credulity, can afford. An authority, then, simply Divine must make good the Scriptures’ infallibility, at least in the last resolution of our faith in that point. This authority cannot be any testimony or voice of the Church alone. For the Church consists of men subject to error; and no one of them since the apostles’ times hath been assisted with so plentiful a measure of the blessed Spirit as to secure him from being deceived; and all the parts, being all liable to mistaking, and fallible, the whole cannot possibly be infallible, in and of itself, and privileged from being deceived in some things or other.

‘So then this is agreed on by me, that Scripture must be known to be Scripture by a sufficient, infallible, Divine proof. And that such proof can be nothing but the Word of God is agreed on also by me. Yea, and agreed on, for me, it shall be likewise that God’s Word may be written and unwritten. For Cardinal Bellarmine tells us truly that it is not the writing or printing that makes Scripture the Word of God; but it is the prime, unerring, essential truth, God himself, uttering and revealing it to his Church, that makes it *verbum Dei*, the Word of God. And this Word of God is uttered to men, either immediately, by God himself, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—and so it was to the prophets and apostles—or mediately, either by angels, to whom God had spoken first: and so the law was given, and so also the message was delivered to the Blessed Virgin: or by the prophets and apostles, and so the Scriptures were delivered to the Church. But their being written gave them no authority at all in regard of themselves. Written or unwritten, the Word was the same. But it was written that it might be the better preserved, and continued with the more integrity, to the use of the Church, and the more faithfully in our memories.’—*A Relation of the Conference between W. Laud and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit*, sect. 16, pp. 39, 40, 42, 43.

CHAPTER VIII.

AN ESPECIAL EXAMINATION AND DETECTION OF CERTAIN FORGED LINKS OF
THE TRACTARIAN CATENA PATRUM ON APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

1. It has been demonstrated how utterly alien the teaching of these Anglicans on the doctrine of apostolical succession is to all the leading authorities of our Reformed Church during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The question is, How does the case stand in regard to the leading authorities of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and part of the nineteenth centuries? During that long period of time, there is ample scope for quoting authorities. In the *Tracts for the Times*, No. 74, this immense field has been well explored, and the result is we have a Catena Patrum of forty-three links or authorities, which purport, according to the above tract, to give the 'Testimony of writers in the later English Church to the doctrine of the apostolical succession.'—No. 74, p. 1.

2. We have not attempted to examine the writings of all the forty-three authors quoted; but in investigating the subject of this book, we came in contact with several, and these we have included in the third part of the Catena Patrum. All in this part, with the exception of Rogers (**82.**) and Field (**84.**), have been included in the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession. These two authors, though not distinctly of the sixteenth century, nor cited in the above Catena, yet, for their singular value and importance, have been included in the third part of our Catena. The evidence of Rogers has been anticipated in other chapters of this book; and with respect to Field, it should be observed that the Tractarians have generally included him in their Catenas, but on the subject of our book he is most decidedly against them. His testimony is recorded in **84.** which we especially commend to the consideration of the reader.

It cannot be considered unfair to suppose that the Tractarians have done the best they could, in making a selection out of the vast number of authors that have lived during two centuries and a half. We have no other work, that we know of, which attempts, to the same extent as Tract 74 does, to give authorities on the doctrine in question. This tract, then, is of singular importance in the present discussion, for if these Anglicans have no better chain of authorities to hang their doctrine upon, their case is desperate indeed. It is extremely doubtful if any one of the forty-three authorities held the doctrine in all its fulness and bearings like the Anglicans of the present day. So far from the testimonies given in the said tract being a chain on which might hang this Anglican doctrine of apostolical succession, many of the links, as we shall see, ignore it, and make statements, and construct arguments, that are absolutely destructive of the doctrine in question; and this is done by authorities whose names are as familiar to us as household words. The *Catena* is a chain of the most worthless character; for the links, as we shall see, are of such a quality that, in very many instances, they are destructive to each other. We must not, however, do any injustice to the authors of this *Catena*, by hanging on their chain what they, according to their own written statement, never intended it to bear. They say:—

‘The doctrine in dispute is this: that Christ founded a visible Church as an ordinance for ever, and endowed it once for all with spiritual privileges, and set His apostles over it, as the first in a line of ministers and rulers like themselves, except in their miraculous gifts, and to be continued from them by successive ordination; in consequence, that to adhere to this Church, thus distinguished, is among the ordinary duties of a Christian, and is the means of his appropriating the Gospel blessings with an evidence of his doing so not attainable elsewhere.’—*Tract No. 74*, pp. 1, 2.

3. For anything stated in this thesis, it might embrace the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This comes very far short of the doctrine of apostolical succession, which has already been discussed in this book. Here is not a word respecting the exclusive claims of episcopacy, or the indispensable necessity of episcopal ordination to the validity of the Christian ministry, and many of the authors whose writings are quoted concede

these points, and others contend for a governing power, without determining in whom it is vested. Temperate as this thesis is, they have very significantly passed over the authors of our Church of the sixteenth century, for they say:—

‘ In selecting them it has been thought advisable, as in the two previous Catenas (one of which is on the doctrine of apostolical succession), not to include the writings of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. . . It has been thought safer to show that the succession of our standard divines ever since their times understood them to hold that view of doctrine which it has been the endeavour of these tracts to recommend; and that no other can be taken without contradicting both that illustrious succession itself and its judgment concerning the Reformers.’—*Tract No. 78*, p. 1.

4. This is a Tractarian fashion of falsifying our Reformers. We are not dependent upon their successors for a knowledge of their teaching on the subjects under discussion; their opinions are faithfully recorded in their own writings which have come down to us; and such evidence is given of its nature in the second part of our Catena that no amount of shuffling or deceit can undo it.

5. We shall now briefly examine fourteen links of the Catena, as made use of by the Tractarians to establish their doctrine of apostolical succession, following the order in which they stand in that Catena.

6. The first is Bishop Bilson, who, it is plain, held such a view of the apostleship that, in his mind, it was confined to the apostles themselves, and that, in fact, with them it ceased, ‘ and no like power reserved to their successors after them.’ (See **95**.)

7. The next authority in order is Hooker, whose testimony and general arguments on the point under consideration are most decisive against Tractarians, and against these Anglicans, their numerous progeny; so decisive that either the honesty or knowledge of those who quote him on that side of the question may well be doubted.

Bishop Warburton has well said:—

‘ The great Hooker was not only against, but laid down principles that have entirely subverted, all pretences to a Divine unalterable right in any form of church government whatever. Yet, strange to say, his work was so unavoidable a confutation of Puritanical principles, which, by the way, claimed their presbytery as of Divine right, that the Church-

men took advantage of the success of their champion, and now began to claim a Divine right for episcopacy on the strength of that very book that subverted all pretences to every species of Divine right whatsoever.'—*Controv. Tracts*, p. 467.

Anyone consulting the extracts as given from Hooker in **83.** will at once be convinced of the truth of Warburton's remark.

8. Hooker maintains also that the seat of all power is in the Church visible, inclusive of the laity, of course, and, in accordance with this view, he represents the authority of the bishops 'as a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.' (See **83.** 12, 13, 15.)

As to the morality of making such a use of Hooker to favour Tractarian heresy, we shall not venture to speak, but give the published opinion of Dean Goode:—

'What is Mr. Keble's explanation in his preface to Hooker? That Hooker "*shrunk from the legitimate result OF HIS OWN PREMISSES*;" "he did not *feel at liberty* to press unreservedly, and develop, in all its consequences, that part of the argument which they [i. e. Laud and others] regarded as *the most vital and decisive*: THE NECESSITY, *namely, of the apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace and to our mystical communion with Christ.*" Such is the treatment awarded to one of our most learned and judicious divines. To offer any defence of Hooker against such charges would be a waste of words indeed. But there is one question which I would seriously ask of the author of the "Catena," namely, How he can reconcile it with fair dealing, when it is notorious, and confessed by his own party, that Hooker did not follow out "his own premisses" (to use their phrase) so as to maintain their doctrine, but expressly repudiates it, to select a passage so worded as to lead a cursory reader to think that Hooker held it, and put it as a proof of Hooker's advocacy of their doctrine in their "Catena" of witnesses for it? In what position does such a fact leave their boasted "Catenas?"'—*Divine Rule*, §c. vol. ii. pp. 279, 280.

9. Archbishop Bancroft comes next. He calls Papists false prophets, and ranks them with Arians and libertines, but forbears to call Puritans by that name, and though he did not like them yet he thought them too good to be put in the company of Papists, &c. What different views he must have had of the Papists and Puritans to these Anglicans of the present day. (See **80.** 1, 2, 4.) He speaks with approbation of the Reformed Churches, none of which had bishops, and he considered it an

honour that all of these Churches should have clapped their hands for joy at the reformation of the English Church: and he appears to have been much pleased with the testimony of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer concerning the Book of Common Prayer. (**80.** 11-13.) It is true he maintained something in advance of his brethren respecting the authority of the bishop (**80.** 8, 9), which awoke considerable opposition on the part of some. The learned Raynolds charged him with introducing a doctrine which, as yet, had never been maintained by any of the Reformers, or the leading authorities of our Church, whose names he gives. (See **81.** 1-6.)

10. We come now to Bishop Andrewes, who, no doubt, was in advance of his times respecting his views on the authority of bishops as exercised by Divine right. But he condemns these Anglo-catholics by anticipation, for he says:—

‘And yet, though our government be by Divine right, it follows not either that there is no salvation or that a church cannot stand without it. He must needs be stoneblind that sees not churches standing without it: he must needs be made of iron and hard-hearted that denies them salvation. We are not made of that metal, we are none of those iron-sides: we put a wide difference betwixt them.’—*Respons. ad Ep. 2 Molinæi Int.* p. 176.

(See also **86.** 1, and **91.** 25.)

11. Bishop Hall comes next for our consideration. It is surpassing strange that the Tractarians should have dragged this doctrinal Puritan into their Catena. It is true he wrote a book on the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, but repudiated with abhorrence any thought of unchurching the other Reformed Churches which had no such government, and to which he expressed the most cordial attachment, while at the same time he maintained that there should be ‘no peace with Rome.’ How he thought, and spoke, of Laud may be seen by referring to Ch. IV. 249. The sentiments of Bishop Hall, and those of these Anglicans, are diametrically opposed to each other. (**85.** 1-4.)

12. The next in turn is Archbishop Laud, the father of the Anglican heresy. But he, who of all other authorities should have helped them most, is point blank against them; especially on the subject for which they quote him. Had the quotation been honestly made, and not garbled, his writings would have

borne testimony against them. Let anyone read the extract from the book of Laud as given in the Tractarian Catena, and as quoted in **89. 2**, and supposing the whole truth to be there stated, he must have the impression that Laud is maintaining the exact doctrine of these Anglicans, viz. that Christ, in certain texts, has promised certain things exclusively to the apostles, and those who are supposed to succeed them in the same office; but let the same person read on the opposite side of the page, as given in **89. 3**, the passages which the Tractarians omitted, and it will be seen how grossly they have falsified the real teaching of Laud. Surely, when they boast so much about their apostolic this, and their apostolic that, we cannot fail to be reminded of the apostleship of Judas.

13. Laud, by thus extending the promise, ‘Lo! I am with you &c.’ to believers generally (**89. 3, 5**), has rendered useless five other links of the chain, viz. Bishops Sanderson, Taylor, Jeb, Mant, and Mr. Nelson, all of whom rest their doctrine of apostolical succession upon that text. Bishop Horsley, another forged link in the Catena on apostolical succession, whom we have yet to consider, maintains that the text in question was addressed, ‘not to the disciples only, but to a promiscuous multitude of disciples.’ Again he says:—

‘Indeed, if this appearance of the five hundred recorded by St. Paul was the same with that on the Galilean hill recorded by St. Matthew, which is the opinion of the most learned critics and divines, and is highly probable, &c.’—*Second Sermon on the Resurrection*, pp 161, 162.

14. Dean Alford, on Matt. xxviii. 16–20, writes:—

‘We are therefore obliged to conclude that *others were* present (beside the eleven). Whether these others were the “500 brethren at once” of whom Paul speaks does not appear.’ ‘*Go ye therefore and teach, &c.* Demonstrably, this was not understood as spoken to the apostles *only*, but to all the brethren.’ ‘To understand “*with you*” only of the apostles and their (?) successors is to destroy the whole force of these most weighty words. Descending even into literal exactness, we may see that “*teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*” makes “*them*” into “*you*,” as soon as they are “*made disciples*.” The command is to the Universal Church—to be performed, in the nature of things, by her ministers and teachers, the manner of appointing which is not here prescribed, but to be learnt in the unfoldings of Providence recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, who by his special

ordinance were the founders and first builders of that Church, but whose office, *on that very account, precluded the idea of succession or renewal.*'

15. In the very book from which the Tractarians gave their garbled extracts, Laud maintains that—

'Other Protestants agree with the Church of England in the chiefest doctrines, and in the main exceptions, which they jointly take against the Roman Church; as appears by their several confessions.' (89. 1.)

Laud, in effect, denies Roman Catholics to be a Church, except in such a sense as Palmer and Pritchard may in their essence have been men, while in their conduct they were monsters. Laud also emphatically denies the kind of succession held by these Anglicans. (See 89. 4, 6.) Laud had, indeed, in many things departed from the faith of his Church, but his disciples have departed still further from the great founder of their heresy.

16. The next misplaced link in the chain is Archbishop Bramhall. He, after having given his own views of episcopacy, endorses those of Bishop Andrewes. Both these bishops condemn by anticipation the general teaching of these Anglicans, who deny the Church of Scotland, and churches similarly constituted, to be Churches of Christ. (86. 1, 2.)

17. Another misplaced link is Mason, who has written a learned book in defence 'of the consecration of the bishops of England, with their succession, &c.' He says: 'Seeing a presbyter is equal to a bishop in the power of order, he hath equal intrinsical power to give orders.' (87. 1.) Mr. Palmer has made, as necessity compelled him, enormous concessions respecting the bishop, by a Divine institution, being superior to a presbyter; yet he holds that he is superior in having exclusively the power of ordination, and this is the only absolute distinction he believes to exist between a bishop and a presbyter. Yet Mason relinquishes this, and these Anglicans ought to admit him as an authority, as their brethren, or fathers, the Tractarians, have placed him as a witness to apostolical succession in their *Catena Patrum* on that subject. While Mason admits a chronological succession of bishops both in the Romish Church and our own, yet he denies that it is an uninterrupted one, and adduces evidence in proof thereof. He denies Rome to be a true Church of Christ, and maintains, according to Irenæus and

Gregory Nazianzen, that succession of doctrine is of the highest importance, which he denies to the Church of Rome. (87. 2-7.)

Bishop Pearson makes a statement fatal to this Anglican succession. He says :—

‘The household of God is built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, who are continued unto us only in their writings, &c.’ (88.)

18. Perhaps of all the links which the Tractarians have forged for their chain, Stillingfleet is the most marked. It is true his views became modified toward the close of his life, and as he held a more influential and responsible position in the Church. The extracts given in 90. are from his *Irenicum*, one of his earliest productions. The Tractarians in their *Catena* give an extract from the preface of his book entitled *The Unreasonableness of Separation, &c. &c. To which several late letters are annexed, of eminent Protestant Divines abroad, concerning the Nature of our Differences, and the way to compose them.* A comparison of the two books will show that in the latter he had become more decided in his views regarding the authority of the bishop in contradistinction to the presbyter. But the fact that he quoted with approval the letters of three non-episcopal French divines, to whom he alluded in the title-page of his book, in which letters sentiments are expressed not at all compatible with these modern Anglican notions, shows how little he had in common with the Tractarians who make use of him. We shall only quote from one of the three, which may suffice as a specimen also of the other two letters, as they all relate to one and the same subject. The letter of Claude, the eminent defender of the Reformation, is the one selected. He says :—

‘You do me a great deal of honour to desire that I should tell you my thoughts of the difference that has troubled you so long, betwixt those they call episcopal and those they name presbyterians. Although I have already explained myself about this divers times, both by letters which I have written upon this subject to several persons and in my book, too, of the *Defence of the Reformation*, where, speaking of the distinction betwixt the bishop and the priest, I have said expressly that I do not blame those that observe it as a thing very ancient, and that I would not that anyone should make it an occasion of quarrel in those places where it is established.

‘Wherefore our churches have always looked upon and considered

yours, not only as a sister, but as an elder sister, for which we ought to have a kindness accompanied with respect and veneration, and for which we do present most ardent prayers unto God without ceasing. . . . It is enough for us to know that the same Divine Providence which, by an indispensable necessity, and by the conjuncture of affairs, did at the beginning of the Reformation put our Churches under that of the presbytery, has put yours under that of the episcopacy; and as we are assured that you do not despise our simplicity so neither ought we to oppose ourselves against your pre-eminence. So that, my lord, we utterly disapprove and see with grief certain extremes whereinto some of the one side and the other do cast themselves. The one looking upon episcopacy as an order so absolutely necessary that without it there can be no ecclesiastical society, nor lawful vocation, nor hope of salvation; and the other looking upon it with indignation as a relique of anti-christianism. These are equally heats and excesses, which do not come from Him that calls us, and which do offend against the laws of wisdom and charity.'—Pp. 439, 441, 442.

Of the book from which our extracts are given, Stillingfleet, speaking of himself in the third person, said:—

'I believe there are many things in it, which, if Dr. St. were to write now, he would not have said: for there are some things which show his youth and want of due consideration, others in which he yielded too far, &c.'

It is not easy to ascertain the amount of change Stillingfleet's views underwent between the time he published his *Irenicum* and his book on *The Unreasonableness of Separation*; but we are certain that it was not considerable; and no amount of change would make that which was true in his first book false in any subsequent one, and as the extracts we have made relate much more to facts than theories, we refer the reader to them with confidence, and leave him to his own reflections. (90. 1–13.)

19. Archbishop Sharp plainly shows that he is a misplaced link in the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession, by his affirming that, if he were abroad, he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches, where he should happen to be. (92.)

20. Archbishop Wake is still more out of place in the Tractarian Catena than Archbishop Sharp, for he not only acknowledges non-episcopal churches as Churches of Christ but describes all those who refuse to do so as iron-hearted, and those who assert

that they have no true and valid sacraments, and that they are scarcely Christians, he ranks among insane writers. (93. 1, 2.) Under which description come Dean Hook and Dr. Wordsworth, with these Anglicans generally. The mad or insane writers to which Wake more especially refers are the nonjurors, many of whom are given in the Tractarian *Catena Patrum* on apostolical succession, and are described as confessors. These men refused to withdraw their oath of allegiance from King James II. in consequence of which they were deprived of their ecclesiastical dignities, and other persons were promoted to their places. These nonjurors maintained that they were the only true bishops of the Church of England, that they had not been deposed by any ecclesiastical council, and that those who succeeded them were unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities, were rebels against the State, as well as schismatics in the Church; and that all, therefore, who held communion with them were also chargeable with rebellion and schism. Surely these nonjuring confessors bear too strong a testimony even for the Tractarians, for, if their testimony is worth anything on subjects of this nature, the whole Church of England is schismatical and without any true bishops. But it is said, when these nonjurors died, those who occupied their places schismatically and seditiously ceased to do so in consequence of their death, and became true bishops of the Church of England. This circumstance perplexed Archbishop Whately; his mind, with all its power and logical acumen, could not comprehend how this could be. This is one instance of the inventive faculty of those who are determined to preserve the succession at all hazards and under all difficulties.

21. But these Tractarians must be ignorant as well as wily, or how could they have placed so destructive a link in the chain as Bingham, who admits that our great Church authorities never considered episcopacy as a necessary note of a church, and justifies his opinion by quoting Bishop Andrewes. (91. 24, 25.) He denies that orders are indelible (91. 20-22), and if they are delible, how do these Anglo-catholics get a safe-conduct for their succession? But the most trying thing to these innovators in the Church of England is that this great authority,

so profound in patristic learning, rigidly maintains opinions singularly fatal to their teaching on apostolical succession. (**91.** 16-19.)

22. The last forged link we have to notice is Bishop Horsley, who, like Archbishop Wake, destroys some of the strongest links, especially those authors who assume that St. Peter handed on the keys to others, for Horsley, with Tertullian, and others, maintains that they never passed out of St. Peter's hands. (**94.** 1-3.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE OBJECTS CONTEMPLATED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ITS BELIEVING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH STATED AND CONSIDERED, IN CONTRAST TO THOSE OBJECTS TO WHICH THE FAITH OF THESE ANGLICANS IS DIRECTED IN THEIR BELIEF IN A CATHOLIC CHURCH.

1. If these Anglicans represent the Church of England by their views on the nature of a Christian Church generally, the question might well be asked, To what churches does the Church of England consider herself to be united, as forming with them the Catholic Church? To the Reformed Evangelical Churches, or to the Roman and Greek systems of superstition and error? Are the marks or notes which the English Church gives of what she considers a true church in accordance with those of the latter, or with those of the former? And with which has she manifested her sympathy, and avowed herself to be in fellowship, by her leading pastors, her learned authors, and her distinguished defenders, more especially those who were chiefly engaged in compiling her Liturgy, and framing her Articles, and those who were the defenders of the same for many years after? To the Reformed Churches, or to the unreformed Churches? True answers to these questions will show the anomalous position of these Anglicans who so zealously avow themselves to be the true representatives of our Church.

2. It will be well to state first what are the marks or notes of a Church of Christ as given by these Anglicans, and then the marks or notes given by the Church of England herself, and her authors generally. Dean Hook says:—

‘The great majority of Christians—the Roman, Greek, and Eastern Churches—regard episcopacy as indispensable to the integrity of Christianity.’ . . . ‘Again: by all apostolic churches the apostolic succession is maintained to be a *sine qua non* for the valid administration of the eucharist, and the authoritative remission of sins.’—Art. *Anglo-catholic Church, Ch. Dict.* ‘The apostolical succession of the ministry is

essential to the right administration of the holy sacraments.'—*Apostolical Succession, ibid.* 'Without this (uninterrupted succession), all distinction between a clergyman and a layman is utterly vain, for no security exists that heaven will ratify the acts of an illegally constituted minister on earth. Without it, ordination confers none but humanly derived powers.'—*Succession, Apostolical, or Uninterrupted, ibid.*

3. Mr. Palmer states the matter thus:—

'The great external sign of such a continuance of ordinations in any church is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors from the apostles; for it is morally certain that, wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned. This succession from the apostles is a certain note of a Church of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy. . . . It has been shown above that the apostolical succession of the ministry is a note of the true Church, and of all the particular churches of which it is composed, so that no community which is without this succession can be a Church of Christ.'—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, pt. i. chap. viii. vol. i. pp. 142, 143.

4. The next book from which we shall quote is one to which we are referred by Dean Hook as an authority on apostolical succession:—

'The Christian ministry lies at the foundation of the Christian Church. The apostles were to institute a ministry which was to continue by succession "to the end of the world;" we have the same right to change the sacraments, and to pretend that they are temporary and mutable, as we have to change the constitution of the Christian ministry as settled by apostolic practice. Here the institutions of the apostles must be gathered from their practice, from their authoritative acts. The ministry is of Divine authority, and rests solely on a Divine commission ("No man taketh this honour to himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron."—Heb. v. 4). This commission must be derived from Christ, the source of all power in the Church, by a succession of persons authorised to transmit it. In no other way can it be derived. Admit that this succession has been interrupted—admit that the mode of transmitting the ministerial commission may be changed, may be placed in other hands than those in whom the apostles placed it, and you render null the promise of Christ, "Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." You suffer the gates of hell to prevail against the Church, for you wrest from it its Divine character; you make its ministers and its sacraments human officers and human ordinances. . . .

'Episcopacy is unchangeable, because it is the originally constituted mode of conveying that commission without which there can be no visible ministry, no visible sacraments, no visible Church. The power of ordination must remain with the first grade of the ministry, now called bishops, because with them it was placed by the apostles,

divinely commissioned to found the Church, to constitute its ministry, and to provide for the continuance of this ministry to the "end of the world."—Rose's *Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*, The Appendix, pp. 189, 190.

5. These writers make their uninterrupted succession an essential note of a Church, and one without which there could be no Christian Church. Let it be observed that this succession is believed to be dependent on bishops exclusive of presbyters. But it is notorious, as we have seen, that the compilers of the Liturgy and the framers of the Articles regarded the office of bishop, as distinct from the presbyter, to be of human appointment; that they most cordially esteemed the Reformed and non-Episcopal Churches as sister Catholic Churches, and were anxious to have a sort of general and harmonious confession of faith, in which all the Reformed Churches might agree, and which ultimately was effected. (See **82.** 1–4.) Circumstanced as these men were in regard to the non-episcopal churches, which they esteemed as true Churches of Christ, and having before them their own recorded statements respecting the origin of the episcopal office, if they had held this Anglican succession, and attached the same importance to it, could they, in framing an article containing the notes of a Christian Church, have so deliberately ignored it? The nineteenth article, relating to this subject, thus defines a church:—

‘The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ’s ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.’

Not a word about bishops, not a syllable respecting this uninterrupted succession. Surely this silence is fatal to the novel pretences of these Anglicans.

6. Dr. Wordsworth has also given what he considers to be the notes of a Church of Christ, and as they are taken from the recognised documents of the Church of England, it is only fair to record his testimony:—

‘Q. By what name is the Church called in this condition upon earth?

‘A. It is called the *Visible Church*.

‘ Q. Why is it so called ?

‘ A. Because it is a visible “ congregation of faithful,” or believing persons, “ in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same,” and which enjoys the right use of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*.’—*Theoph. Ang.* pt. i. chap. ii. p. 14.

To the phrase *Ecclesiastical Discipline* a note is appended, a part of which is as follows :—

‘ *Homily for Whitsunday, Part II.*

‘ The true Church hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known : pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ’s holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith.’

Then *King Edward’s Catechism* is quoted to the same effect, and a reference to the conferences between Ridley and Latimer. The passage is given in **62. 2.** Dr. Wordsworth then goes on to remark :—

‘ Hence it appears that, although in her nineteenth article, cited above, the Church of England has specified only the two marks of sacraments and the Word of God, yet she does not regard them as *sufficient* of themselves to constitute a visible Church without the additional note of *discipline* and *government*, concerning which it may be well to cite the words of Cassander on the Augsburg Confession, art. vii.’—*Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

7. It should be noticed that the ground upon which he rests ‘ the additional note of discipline and government ’ is not at all to be compared with that of the article which omits it; and it appears to have been omitted designedly, perhaps among other things in imitation of the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, to which Dr. Wordsworth has referred. But here we shall refer to Rogers, the first expositor of the Articles, who wrote soon after they were drawn up. Explaining as he does almost every article, and every proposition of each article, in accordance with the published articles of nearly all the Reformed Churches, he quotes a part of the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, which shall here be given :—

‘ Now the Church is a congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is

purely taught, and the sacraments rightly administered; and unto the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree upon the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments.'—P. 165.

Rogers, after giving proof from God's word as to the marks of the Church, &c. says:—

'The Christians in all Reformed Churches acknowledge these things. Some (and they also, many of them, very godly men) add ecclesiastical discipline for a note of the visible Church. But because the said discipline in part is included in the marks here mentioned, both we, and, in effect, all other well-ordered churches, over-pass it in this place, as no token simply of the visible Church. . . .

'*The errors and adversaries unto this truth.*—We renounce, therefore, as altogether unsound and antichristian, the opinions, 1. Of the Papists [Puseyites, Tractarians, and these Anglo-catholics], who both deny the pure preaching of God's Word and the administration of the sacraments among Protestants (including all the Reformed Churches) to be the marks of Christ, his visible Church, and affirm the tokens hereof to be antiquity, unity, universality, succession, &c. as doth Stapleton, Bristow, Bozius, Hill, and Alabaster.'—Pp. 174–176.

Rogers, in his own name and that of the Reformed non-Episcopal Churches, renounces, by anticipation, the exclusive spirit of these Anglicans, who may well be ranked among the Russians, the Papists, and the Puritans. (**82.** 23–26.)

Rogers, it is certain, did not consider the Church of England as maintaining that discipline of any kind was a necessary mark of a church. (**82.** 12.) Nowell, in his *Catechism*, which received the sanction of both Houses of Convocation, shows that in his mind discipline was not a necessary note of a church, and he appears to make an apology for the Church of England being without it. (**72.** 1.) He very properly shows that there ought to be discipline, and explains who should administer it; but the administrators are so described as to include the non-episcopal churches. (**72.** 2.) Hooper states, 'The true Church is known by these *two* marks, &c.' (**65.** 1.) To these two Archbishop Sandys adds discipline. (**67.** 1.) Jewel so defines the notes of a church as to exclude any particular form of discipline as being a necessary mark. (**73.** 7–9.)

8. But suppose it be admitted that discipline is a necessary mark of a church, it does not follow that it must be of such a kind as these Anglo-catholics require, namely, a power of

governing transmitted from the apostles to the bishops of the present day by an uninterrupted succession. None of our Reformers and Church defenders maintain any such thing, nor has Dr. Wordsworth adduced anything from them to support the peculiar teaching of his school. The part of the homily to which we are referred, when taken with the context, affords no sanction to papal discipline, or its imitation, this modern Anglicanism. (77. 2.)

9. The general notes of a church, as given by the Romanists, and as now maintained by Anglican Romanisers, were rejected with abhorrence by all the Reformed Churches. One of these, a sister Church to our own, shall speak for the rest.

'Article 18 of the Notes by which the true Church is discerned from the false. From the Confession of the Church of Scotland.

'Because that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his pestilent synagogue with the title of the Church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to persecute, trouble, and molest the true Church and members thereof; . . . it is a thing most requisite that the true Church be discerned from the filthy synagogues by clear and perfect notes, lest we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our condemnation the one for the other. The notes, signs, and assured tokens whereby the immaculate spouse of Christ Jesus is known from the horrible harlot, the church malignant, we affirm are neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error. The notes, therefore, of the true Church of God, we believe, confess, and avow to be, first, the true preaching of the word of God, in the which God hath revealed himself unto us, as the writings of the prophets and apostles do declare. Secondly, the right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus, which must be annexed unto the word and promise of God, to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. Lastly, ecclesiastical discipline, uprightly ministered, as God's Word prescribeth, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished.'—*Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, p. 226.

10. We have stated what these Anglicans consider to be the essential notes of a Church of Christ, one of which is having bishops, in contradistinction to presbyters, who have received a commission from Christ, through the apostles, by an uninterrupted succession. We now shall consider the notes given by the Church of England herself, and by her reformers, defenders, and learned authors generally, both negatively and positively.

As to the Church herself, she has defined the notes to be two only, as we have just seen in her nineteenth article. The learned Bingham, who is a great authority in matters of this nature, declares that ‘Episcopal Churchmen, in all their disputes with the Papists, never require more than these two notes of a church.’ (See **91.** 24, 25.)

In the preface to a treatise called *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*, which Cranmer wrote, or which was compiled out of his manuscript notes, we have the following:—

‘Such gross ignorance (I would to God it were but ignorance indeed) is entered into their heads, and such arrogant boldness possesseth their hearts, that they are bold to affirm no church to be the true Church of God but that which standeth by the ordinary succession of bishops, in such pompous and glorious sort as now is seen. For if there be, say they, no such outward and visible church, how shall any man know whether he be of the Church of Christ, and in the right belief, or no? To this I answer that, if our faith should be stayed upon the outward, glistening, and pompous church, not ruled nor governed by the determinate counsel of God in His Word written, we should never be certain thereof, but ever wavering and doubting; which is the gate and ready pathway to desperation, from which God defend His chosen flock!’—*Works of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 11.

‘If we shall allow them for the true Church of God, that appear to be the visible and outward church, consisting of the ordinary succession of bishops, then shall we make Christ, which is an innocent lamb without spot, and in whom is found no guile, to be the head of ungodly and disobedient members. . . . But if we allow the pope, his cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, canons, friars, and the whole rabble of the clergy, to be this perfect Church of God, whose doings are clean contrary, for the most part, to the will and commandment of Christ, left and expressed in His Word written, then make we Him a sinner, and His Word of no effect. For as sweet agreeth with sour, black with white, darkness with light, and evil with good, even so this outward, seen, and visible church, consisting of the ordinary succession of bishops, agreeth with Christ.’—*Ibid.* p. 13.

This is indeed a severe rebuke of the Anglicans, who make succession of bishops a note of a Church of Christ, and at the same time admit the Romish succession to be a true one.

11. Bishop Ridley, too, is no friend of theirs. He gives such notes of a church as are applicable to any of the Reformed Churches, while he denies the Church of Rome to be a Church of Christ. (**62.** 4–9.)

12. Bishop Latimer’s statement is equally strong. (**63.** 1.)

Bishop Hooper is both negatively and positively point blank against this Anglican notion. (65. 1, 2.)

Archbishop Sandys denies the Popish Church to have the notes of a Church of Christ, which these Anglicans admit that system of superstition to have, and he gives such notes as would be equally applicable to any Evangelical Reformed Church. (67. 1, 2.)

13. Dean Nowell, who, it is certain, made no particular distinction between a bishop and a presbyter (72. 3), is equally decided against this popish notion of uninterrupted succession being an essential note of a Christian Church. (72. 1, 2.) This authority should be of peculiar value to these Anglo-catholics, as his *Catechism*, from which the extract is given, passed both Houses of Convocation.

Bishop Jewel, the illustrious defender of our Church, and, according to Whitaker, a most successful one (78. 9, 10), is, of all the testimonies we have to give, the most decisive against these Anglicans on the point in question. (73. 6-9, 16, 25, 26.)

14. Archbishop Whitgift, the great opponent of such Puritans of his day as claimed a Divine right for their presbytery, admits of only two notes of a Christian Church, as given in our nineteenth article, and he supports his testimony by a similar one from Calvin and the Reformed Churches. (74. 1-4, 23-25.)

The learned Whitaker, another Jewel in the defence of our Church against the Papists, has written very fully respecting the notes of a Christian Church, and his testimony is very strong against the assumption both of Papists and, by anticipation, of these Anglicans. (78. 2-8.)

15. Hooker, a host in himself against these Anglicans, most fully held that no definite form of church polity was laid down in Scripture as binding on all churches:—

‘The necessity of polity and regiment in all churches may be held without holding any one form to be necessary in them all.’ (83. 2, 5, 8, 9.)

16. Bishop Andrewes does not make even episcopacy, much less uninterrupted episcopal succession, an essential note of a church. (See 86. 1; 91. 25.) Good Bishop Hall was shocked at being charged with not holding the Reformed Churches to be

Churches of Christ, though he held very strongly the Divine right of episcopacy. (85. 1-4.) Archbishop Bramhall, though a High Churchman, did not hold those churches which were without episcopacy to be on that account no true churches. (86. 1, 2.) Stillingfleet not only gives his own testimony but with it many others, some of whom we have already referred to. (90. 7-13.)

17. It is impossible to have authorities more influential and important on the point in dispute, while at the same time their testimony, united and harmonious as it is, is most conclusive and final. These Anglicans are a bold and daring class of men, and withal not over-scrupulous when they venture to invent a note of a church, or borrow one already invented from the Papists, and ascribe to our Church this private opinion, or borrowed alien notion, which she does not acknowledge, and which her earliest and greatest authorities repudiate with abhorrence.

18. If apostolical succession is what these Anglicans affirm it to be then nothing can be more certain than that all churches not having it are no Churches of Christ, and this they generally maintain. Dean Hook's view on this point may be shown in a somewhat practical form, by bearing in mind that he gave no answer to a very definite question asked upon this point.

Sir A. Agnew, M.P., addressed the following letter to the *Times* :—

‘Sir,—A few days ago I accidentally opened a book entitled *A Church Dictionary*, by the Rev. Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, sixth edition, with a preface by the author, dated Sept. 20, 1852. I there read the following passage : “Presbyterian.—A Protestant sect which maintains that there is no order in the church superior to presbyters, and on that account has separated from the Catholic Church. This sect is established by law in Scotland, where there nevertheless exists a national branch of the Catholic Church, under canonical bishops. The establishment of a sect cannot, of course, convert that sect into a church—for instance, if a Socinian sect were established in England, it would not be a whit more a church than it is at present.”

‘One sweeping sentence thus unchurches Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, the numerous branches of the Presbyterian Church in the United Kingdom, the National Protestant Church of France, all the Calvinistic Churches in the four quarters of the globe, as well as the Established Church of Scotland. And from these few words the young English divine learns all that the Rev. Doctor thinks a Churchman need

know of so large a section of the Christian world. . . . I sincerely hope that, should this letter meet the eye of the Dean of Chichester, he may be induced in 1859 publicly to modify the opinions he deliberately published in 1852. Should he, however, either reassert them, or by silence give consent, I trust that some still higher authority will assure us that it is not in the spirit of the article I have quoted that the Anglican Church think or write of the Churches of the Reformation, and that this is not the orthodox teaching of the Protestant Church in England in the nineteenth century.'

19. What the Dean denies to the Church of Scotland, he admits of the Church of Rome. His views are most extraordinary. He is not unconscious of the many and grievous errors of the so-called Church of Rome. Its errors, as classified and numbered by himself, are just two dozen and seven. (*Romanism, Ch. Dict.*)

Can the Dean ascribe any one error in doctrine to the Church of Scotland as tested by our own Articles? We believe not. They have no bishops, and therefore no succession in this Anglican sense, and for this sole reason they are pronounced to form no part of the visible Church of Christ.

20. The Church of which the Dean is a presbyter enjoins us to pray for the Church he excommunicates, as a part of the Holy Catholic Church; her Reformers and chief defenders for many years maintained that the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, as it now exists, was of human appointment; that no one form of church government was enjoined in the New Testament as binding on all persons and in all times; that two notes of a Church of Christ are only required (nineteenth article), and that bishops and succession form no necessary note of a church. It is true that, at a later period, there were those who conscientiously held, and very many who now hold, that bishops are necessary for the *well-being* of a Church, but not for its existence.

21. How a presbyter and doctor of divinity in such a church could acknowledge the Romish system as a Church of Christ, notwithstanding all the errors he considers it to hold (and had he not been a Tractarian, he might have increased the number), and deny the same thing to the Church of Scotland, is a thing beyond ordinary comprehension, and must be set down as one

of those religious idiosyncrasies which may be known as facts, but for which no reason can be given.

22. We shall now give Mr. Palmer's testimony upon this point. He says:—

‘In particular, the exclusion of Presbyterians from the visible Church is regarded as a harsh and uncharitable proceeding; and yet a moment's calm reflection, one would think, might remind such objectors that it is somewhat unreasonable to expect from members of the English Church an admission so fatal to themselves, as the lawfulness of separating from a National Church in full communion with their own, and subverting its episcopacy and its established order, under pretence that the whole system is *antichristian*. If such a proceeding was justifiable in Scotland, it must be equally so elsewhere; and thus the real meaning of the demand so modestly made on us, to adopt Scottish Presbyterianism as a branch of the Christian Church, is *to exact a similar concession in favour of every English dissenting denomination*; to justify separation from the Church of England, and subversion of her established constitution.

‘With reference to the minor sects calling themselves Protestant, it would be impossible, consistently with the maintenance of any principles of unity, order, or faith, to allow that they constitute part of the visible Church of Christ.

‘The imputation of *uncharitableness*, which must be endured by those who are obliged to draw conclusions so unpalatable to particular sects, can have but little effect in inducing them to approve what the Word of God condemns; and if their view be in some degree exclusive, it is surely less so than that which is taken by their opponents in general. The exclusion of the Presbyterian and Dissenting communities from the Church—bodies comparatively insignificant in point of numbers—seems far less harsh than the condemnation of the whole Roman and Greek Churches, which are probably more than twenty times as numerous.’—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, preface, pp. xii. xiii.

23. The reader will now have a fair specimen of the way in which these Anglicans regard the Romish Church and the Reformed Churches, and other orthodox religious communities not supposed to have the succession. We shall only make one remark on this extract from Palmer. On what a different principle he numbers the members of the Church of Christ from Athanasius and his brethren, and to what a different conclusion he comes! (See **17. 8**; **19. 4**; **25. 10**; **30. 5**.)

We shall now show how our Reformers and leading Church authorities speak of the Romish Church and of the Reformed non-Episcopal Churches; and it will be seen that the views of

these illustrious men are just the opposite of those of these Anglicans. In this case we shall simply refer to the *Catena*, without making any extracts therefrom. Tyndale, **58.** 1; Ridley, **62.** 4-9; Latimer, **63.** 1; Bradford, **64.** 5; Philpot, **66.** 3, 4; Sandys, **67.** 1; Becon, **68.** 1-5; Pilkington, **69.** 8-11; Jewel, **73.** 23-25, 30; Fulke, **75.** 6, 7; Rogers, **82.** 31-33; Whitaker, **78.** 7, 8, 17; Homily, **77.** 1-9; Bancroft, **80.** 1, 12, 13; Field, **84.** 4, 10; Laud, **89.** 4; Bingham, **91.** 16.

But the strongest proof we can have of the estimation in which the Church of England regarded the so-called Church of Rome is contained in certain forms of prayer as authorised both by Church and State, extracts from which are given in **76.** 1-7. In these prayers will be found the strongest sympathy with the Reformed Churches, and a sincere belief that the Romish Church was antichrist, a synagogue of Satan, &c. &c. But although the Romish Church has not changed, and some of the Reformed Churches are still orthodox, as the Church of Scotland is believed to be, yet now these Anglicans embrace the former as a Church of Christ, and with no little animosity and unkind feeling repudiate the latter.

24. Mr. Palmer in part concedes that the leading authorities of our Church denied the Romish Church to be a part of the Catholic Church *after* the Reformation. His words are:—

‘There are different opinions as to whether the Roman remained a part of the Catholic Church *after* the Reformation; and Jewel, Field, and others deny it, with some degree of probability.’—*Treatise on the Church of Christ*, part i. ch. xi. sect. ii. vol. i. 217.

This is rather adroit on the part of Mr. Palmer, for the sake of his so-called apostolical succession to treat us to half a truth, when the whole truth is that both these men maintained that the Romish Church had ceased to be a Church of Christ *long before* the Reformation.

Respecting Jewel, this is plain from his own writings; the nature of the argument and the illustrations he uses shows that what he calls ‘the right of our succession’ was not derived through the Romish Church, for though in earlier days it was the source of truth, and the channel of a true succession, yet having long ceased to be so, our Reformers reverted to the original source,

the Holy Scriptures. (See **73.** 25, 26.) This in substance is what Bingham teaches. (**91.** 16.)

25. From Field's own statement we have no ground for supposing that in his mind he believed the Church of Rome ceased to be catholic, or true, at, or after, the Reformation, and not before. The reader, by consulting **84.** 10, may form an opinion for himself on the point in question. It is plain from the statement there given that Field endorsed and vindicated the teaching of Calvin respecting the character of the Romish Church. A quotation from Calvin on this point will throw considerable light upon our subject:—

‘Although I admit, in respect to the time of Bernard, that all things were so corrupt as to make it not unlike our own. But it betrays a want of all sense of shame to seek any excuse from that middle period, namely, that of Leo, Gregory, and the like, for it is just as if one were to vindicate the monarchy of the Cæsars by lauding the ancient state of the Roman empire; in other words, were to borrow the praises of liberty in order to eulogise tyranny.’—*Institutes*, book iv. ch. vii. sect. 22.

26. It is certain most of the leading writers and authors of our Church believed that the Church of Rome had ceased some hundred years before the Reformation to be catholic and apostolic. The testimony of Ridley, in the prospect of giving up his life for the truth, is very strong on this point. (**62.** 7-9.) The Homily mentions a definite period when the Romish Church ceased to be apostolic, which from the present time would be twelve hundred years. (**77.** 3.) That it ceased to be apostolic long before the Reformation is maintained by Fulke, **75.** 6, 7; Rogers, **82.** 31-33; Whitaker, **78.** 8, 17, and many others.

27. The next point to be noticed is the way in which our Church and her leading authorities regarded the Reformed non-Episcopal Churches, in contrast to these Anglicans. We have already seen that the Church, in her fifty-fifth canon, enjoined prayer for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; that, in giving the notes of a church, in her nineteenth article, she not only omitted succession as being a note, but did not mention discipline, or any form of government. A part of the twenty-third article, as bearing upon this point, is most important:—

‘And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.’

Professor Hey, in his *Commentary on the Articles*, says :—

‘The expression “Who have public authority given unto them in the congregation” seems to leave the manner of giving the power of ordaining quite free: it seems as if any religious society might, consistently with this article, appoint officers, with power of ordination, by election, representation, or lot; as if, therefore, the right to ordain did not depend upon any interrupted succession.’—*Lect. on Div.* vol. iv. p. 166.

28. Bishop Tomline, a High Churchman, states :—

‘Bishop Burnet thinks that the framers of this article had in view the state of some of the Reformed Churches upon the continent, and therefore “they left this matter open and at large for such accidents as have happened, and such as might still happen.” The words of the article are, *And those we ought, &c.* No particular mode of ordination is here declared to be a necessary object of faith, nor are any persons specified by whom ministers are to be ordained to their sacred function; it is only asserted, in general terms, that they are to receive their appointment from the authority prescribed by the Church to which they belong; and as this proposition is not contrary to any precept of Scripture, which will appear more fully hereafter, its truth will be allowed by all who admit the necessity of an established ministry.’—*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 379, 380.

29. But the most important authority is Rogers, whose exposition of this article is pretty fully given **82.** 34-57. It must be especially noticed how he corroborates the doctrine of the article by that of the Reformed Churches generally. It is certain the churches whose Confessions he cites were recognised as sister churches, not only by Rogers himself, but by the Church of England generally, or he never would have published, as chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, such a book, much less have dedicated it to him. Bancroft commanded that it should be disseminated in his province. Rogers has given the history of the origin of these Confessions. (**82.** 2-5.) What Cranmer could not accomplish in his day was effected in the time of Bishop Jewel, who drew up the English confession.

30. The following is a list of the Confessions: Augsburg,

Sueveland, Basle, Helvetia, Saxony, Wirtemberg, France, England, Belgia, Bohemia, Scotland.

These Confessions were recognised and referred to as having authority by most of the leading members of our Church. Archbishop Whitgift, against Cartwright, in proof that there was 'no certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures, to the Church of Christ,' refers to Calvin and 'the judgment of the Reformed Churches.' (74. 2, 3.)

Archbishop Grindal spoke of the agreement of our Church with the Helvetic confession, and appeared to take a lively interest in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and expressed his fear lest the Queen should extirpate the pure confession of the Gospel; at which time, however, Dean Hook affects to believe that the Holy Catholic Church had ceased to exist in that country. (79. 1, 2.) Archbishop Bancroft spoke with favour of the Confession, or apology, as he calls it, of Bishop Jewel: 'which,' he says, 'shortly after was set forth to the justifying of our doctrine, with the reasons of our dislike of popery, hath ever since obtained principal commendation amongst all apologies, and confessions, which hitherto have been set forth by any Church in Christendom.' (80. 11.)

Raynolds refers to the judgment of these Reformed Churches as of weight and authority among those of his own Church. (81. 4.) Field maintains the catholicity of the Reformed Churches, and the validity of their orders. (84. 2, 5, 7-9.)

31. We have now seen how these Anglicans deny the Reformed non-Episcopal Churches to be Churches of Christ, and admit that the Romish Church is a Church of Christ, and how our Church, in her authorised statements, admits the former to be true churches, but denies that the latter is a true church. It would be preposterous to suppose that the English Church, with her branches in various parts of the world, composes the whole of the Catholic Church; possibly no one of her members conceives this to be the case. What part then of the professing Christian communities in the various parts of the world can she recognise as forming part of the Catholic Church of Christ, without any

compromise of her principles? For the sake of argument, let us suppose that these Anglicans really had some foundation, either in the authorised declarations of the Church or in the recorded opinions of her chief authorities during the sixteenth century, from the Reformation to the close of that period, for their private opinions, and that they in some measure represented the Church; it is plain, in that case, she might recognise the Romish and Greek systems of superstition. Some of these Anglicans have formed what they term 'The Eastern Church Association,' and we learn that, in some way or other, it began with the Bishop of Oxford. For, in the *Clerical Journal* of October 27, 1864, we are told:—

'The Rev. Dr. Fraser gave an interesting account of the origin of the association, observing that it began through a letter written by the English Chrysostom, the Bishop of Oxford—for the English Church had its Chrysostom at Oxford.'

32. But we learn from a foreign newspaper—the *Moscow Gazette*—that a meeting was held at the S. P. G. offices, in Pall Mall, 'on the subject of a union with the Eastern Churches,' on November 15, 1865. Prince N. Orloff, who was present on the occasion, in his letter in the above-named paper, informs us that 'the Bishop of Oxford presided' on the occasion, and we are informed that, among other clergy, Dr. Pusey and Dr. Wordsworth were present.

'The Bishop of Oxford urged that, deferring all dogmatical debates, we should proceed to celebrate the Lord's Supper by intercommunion, if such were the wish of the chiefs of our Church. Prince Orloff moved among other things: "1. That works should be published in England, setting forth the history, doctrine, and present condition of the Anglican Church, with a view to proving that it is not a Protestant, but a Catholic Church, and, accordingly, related to the Eastern Church."'

These Anglicans would be glad to get rid of all that is Protestant in doctrine, and to revert to the doctrine of the English Church anterior to the Reformation. But will the laity and clergy generally approve of such a step? Surely not. It is painfully manifest what some of these Anglicans would do if they could. The old Tractarians, when they changed the doctrines to which they had subscribed, in many instances went to Rome. We admire the honesty and sincerity of such men,

however we may be sorry for their ignorance and superstition. The present race of Tractarians—these Anglicans—however, would bring the systems of superstition, called the Latin and Greek Churches, into the English Church, or conform its doctrine to them. May God Almighty, of His infinite goodness and mercy, prevent our Church from having such an Ichabod written upon her!

33. Had such a meeting been held to promote visible communion with the Church of Scotland and similar churches, there would have been ample precedent and principle, as recognised by our Church, for the basis of such a movement. One of the two special marks of a true church which our Church requires is the preaching of the pure Word of God. Is it conceivable that the Latin and Greek Churches so called have this mark? That the Church of Scotland has it in the real spirit and meaning of the articles is not to be doubted. Moreover, we are enjoined to pray for this Church by name in our fifty-fifth canon, just as we are to pray for our own Church. To have negotiated with the Church of Scotland for visible intercommunion would have been in exact accordance with the spirit and practice of our Reformers, as also with the Articles they framed for the clergy, except in so far as they have been marred by that miserable Act of Uniformity, which does not really affect the constitution of the Church any more than a thick coating of villainous plaister does the building in which the Church assembles. In the latter case it can be removed, as we see daily, and so in the former, and the sooner the better.

34. The Bishop of Salisbury, in his last charge, under the head of 'Reunion of Christendom,' so expresses himself as to show that on his part he is anxious to form a junction with both the Roman and Greek Churches. He says:—

'And here, again, I would remind you of what I have already said, that we must act with the greatest wisdom, as for other causes, so all the more from the circumstances of our isolation. Isolation! This, indeed, tells of our condition as a church, which, however necessary, however appointed for us, is associated with the thought of past corruptions, of some perhaps undue reliance on the arm of flesh, and of present weakness; and the consideration of it ought, therefore, to cause us sorrow, and yearnings for reunion with our separated brethren. . . .

I think also that no one can have read the work of M. Renan without feeling that he, by his infidel encroachments on the inheritance which we share with the Church of France, has, by creating the sympathy which attends upon a united resistance to a common danger, contributed something towards removing the barriers which have long parted us from that celebrated communion, and so towards re-awaking in the Universal Church the blessed spirit of "truth, unity, and concord." Be it ours never to forget the solemn words of Count de Maistre: "If Christians should ever draw towards each other—and every consideration might urge them to do so—it seems that the first advance would most naturally be made by the Church of England."

'The attempts also which Convocation has sanctioned, to enter into friendly relations with the Eastern Church, synchronise, we cannot but observe, with our late controversies.'—*Charge*, 1864, pp. 42-44.

35. Here is a bishop mourning over the isolated position of the Church of England, as well he may when regarding it from his own point of view. Rejecting all the Reformed Churches and all Christian communities not supposed to have his apostolical succession, and being rejected both by the Latin and Greek Churches, he sighs for communion, not with the Protestant Church of France, but the Popish one, and is yearning for the time when our Church, Protestant, Reformed, Evangelical, and Scriptural, as it has been so long considered to be, shall revert to the darkness and superstition of bygone days, that she may be a meet sister to those other two, and thus disgrace apostolical religion, and afflict the world by three systems, or three branches of one system, of superstition and ignorance, instead of two systems, or two branches of one system; and the ostensible reason for this extraordinary union is to frighten and withstand a Frenchman: reminding one of the superstitious age when one army frightened and put to flight another by a regiment of cats. Let us for a moment conceive what action would be taken by these three branches of one and the same system of superstition, called the Catholic Church, against Renan and such like. Bishops, attired in all the frippery of the most extravagant episcopal habits, their heads crowned with mitres, each with a staff in hand, and placed in fore front of the army of the so-called Catholic Church, as the pretended apostles and infallible guides of the same, might foam and fulminate, curse and excommunicate, by a voice which might ring throughout the world; but unless Renan and such like were in some

measure affected by a touch of the ancient Egyptian superstition, all such scarecrowism would be worse than useless.

36. The Bishop of Oxford ridicules those of our clergy who recognise certain Nonconformists as being of the true Church of Christ. Why should they not recognise them? On their own confession they hold the faith, and all the faith, which our Church absolutely requires: church government, as we have seen, not being necessarily regarded as an object of faith so as to affect the validity of a church. But the Bishop's remarks shall be given in his own words, in a speech at a meeting of the Curates' Additional Aid Society, as reported in the *Clerical Journal* of November 10, 1864. He says:—

'I am confident that the way to be on the most friendly terms with all those Nonconformists around us with whom it is worth while being on friendly terms—and it is worth while being on friendly terms with every honest and true man—I say that the most certain means to be on good terms with them is to speak out our own truth fearlessly and kindly, and let them perceive the difference between us. If you go mystifying and shilly-shallying them, and saying that they are just the same as we, and "my dear brother, there is no difference between us"—if so, why in the world don't we share the tithes with them? (Laughter.) It seems most monstrous hypocrisy to go and say, "Beloved brethren, we are all one; but you shall not come into my pulpit." (Applause.) Now how much better to go to the man and say, "If you love the Lord Jesus Christ, I honour and love you because you love Him; but I differ from you upon great and important matters. I do not love you the less because I differ from you; but I am charged to teach not a certain amount of truth mixed with a certain amount of error. I am charged to teach the truth of Christ as I have received it, without addition or subtraction, even though I win the universe by adding or subtracting from it." This is the only ground which can thoroughly secure a mutual and good understanding between honest Christian men; and there must be that understanding, unless each party is to put on the grimaces of agreement and then turn aside for the reality of discord. That being the case, I have no hesitation about this resolution. I say that undoubtedly, because the Church of England has come down from the apostles' time, with the ministry which the Lord Jesus Christ founded, because there has been no break in the succession of our bishops to whom Christ said, "As my Father in Heaven sent me so send I you; he that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me;" and upon whom he breathed when he said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—because, I say, that this moment the bishops of the Church of England are, by unbroken succession, the descendants and representatives of the original Twelve, and because they come with the same creed, the same gospel, and the same sacrament, declaring the same only truth of the name of Christ and His people.'

In an earlier part of the speech the Bishop said :—

‘ I can say the Church of England is the only Apostolic Church in the land ; I say that she only possesses the two qualifications, perfectness of organisation in a transmitted line of authorised teachers from the apostles, as the apostles from the Lord, combining with that the true transmission of the primitive doctrine.’

37. Every conscientious Churchman has, or ought to have, satisfactory reasons in his own mind for being a member of the Church of England ; but the Bishop here is egregiously misrepresenting the Church in which he holds so high a position by assuming that for her which she does not hold, viz. this modern Anglican doctrine of uninterrupted apostolical succession. The amazing difference between the Bishop and the Nonconformist communities, all turns upon this Anglican figment of succession which the Bishop rests upon his two favourite texts, which these modern Anglo-catholics are constantly quoting, and which, as we have shown, were considered to have no such use by the Fathers of the first six centuries, nor even in the twelfth century in the time of Thomas Aquinas, who quoted the same Fathers on the same texts, but without any change in the interpretation of the same. (I. 36-52.) In our own Ordinal the very same texts were considered as applicable to the office of a presbyter, and not referred to in the consecration of a bishop, and were so used for more than a hundred years. (VI. 17-26.)

38. The facetious way in which the Bishop tickled the fancy of his audience so as to make them laugh at the expense of honest Churchmen, perhaps occasioned the editor of the *Clerical Journal*, in one of his leading articles, to make the following remark :—

‘ But we hope many will take a lesson from the Bishop of Oxford’s playful sarcasm on the “ happy family ” theories of many good men, or their aiming at cordial intercourse and co-operation among those who agree neither in the faith nor the practice of Christianity.’

This allusion to the ‘ happy family ’ suggests a train of thought. Now to what family does the editor conceive the Bishop of Oxford and our Church, regarded from the Bishop’s point of view, to belong ? He, it is plain, considers our Church as a member of a family ; of what other members is the family

composed? The Roman and Greek Churches, of course. The Bishop of Oxford, as is well known, has sought to have communion with the corrupt Greek Church; and the chief men of these Anglicans have besought the recognition of Rome on behalf of themselves and the Greek Church. But these three could not be caged together on the 'happy-family' principle, but rather as a menagerie of untamed animals which would seek to destroy each other. For observe how the two larger animals growl at each other, and both at the less, even while they are separated. Hear the growl of the Greek animal against the Roman one, as recorded by Dean Hook in his *Church Dictionary*, under the article 'Greek Church:—

'That they re-baptise all Romanists who are admitted into their communion. They deny the papal supremacy, and assert that the Church of Rome has abandoned the doctrines of her fathers. They deny, by consequence, that the Church of Rome is the true catholic mother Church, and on Holy Thursday excommunicate the pope and all the Latin prelates, as heretics and schismatics.'

The Roman animal growls fiercely against the other two:—

"One hundred and ninety-eight deans, canons, parish-priests, and other priests, of the Protestant Church of England have humbly besought the most eminent and reverend father in Christ, the Lord Cardinal Patrizi, prefect of the holy office, that there may be a reunion of themselves and the Greek Church with the Roman." The following is the answer:—"The sacred congregation much regrets that you have deviated from the path of unity by your adopting the notion that these associations of Christians (the English and Greek Churches) belong to the true Church of Christ as parts thereof, which boast that they have the catholic name. . . . There is nothing more abhorrent to the government of the Catholic Church than that opinion."—*From an Address of certain Romanisers to the Romanists, with an answer of the latter to the former, as translated in 'The Tablet.'*

See **84. 1.**

39. Overtures by some of these Anglicans have been made to be one with the Greek Church; but those to whom the proposal was made demanded, as a sort of preliminary step to prepare the way for union, that the English Church should prove herself, to the satisfaction of her members, that she was not Protestant; in other words, that she must change her entire character. Such a union as these Anglicans seek must be fraught with imminent danger to the weaker animals so caged

together, that it would be a misnomer to call them a 'happy family.' But a union with Evangelical and Protestant communities, so much deprecated and ridiculed by the Bishop of Oxford, could be fraught with no such danger, inasmuch as they are agreed upon all main points of doctrine. Most, if not all, the Protestant and Evangelical Churches hold the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England. Had it not been for the unfounded assumptions of these Anglicans, the Bishop of Oxford could not have made his facetious remarks which suggested the notion of the 'happy-family' theory.

CHAPTER X.

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE PREVAILING KIND OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT EXERCISED IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE AND IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, CONSIDERED IN ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1. OUR object in this book so far has not been to discuss the merit of any particular form of church government, whether Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, or a mixture of any of the three. Our sole aim has been to prove the novelty of this Anglican teaching. If, in the second part of our *Catena*, and in the chapter on the Ordinals, and in a few other places, evidence has been adduced, from the Reformers of our Church and framers of our Liturgy and Articles, on church government, differing from that which is now held by many, if not most, of the clergy, our object has been not to call in question the latter view, but to show how essentially remote the teaching of our early Church authorities was from that of these Anglicans. We have endeavoured to prove that the office of the persons whom they considered to be the only successors of the apostles was by these said authorities considered to be of mere human invention, and that by Divine right it was not substantially different from the office of a presbyter. That the framers of the first Ordinal of our Reformed Church thought that there was some difference between the first and the second order is plain from the fact that they affirmed—

‘It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the apostles’ time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church: bishops, priests, and deacons.’

Calvin himself maintains the same view. (See Ch. VI. 41.)

2. That Peter had a primacy among the apostles is maintained by all the Fathers of the early Church, as has been fully shown. Beza, in his Commentary on Matt. x. 2, as cited in the Synopsis of Poole, says, ‘We freely concede to Peter the primacy

among the apostles, not of degree among inferiors, but of order among equals.' The early Fathers claimed no more for Peter than this, not even Cyprian. (11. 3.) That Peter was the president and speaker of the other apostles appears plain from the following passages in the New Testament: Acts i. 15, &c., ii. 14-40, iii. 4-12, iv. 8-12, v. 3-9, viii. 20-23. It would seem, too, that Peter had this primacy by the authority of Christ. In fact, he is called the first, or chief, Matt. x. 2. See also xvi. 15-19, and John vi. 67-69. Dr. Owen, an Independent, whilst he holds that the apostles were all equal, yet says:—

'Howbeit it is evident that in all their assemblies they had one who did preside in the manner before described, which seems, among the apostles, to have been the prerogative of Peter.'—*The True Nature of a Gospel Church*, &c. chap. iv.

But neither Peter nor the other apostles had any successors to their apostleship. It is true that they were called presbyters, and in that ordinary office they might have successors. But here it should be noted that every church or single congregation in the New Testament had a plurality of presbyters or bishops. The Church of Ephesus had (Acts xx. 17, 28). The apostles ordained elders in every church (Acts xiv. 23). The Church at Philippi had a company of bishops (Phil. i. 1). So had the Church at Thessalonica (1 Thes. v. 12). Titus was instructed by Paul to ordain presbyters in every city in Crete (Titus i. 5). James instructs the sick to send for the presbyters of the church (James v. 14).

3. Dr. Davidson, in his *Congregational Lecture on the Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament*, states:—

'Nothing seems to us more certain than that there was a plurality of elders (presbyters) in the primitive churches. The fact is admitted by the ablest historians. "A council of elders," says Neander, "was everywhere set over the churches, to conduct their affairs." Gieseler and Rothe maintain the same opinion. "Let it be proved," says Isaac Taylor (rare instances, if indeed there are any such, excepted), "that primitive churches generally, like our modern congregations, were served by a solitary clerical person. This can never be done; the bishop, or the principal pastor, how humble soever his state, and how narrow soever his circle, had his colleagues—his presbyters and his deacons." All the ingenuity which has been applied to overthrow the

fact has not been successful. It is contrary, indeed, to modern usage. Hence much perverted ability has been employed for the purpose of showing the likeness of modern usage to apostolic precedent.'—P. 281.

As among the apostles there was one who had the primacy of order, and it would seem by the Divine sanction, so we should naturally infer that one of each plurality of presbyters or bishops would have a primacy of order among his fellow-presbyters or bishops. That such was the case is admitted by the universal consent of the primitive Church. The evidence, however, on this point, as regards the New Testament, is rather inferential than positive. In the fourth century, James, the brother of our Lord, is commonly spoken of as having been Bishop of Jerusalem, and by nearly all the Fathers was considered not to have been one of the Twelve Apostles. How, then, could he preside in the Jerusalem assembly where Peter had previously taken the lead, and now in his presence occupy the chair? See what Chrysostom says on this point. (24. 48.) The Fathers, like the Jewish rabbis, can easily get out of a difficulty, and they tell us that James was ordained bishop of Jerusalem by our Lord Himself. Jerome and others say he was ordained to that office by the apostles. Chrysostom, in his fifth homily on St. Matthew, says:—

'James was so admired as even to be the first to be entrusted with the bishop's office. And they say he gave himself up to such great austerity that even his members became all of them as dead, and that from his continual praying, and his perpetual intercourse with the ground, his forehead became so callous as to be in no better state than a camel's knee, simply by reason of his striking it so against the earth.'

The general account given of James by the Fathers is about as trustworthy as the account given of the foolish austerities attributed to him by Chrysostom and others. If, however, James was not an apostle, which is the general belief of the Fathers, then, as president of the Mother Church at Jerusalem, he would give his sentence as a presbyter (Acts xv. 19), and would rank not among the apostles, but among the presbyters, of whom it is plain that there was a plurality (Acts xv. 22). As a president he could not be above the apostles in degree; nor from that circumstance have we any right to suppose he would

be anything more than a *primus inter pares* in regard to his fellow-presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem. In this assembly, or miscalled convocation, it does not appear that the representatives of other churches took any part in the deliberations or decision.

4. The next case commonly adduced in proof of a bishop or a presbyter having a primacy of order among his equals is that of the Asiatic Churches, as recorded in the Book of Revelation. But here we shall give the carefully expressed opinion of Dr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, in which he includes that of the very learned Dr. Pye Smith, and as both of them are distinguished authors of the denomination of Independents or Congregationalists, their testimony cannot be considered in any other light than as impartial and candid:—

“Upon the whole of this so long and so zealously agitated question [the question of the origin of episcopacy], I have been led to think that the early course of facts was in this way: In the first churches, two or more of the most suitable members were elected by the Church, under the direction of an apostle or an evangelist, such as Timothy and Titus, or of their first Christian teacher, whatever rank he might hold (see Acts xi. 29; 3 John 5, 6, 7); and were then ordained by prayer, with the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery*, consisting of the apostle, or evangelist, and those pastors who could join in the act. These, therefore, were the spiritual guides, teachers, presidents, or shepherds of the community, called *elders* (presbyters) from their age, or rather qualities of mind, equivalent to the wisdom and experience of pious age, and overseers (bishops), from their actual office. In process of time, and by the influence of circumstances very likely to occur, one of these, the most distinguished for talents and energy, became the head, perpetual president, or moderator. The earliest indication, *perhaps*, of this, we find in the address of each of the Apocalyptic epistles ‘to the angel of —,’ &c. Perhaps it was in that district, the Proconsular Asia, that this state of affairs was developed, and became definitely established; and as the Apostle John, in extreme old age, resided at Ephesus, he gave it his approbation, as a plan adapted to preclude ambitious feelings or usurped superiority.”—*Smith’s Letter to the Rev. S. Lee, D.D., &c.* p. 56.

‘The opinion respecting the meaning of the phrase, “Angel of the Church,” which my very learned and much venerated friend, Dr. Smith, adduces as *probable* in the above extract, I have ventured, in the passage to which this note refers, to assume as *true*. [The passage is, “Each Church placed under the management of a set of officers, presided over by one having the title of angel of the church, or bishop of the flock.”] My reason is that, after giving the subject my best attention, I can come to no other conclusion regarding it. Passing over

some interpretations of this phrase which seem not worthy of being noticed, such as that by "angel" is meant the guardian angel of each church, or that this title is used to designate the door-keeper or messenger of the church, there are five others which have been advanced, and require consideration.

' 1. We have the high Episcopal view of it, according to which the angels of these churches were the bishops, to whom alone were entrusted the control and regulation of their affairs. On this it is enough to remark, first, that, as the whole evidence of the rest of the New Testament goes to show that no such officer as a bishop, in the modern sense of the term, existed in the early churches, it is altogether incompetent for us to *assume* the existence of such an officer in order to explain an obscure and difficult expression in this one instance; and, secondly, it is clear, both from the tenor of the epistles themselves, and especially from the command of Christ, that they were to be sent unto the churches, the ἐκκλησίαι, or assemblies of the brethren (Apoc. i. 11), a fact which is quite incompatible with the high Episcopal theory; for where the jurisdiction of a diocesan is supposed, all *popular* influence in the management of affairs is put out of the question.

' 2. The strict Presbyterian interpretation of the phrase in question is that it means the consistory of elders in each congregation, viewed as one body, and so personified. What seems to me fatal to this theory is that it is not usual to address epistles to mere personifications, and that, had the parties to whom these Apocalyptic epistles were sent been the body of elders in each congregation, the title "presbytery," or some analogous appellation, would have been employed. Besides, the use of the plural in such expressions as the following is opposed to this theory: "Behold, the devil shall cast *some from among you* (ἐξ ὑμῶν) into prison, that *ye* may be tried;" "All the churches shall know that I am he that searcheth the reins and the hearts, and I will give to *each of you* according to your works." Language such as this is not certainly appropriate when addressed to an individual, or a quasi-individual, and suits much better with the supposition that the epistle of which it forms a part was addressed to a community.

' 3. Next in order is what may be called the Ultra-Congregationalist theory, which supposes that the word "angel" is here used as a symbolical expression for the whole Church. Unhappily for this theory, it is not only open to the same objection as the last, but it is expressly contradicted by the interpretation which John himself tells us he received from Christ of the mystery of the seven stars which he saw in his right hand, and of the seven lamps of gold. "The lamps," said he, "are the churches, and the stars are the angels of the churches;" plainly teaching that between the churches and the angels there was a distinction, so that the one could not be the symbol of the other.

4. I notice, fourthly, another view held by many Congregationalists on this subject, namely, that at the time John wrote the Apocalypse a plurality of pastors had ceased in the churches; that there was now in each of these societies only one pastor, and that to him the letter intended for his church was addressed, that he might lay it before them,

and, as in duty bound, urge its contents on their notice. I have no objection to this view except the stubborn one, that it is opposed to facts. Whatever date we assign to the Apocalypse, provided we admit it to be the work of John, it must have been written long before the time when a plurality of pastors ceased in the churches. For more than a century after Christ had arisen, this arrangement continued; and it remains with those who adopt this theory to prove that these seven churches formed an exception to the general rule. That two of them, at least, did not, we are pretty certain from documents that yet remain. Previous to the writing of the Apocalypse, in the time of Paul, the church at Ephesus had a plurality of elders, as we learn from the New Testament; and subsequent to the writing of the Apocalypse, we know that it still had such a plurality, from the letter addressed to it by Ignatius, which is still extant. (3. 10, 11, 14, 15, 19.) From a letter of the same Father to the Smyrnæans, we know that they also had a plurality of elders in the beginning of the second century. (3. 49, 50.) With these facts before us, it would be sacrificing too much to a favourite theory to suppose that, just at the time when the Apocalypse was written, these churches, for no assignable reason, had been placed under the charge of a single pastor. In regard to them, then, I think it must be admitted by all that the angel of the church was not an individual who held alone the office of pastor among them; and if this is not the sense of the term in relation to these churches, it cannot be the sense of it in relation to any of the others.

‘5. There remains only the opinion that by the angel of the church is designated the president of the body of pastors—the *presbuterion*—through whom the epistle was sent to the church, to be by him laid before them. This has the advantage of being at once the most obvious view of the case, and of being the only one on which we can harmonise the actual statements of the passages. It has also strongly in its favour the circumstance that in the Jewish synagogues, after the model of which the first Christian churches were unquestionably formed, there was an officer who bore the title of *Sheliach Tsibbor*, i.e. angel, or messenger, of the assembly, and whose duty it was to perform exactly those functions which, as we learn from a passage in the *Apology* of Justin Martyr, the presidents of the Christian churches performed in them. (5. 2, 3.) We thus arrive at the conclusion that, in all probability, before the close of the apostolic age, there was an officer appointed in each church who was the president of the ordinary pastors, and the general bishop of the body.’—*Anglo-catholicism not Apostolical*, appendix, pp. 409–413.

5. It is needless to observe how the above impartial testimony is confirmed and illustrated by almost every part of our *Catena*, the third part not excepted, embracing some of the most influential and illustrious authors of our Church of the seventeenth century. It would follow almost as a matter of course that the presiding minister would be called *the presbyter*, *the bishop*, as if there were none else beside. This was the case in reference

to the judges of Israel; the presiding judge was called the judge (Deut. xxv. 1, 2), whereas from the context it is plain that there was a plurality of them, three at the least, as the law required. Again, we read of the ruler of the synagogue (Mark v. 35; Luke viii. 49, and xiii. 14), whereas we are certain that each synagogue had a plurality of them (Mark v. 22; Acts xiii. 15). So in the writings of Irenæus we read of a bishop or presbyter of Rome, as if there were but one at the time, whereas it is certain that there was a plurality. There is, however, considerable confusion in the order given of these first presbyters of Rome. The learned Vossius, however, solves the difficulty by considering that some of them were contemporary, and he places the first five presbyters thus:—1. Linus, Cletus, Anacletus; 2. Cletus, Anacletus, and Clement; 3. Cletus, Anacletus; 4. Anacletus alone; 5. Evaristus. The grounds on which he gives this arrangement are the acts of Pope Damasus, who states that Peter ordained two bishops, Linus and Cletus, to rule the people, while he gave himself to prayer and preaching. (*Voss. 2 Epist. ad fin. Cla. Cotellerii.*)

6. It is true, as we have seen, that the person who among his fellow-presbyters was a *primus inter pares*, in process of time, and especially in the fourth century, became developed into one who had absolute authority over the presbyters. But we believe that the Church, in departing so generally, if not universally, from primitive practice, departed also from that which was of Divine institution. It is true the Apostolic Church had a Timothy and a Titus, and others holding the like office, but it is probable she had her presiding presbyters or bishops by thousands. Theodoret, a sober-minded commentator in comparison of most of the Fathers, speaks of apostles by myriads. But, from his illustrations, he probably meant such an apostle—or *sheliach*, which in Hebrew means the same thing—as presided in the synagogue. In North Africa alone, about the year 256, there were 738 such presidents, or bishops, which latter title had now become general. In the time of Augustine (A.D. 400), after the decree of the Council of Sardica had been brought into operation, viz. ‘that bishops should not be placed in small cities or villages, lest the name and authority of bishops should

be brought into contempt,' there were in North Africa 466 bishops' sees, besides 279 sees occupied by the Donatists.

7. We have heard a good deal of late concerning the increase of the episcopate; and if we fully adopt and carry out the episcopacy of the New Testament and early antiquity, even that of the time of Cyprian, the increase must be enormous. To increase tenfold the kind of bishops we now have would bring us very little nearer to the kind of bishops such as were common in the early Church. Our present bishops for the most part represent Timothy and Titus; but in the island of Crete there was a plurality of presbyters in each city, which, according to what we have already seen, must have had its presiding presbyter irrespective of Titus. Nay, it is almost certain that, if Titus was a bishop such as we now understand by that term, he must have been a bishop of bishops. In fact, both Chrysostom and Eusebius so represent him and Timothy. (**34.** 14, 44, 50.)

8. What we want, then, is such bishops or presiding presbyters as were under these bishops or evangelists. We need not change or disturb the present position of our bishops. Their office is no novelty; it is at least of 1500 or 1600 years' standing, and has been universally recognised in the Church of Christ until within the last 300 years. It is certain both Timothy and Titus, by whatever name we call them, by the Divine approval occupied the same position in the Apostolic Church. It is true, St. Paul, who appointed Titus chief ruler of the churches in Crete, invited him back to meet him at Nicopolis; but he promised to send Artemas or Tychicus in his place. (Titus iii. 12.) See **29.** 80. We believe that there is a Divine precedent for such an office in the Church as that held by our bishops; but we likewise maintain that there was also a presiding presbyter over a given number of presbyters, and that he with them ruled the Church in common. If, then, the episcopacy is to be increased to any extent, we think it should be by a restoration of that episcopacy which prevailed in the primitive Church.

9. The dean and chapter are what remains of this ancient form of church government. What is now called a cathedral in ancient times was the parish church, where the bishop and his fellow-presbyters presided, and in common conducted the

ecclesiastical affairs of the parish. When the bishop obtained a power independent of the presbyters, they, though bereft of their authority, with an archpresbyter in the vacated seat of their bishop, still kept up the external state of their ecclesiastical dignity. This was the case in the time of Damasus, Bishop of Rome. (See 29. 6.) Burn, in his *Ecclesiastical Law*, on the article 'Cathedral,' states:—

'The cathedral church' is the parish church of the whole diocese, (which diocese was, therefore, commonly called *parochia* in ancient times, till the application of this name to the lesser branches into which it was divided made it, for distinction's sake, to be called a *diocese*); and it hath been affirmed, with great probability, that, if one resort to the cathedral church to hear divine service, it is resorting to the parish church, within the natural sense and meaning of the statute.'

Again, on the word 'Appropriation,' he observes:—

'For the first six or seven centuries the *parochia* was the diocese, or episcopal district, wherein the bishop and his clergy lived together at the cathedral church. This community and collegiate life of the bishop and his clergy appears to have been the practice of our British, and was again appointed for the model of our Saxon, churches. While the bishops thus lived amongst their clergy, residing with them in their proper seats or cathedral churches, the stated services, or public offices, of religion were performed only in those single choirs to which the people of each whole diocese resorted, especially at the more solemn times and seasons of devotion.'

10. In a town, for instance, containing some thousands of inhabitants, with its five or more incumbents, we cannot but think that it would be greatly for the good of all if they were formed into a synod of presbyters, with an archpresbyter, and the several independent charges made into one and governed in common; thus, after the Ephesian model, 'to feed the Church of God.' Such a return to a more Scriptural form of church government would heal many of our divisions. We pass over Romanism and Scepticism as things not to be healed, but amputated. Yet, alas! among those who are true to their own church and true to their Lord and Master, there is a large amount of misunderstanding, arising from attaching too much importance to private opinions, which in fact form no necessary part of Christian doctrine. This evil arises from the teaching to which any particular congregation has been accustomed. Its main

cause is that one minister for the most part has had the opportunity, contrary to apostolic precedent and early-church practice, of year after year imbuing his hearers with his own distinctive teaching; or what is still more common, giving them an undue proportion of one part of Divine truth to the neglect of others. Few persons, perhaps, are to blame for these things. It is rather the fault of the system. The same thing, in a degree, would arise if, for instance, a certain number of men should commence a diligent course of study of the Scriptures, but, instead of the study being general, one should devote his attention exclusively to the writings of St. Paul, another to those of St. Peter, a third to those of St. John; or if one person were to study the Gospel of St. John to the neglect of the other three, and vice versâ. We may be certain that on the whole the result would not be nearly so favourable as if the study had been more general. But the effect of a congregation listening for a continuous period to one minister rather than to several, surely more or less tends to form cramped views. If they hear with profit, and treasure up what they hear, the result will be that each congregation will have distinctive views, and that some will be for A, and some for B, and others will differ from both. Thus, under the influence of this one-man system, the different congregations, together with their respective ministers, are in effect so many independent communities, and in some cases acting in rivalry to each other.

11. We verily believe, if all the incumbents of a given locality could be merged into one presbytery, with a president, or bishop, and the whole of the congregations, as well as the localities in which they are placed, could have the combined teaching and pastorship of the presbytery, it would be for the good of all, as their varied gifts would become the property of all. A church built in a given locality would be much more likely to become the place where the people of the immediate neighbourhood would come for their religious ordinances, while churches which are now well attended might not undergo any material change; others that are not well attended might have an average congregation, and it is most probable the aggregate attendance would be much improved. At present the only

administrator of discipline is the bishop of the diocese. Surely some additional authorities should be entrusted with it; and what so suitable as a synod of clergy? And if needs be, in matters affecting the laity, an equal number of them should have the same power. That laymen had power of this kind in New Testament times and in those of Cyprian, is a matter of certainty. Our bishops could have no objection to such a restoration of primitive discipline, as it is obvious it would take a vast amount of labour out of their hands, and rid them of duties which of necessity they discharge contrary to the title they bear, viz. bishops, or overseers. The word must be taken in its literal sense and primitive application. The presbyters of the church at Ephesus literally overlooked or superintended that church, and, in the most literal sense, they and their chief presbyter—for we must presume from analogy that they had one until it is proved to the contrary—were overseers. If our bishops were relieved of many of those duties which their position renders them incompetent personally to perform, they could give a more undivided attention to the higher department of the episcopal office, and by the blessing of God be in the church to which they belong as so many representatives of Timothy and Titus.

12. The rural dean and his fellow-clergy meeting together periodically are a great help to each other and to the bishop; but how much more would they be competent to carry out the functions of their vocation, and help the church to whose service they have been consecrated, if all united under one head, became as one presbyter or bishop, and the deanery as one distinct church or community of congregations, and all received equal teaching and pastorship.

13. A volume might be written upon this point; but it forms no necessary part of the object of this book, and it is with much diffidence that we have ventured to make these hints, nor should we have done it but under the pressure of a renewed and impartial study of the history of the Early Church.

CATENA PATRUM.

PART I.

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS FROM FIFTY-FOUR FATHERS OF THE
FIRST SIX CENTURIES AND THREE OF A MORE
RECENT DATE, CONCERNING THE CHURCH AND ITS
MINISTRY AND OTHER COLLATERAL MATTERS.

INDEX OF FATHERS,

WITH

THE EDITIONS OF THEIR WRITINGS, FROM WHICH THE EXTRACTS IN THE
FIRST PART OF THE FOLLOWING CATENA PATRUM HAVE BEEN MADE.

-
- Amalarius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 9.
- Ambrosii Mediol. Opera, ed. Paris, 1632. 5 vols. fol.
- Arethas. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 6.
- Andræ Comment. in Apocalypsim ad fin. Op. Chrysostomi. Commel. 1596.
- Arnobius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
- Athanasii Opera, ed. Paris, 1627. 2 vols. fol.
- Augustini Opera (the first 8 vols.), ed. Paris, 1531. 10 vols. fol.
- Augustini Opera (the last 2 vols.), ed. Basil, 1569. 10 vols. fol.
- Basilii Opera, ed. Paris, 1638. 3 vols. fol.
- Bedæ Opera, ed. Colon. 1688. 8 vols. fol.
- Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum, ed. Colon. 1618. 15 vols. fol.
- Chrysostomi Opera ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1734. 13 vols. fol.
- Clarus. Inter Cypriani Opera.
- Clementis Alex. Opera, ed. Colon. 1688. fol.
- Clemens Romanus. *See* *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera.*
- Cypriani Opera, ed. Fell. Amstl. 1700. fol.
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- Cyrilli Hierosol. Opera, ed. Paris, 1631. fol.
- Dionisii. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 1.
- Epiphani Opera ed. Colon. 1682. 2 vols. fol.
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- Fulgentius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 6.
- Gaudentius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 4.
- Gregorii Magn. Opera, ed. Paris, 1586. 2 vols. fol.
- Gregorii Nazianz. Opera, ed. Paris, 1630. 2 vols. fol.
- Gildas. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
- Hermæ Pastor. *See* *Patr. Apost. Opera.*
- Hieronymi Opera, ed. Basil, 1553. 9 vols. fol.
- Hilarii Diac. Inter Op. Ambrosii.
- Hilarii Pictav. Opera, ed. Par. 1572. fol.
- Ignatius. *See* *Patr. Apost. Opera.*
- Ignatius. Corpus Ignatianum, by Cureton. London, 1849. 8vo.
- Irenæi Opera. ed. Genev. 1570. fol.
- Justini Mart. Opera, ed. Commel. 1593. fol.
- Lactantii Opera, ed. Spark. Oxon, 1684. 8vo.
- Leo Magnus. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
- Macarius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 4.
- Novitianus. Ad fin. Op. Tertulliani.
- Optatus. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 4.
- Originensis Opera, ed. Paris, 1733. 3 vols. fol.
- Paschasius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
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- Primacius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 6.
- Polycarp. *See* *Patr. Apost. Opera.*
- Remigius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
- Ruffini Opera, ed. Paris, 1580. 2 vols. fol.
- Sedulius. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 5.
- Socratis } Historia Eccles. ed. Paris,
Sozomeni } 1668. fol.
- Tertulliani Opera, ed. Franck. 1597. fol.
- Theophilus. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 2.
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- Victorinus. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 3.
- Victor. *See* *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. 4.

1.

CLEMENT, PRESBYTER OR BISHOP AT ROME.

Flourished about A.D. 65.

Ad Corinth. 1 Epistola.

The Church of God which dwells at Rome, to the Church of God which dwells at Corinth.—Cap. xl.—xliv. pp. 55-58.

1. Seeing then that these things are manifest unto us, we ought to take heed that, looking into the depths of divine knowledge, we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do; and particularly that the offerings and services be performed; for these he has commanded to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours. And therefore he has himself ordained by his supreme will, both where and by what persons they are to be performed; that all things being piously done unto all well pleasing, they may be acceptable to his will. They, therefore, who make their offerings at the appointed seasons are accepted and happy; for they sin not, inasmuch as they obey the commandments of the Lord. For the chief priest has his proper services, and to the priests their own place is appointed, and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.

2. Let every one of you, brethren, bless God, in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered everywhere; nor the peace offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions; but only in Jerusalem: and even then they are not offered in every place, but only at the altar before the temple; that which is offered being diligently examined by the chief priest, and the other ministers before mentioned. They, then, which do anything not agreeable to his will, are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that the greater the knowledge is which hath been vouchsafed to us, the greater is the danger to which we are exposed.

3. The Apostles have preached to us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. Christ, therefore, was sent by God, and the Apostles by Christ. Thus both were orderly sent by the will of God. For having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the word of God, with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went forth, proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand; and thus preaching through countries and cities they appointed (*καθιστανον*) their firstfruits, having proved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those that should believe. Nor was this any new thing, seeing that long before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture, somewhere: 'I will appoint their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.'—Isaiah lx. 17.

4. And what wonder if they, to whom such a work was committed

by God in Christ, established the bishops and deacons before mentioned; since even Moses, that happy and faithful servant in all his house, set down in the Holy Scriptures all things that were commanded him whom also all the rest of the prophets followed, bearing witness with one consent to those things that were appointed by him. For he, perceiving an emulation to arise among the tribes concerning the priesthood, and that there was a strife about it, which of them should be adorned with that glorious name; commanded their twelve captains to bring to him twelve rods; every tribe bring written upon its rod, according to its name. And he took them and bound them together, and sealed them with the seals of the twelve princes of the tribes; and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness, upon the table of God. And when he had shut the door of the tabernacle, he sealed up the keys of it, in like manner as he had done the rods, and said unto them, men and brethren, whichsoever tribe shall have its rod blossom, that tribe has God chosen to perform the office of a priest, and to minister unto him in holy things. And when the morning was come, he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men; and showed to the princes their seals, and opened the tabernacle of witness; and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but also to have fruit upon it. What think you, beloved! Did not Moses before know what should happen? yes, verily: But to the end there might be no division, nor tumult in Israel, he did in this manner, that the name of the true and only God might be glorified; to him be honour for ever and ever. Amen.

5. So, likewise our apostles knew, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contention would arise on account of the name of the episcopate; and therefore, having a perfect knowledge of this, they appointed the bishops and deacons before mentioned, and afterwards gave direction, how, when they should die, other approved men should succeed to their ministry.

6. Wherefore we cannot think that those may be justly thrown out of their ministry, who were appointed by them, (the apostles) or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church (*συνεὐδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*), and who have, with all lowliness and innocency, ministered to the flock of Christ in peace, and without self-interest, and have been a long time commended by all. For it would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from their episcopate, who holily and without blame, fulfil the duties of it. Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before these times, have obtained a fruitful and perfect dissolution; for they have no fear, lest any one should turn them out of their place which is now appointed for them. But we see how you have put out some, who lived reputably among you, from the ministry, which by their innocency they had adorned.

Ibid. cap. xlvii. p. 60.

7. It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into a sedition against its presbyters.

Ibid. cap. liv. p. 64.

8. Who is there among you that is generous? Who that is compassionate? Who that has any charity? let him say, if this sedition, this contention, and these schisms, be upon my account, I am ready to depart; to go away whithersoever you please; and do the things commanded by the multitude, (*τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους*) only let the flock of Christ be in peace with the presbyters who have been appointed. He that shall do this shall get to himself a very great honour in the Lord; and every place will receive him: for, 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.'

Ibid. cap. lvii. p. 66.

9. Do ye, therefore, who laid the first foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves unto your presbyters.

2.

HERMAS.

Flourished about A.D. 70.

Pastor, Lib. i. vis. ii. sec. 2, p. 141.

1. Thou shalt therefore say to those who are over (*præsunt*) the Church.

Ibid. sec. 4, pp. 142, 143.

2. Asked me 'whether I had yet delivered her book to the elders (*senioribus*). . . . But thou shalt read in this city (Rome) with the 'elders who are over (*senioribus qui præsunt*) the Church?'

Ibid. vis. iii. sec. 5, p. 146.

3. The square and white stones, which agree exactly in their joints, are the apostles, and bishops, and teachers, (*doctores*) and ministers (*ministri*) who have come in through the mercy of God, and performed the episcopate, (*episcopatum gesserunt*) and taught and ministered holily and modestly to the elect of God.

Ibid. sec. 9, p. 150.

4. Now therefore I say to you who are over (*præstis*) the Church and love the chief seats, (*primos consessus*) be not ye like unto those that work mischief.

Lib. iii. simili. ix. sec. 15, p. 223.

5. The next thirty-five, are the prophets and ministers of the Lord. And the forty are the apostles and teachers (*doctores*) of the preaching of the Son of God.

Ibid. sec. 16, p. 224.

6. Because these apostles and teachers, who have preached the name of the Son of God.

Ibid. sec. 25, p. 229.

7. They are such as have believed the apostles which the Lord sent

into all the world to preach; and some of them being teachers have preached and taught chastely and sincerely.

Ibid. sec. 26, p. 229.

8. These are such ministers as discharge their ministry amiss ravishing away the goods of the widows and fatherless.

Ibid. sec. 27, pp. 230, 231.

9. And some of them have been bishops, that is, governors (*præsides*) of churches.

Then such as have been governors (*præsides*) of ministries; (*ministeriorum*) and have protected the poor and the widows.

3.

IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND MARTYR :

Flourished about A.D. 101.

(There are twelve epistles in Greek ascribed to Ignatius: 1. To *Maria Cassabolita*. 2. The *Trallians*. 3. *Magnesians*. 4. *Tarsians*. 5. *Philippians*. 6. *Philadelphians*. 7. *Smyrneans*. 8. *Polycarp*. 9. *Antiochians*. 10. *Hero*, the deacon of Antioch. 11. *Ephesians*, 12. *Romans*. There are also three epistles in Latin, two to the Apostle John, and one to the Virgin Mary. The Latin and five of the Greek epistles, viz. 1, 4, 5, 9 and 10 are not mentioned by Eusebius, and as they are so generally, if not universally admitted to be spurious, no extracts are made from them. The other seven appear in longer and shorter forms. But of these seven, three only are generally admitted to be genuine: viz. the 8th to Polycarp; 11th to the Ephesians; and the 12th to the Romans. These three appear in a Syrian version, but are not nearly so long as those bearing the same titles in the shorter Greek recension. All that relates to the subject of our book has been extracted from all three editions, viz. the Syrian, and the two editions generally distinguished by the terms shorter and longer.)

The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp.

From the Syriac Version.
Corpus Ignatianum, p.
228.

From the Shorter Greek
Recension, cap. v. p. 115,
Hef. ed. Tubin, 1839.

From the Longer Greek
Recension, cap. v. *Cor-*
pus Ignatianum, p. 9.

1. If he become known apart from the bishop he has corrupted himself. It is becoming therefore to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of the bishop.

2. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the bishop.

3. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the bishop.

Ibid. p. 228.

4. Look to the bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons; with them may I have a portion near God. Labour together with one another; make the struggle together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, rise together. As stewards of God, and his domestics and ministers, please him, and serve him, that ye may receive the wages from him.

Cap. vi. p. 115.

5. Hearken unto the bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop, with the presbyters and deacons. And may my portion be together with theirs in God. Labour with one another; contend together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, and rise together, as the stewards and accessors, and ministers of God. Please him under whom ye war, and from whom ye receive wages.

Cap. vi. p. 11.

6. Hearken unto the bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop, with the presbytery and deacons. And may my portion be together with them in God. Labour with one another; contend together, run together, suffer together, sleep together, and rise together, as the stewards and accessors, and ministers of God. Please him under whom ye war, and from whom ye receive wages.

To the Ephesians.

Ibid. p. 229.

7. Forasmuch, therefore, as we have received your abundance in the name of God, by Onesimus, who is your bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray that ye love in Jesus Christ our Lord, and that all of you be like him; for blessed is He who hath given you such a bishop.

Cap. i. p. 78.

8. I received, therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus, who by inexpressible love (is ours) but according to the flesh is your bishop; whom I beseech you, by Jesus Christ, to love, and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be He who has granted unto you, who are so worthy, to possess such a bishop.

Cap. i. p. 17.

9. I received, therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus, who by inexpressible love is your bishop; whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ, to love, and that you would all strive to be like unto him; and blessed be He who has granted unto you, who are so worthy, to possess such a bishop in Christ.

Cap. ii. and iii. pp. 78, 79.

10. And that being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.

Cap. ii. and iii. p. 19.

11. And that being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.

12. For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.

Cap. iv. and v. p. 79.

14. Whence, also, it will become you to run together according to the will of the bishop, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp.

16. For if I in this little time have had such a familiarity with your bishop, I mean not a carnal, but a spiritual acquaintance with him, how much more must I think you happy, who are so joined to him as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father, that so all things may agree in the same unity.

18. Let us take heed, therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject to God.

13. For even Jesus Christ did all things according to the will of God the Father, as He himself says somewhere: 'For I do always those things which please him.' Therefore, also, we ought to live according to the will of God in Christ, and to be zealous. As Paul says, 'Be ye followers of me even as also I am of Christ.'

Cap. iv. and v. pp. 19, 21.

15. Whence, also, it will become you to run together according to the will of the bishop, who, under God, acts as a shepherd to you, as also ye do, acting wisely under the Spirit. For your famous presbytery, which is worthy of God, is fitted exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp.

17. For if I in this little time have had such a familiarity with your bishop, I mean not a carnal but spiritual acquaintance with him, how much more must I think you happy who repose upon him as the Church upon the Lord Jesus, and He, the Lord, upon God, even his Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity.

19. Take heed, beloved, to be subject to the bishop, and to the presbyters, and to the deacons. For he who is subject to them, obeys Christ who appointed them, but he who does not believe them does not believe Christ Jesus; but he 'that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God remaineth upon him.' . . .

20. The Lord also says to the priests, 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth the Father that sent me; he who despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.'—Luke x. 16.

To the Magnesians.

Cap. iv. p. 87.

21. It is therefore fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so. As some call bishop; but yet do all things without him.

Cap. vi. and vii. p. 88.

23. I exhort you, that ye study to do all things in a divine concord; the *bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles*; and the deacons most dear to me being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. . . .

25. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you, but be ye united to the bishop, and those who preside (*προκαθημένοις*) over you.

27. As, therefore, the Lord did nothing without the Father being united to him—neither by himself, nor by his apostles—so neither do ye anything without your bishop and presbyters; neither endeavour to let anything appear rational to yourselves apart; but (being come together) into the same place (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*) one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in charity and in joy undefiled. There is one Lord Jesus Christ than whom nothing is better. Wherefore, come ye all together as unto one temple (*εἰς ναὸν*) of God; as to one altar (*ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον*) as to one Jesus Christ, who proceedeth from one Father.

Cap. iv. p. 63.

22. It is therefore fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so. For he is not happy that says he is, but he that is made so. Some indeed call bishop, but do all things without him; to such He Himself says who is also the true and chief Bishop, and only by nature a High Priest, 'And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?'

Cap. vi. and vii. p. 65.

24. I exhort you, that ye study to do all things in a divine concord; the *bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of the apostles*, and the deacons most dear to me being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. . . .

26. Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you, but be ye united to the bishop, being subject through him to God in Christ.

28. As, therefore, the Lord did nothing without the Father, 'For I can,' saith he, 'of myself do nothing,' so neither do ye anything without the bishop, whether he be presbyter, or deacon, or layman; neither endeavour to let anything appear rational contrary to his judgment, for such a thing is wicked and inimical to God. Come ye all together, to the same place in the house of prayer (*ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ*); let there be one common supplication, one mind, one hope, in charity and in faith undefiled, in that (faith) in Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. Wherefore, come ye all together as unto one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one

Cap. xiii. pp. 90, 91.

29. Together with your most worthy bishop, and the worthily complicated spiritual crown of your presbytery and your deacons, which are according to God. Be subject to the bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh; and the apostles both to Christ, and to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost; that so you may be united both in body and spirit.

Epistle to the Trallians.

Cap. ii. and iii. pp. 92, 93.

31. For where ye are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ. . . .

33. It is therefore necessary that as ye do, so without the bishop you should do nothing; also be subject to *the presbytery, as to the apostles* of Jesus Christ, our hope; in whom if we walk, we shall be found in him. The deacons, also, as being the mystery of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all; for they are not deacons of meat and drink, but of the church of God.

35. In like manner, let all reverence the deacons, as the command of Jesus Christ; also the bishop, as Jesus Christ being Son of the Father; but the *presbyters as the council of God, and college of the apostles.* Without these a church is not called.

Cap. vii. p. 94.

37. And being inseparable from

Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the uncreated God.

Cap. xiii. p. 71.

30. Together with your most worthy bishop and the worthily complicated spiritual crown of your presbytery, and your deacons which are according to God. Be subject to the bishop and to one another, as Christ to the Father, that there may be unity among you according to God.

Cap. ii. and iii. p. 75.

32. Be ye subject to the bishop as to the Lord 'for he watcheth for your souls, as he that must give account' to God. Therefore also ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ. . . .

34. It is therefore necessary that as ye do, so without the bishop you should do nothing; but also be subject to *the presbytery, as to the apostles* of Jesus Christ, our hope; in whom if we walk we shall be found in him. The deacons, also, of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please: for they are not deacons of meat and drink, but of the church of God.

36. But reverence ye them (deacons) as Jesus Christ, the keepers of whose place they are; as also the bishop who is a resemblance of the Father of all, but *the presbyters, as the council of God, and college of the apostles* of Christ. Without these a church is not called, nor is there a gathering of saints, nor an assembly of religious persons.

Cap. vii. p. 79.

38. It is possible for you to be

Jesus Christ who is God, and from the bishop, and from the commands of the apostles. He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does anything without the bishop, and presbytery, and deacon, is not pure in conscience.

inseparable from God. 'For he is nigh unto them that fear him.' 'And to whom will I have respect, but to the humble and meek, and he that trembles at my words.' But also venerate your bishop, as Christ, according to what the blessed apostles have taught you. He that is within the altar is pure; wherefore also he obeys the bishop, and the presbyters, but he is without who does anything without the bishop and the presbyters, and the deacons—such an one is polluted in conscience, and is worse than an infidel. For, what is a bishop but he who possesses authority and power beyond all others, just as a man possesses this, he is an imitator, according to the power of Christ, who is God.

39. What is the presbytery, but a sacred congregation, counselors (σύμβουλοι) of the bishop and sitting together (συνεδρευταί) with him? What are the deacons, but imitators of angelic powers, ministering to him a pure and blameless ministry, as the holy Stephen to the blessed James, and Timothy and Linus to Paul; and Anacletus and Clement to Peter.

Cap. xii. and xiii. pp. 96, 97.

40. For it becomes everyone of you, especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop to the honour of the Father of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles.

42. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, being subject to the bishop as to the command of God, and so likewise to the presbytery.

Cap. xii. and xiii. p. 85.

41. For it becomes everyone of you, especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, to the honour of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles.

43. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, being subject to the bishop and so likewise to the presbyters, and to the deacons.

To the Philadelphians.

Cap. iv. p. 103.

44. Wherefore let it be your endeavour to partake of one eu-

Cap. iv. pp. 91, 93.

45. I confide in you in the Lord that ye mind no other thing;

charist : for there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in the unity of his blood ; one altar, as also there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants.

therefore also being confident I write of your worthy love, beseeching that ye continue to participate in one faith and one preaching, and one eucharist. For there is one flesh of the Lord Jesus, and one blood of His which was poured out for us ; and one bread broken for all, and one cup distributed to all ; one altar for the whole church, and one bishop together with the presbytery, and the deacons my fellow-servants.

46. For in Christ there is neither bond nor free ; let the chief governors be in subjection to Cæsar ; the soldiers to their chief governors ; the deacons to the presbyters, the presbyters to the chief priests, and the deacons and the rest of the clergy, together with all the laity, and the soldiers, and the chief governors, and Cæsar be in subjection to the bishop ; the bishop, to Christ, as Christ to the Father, and thus unity shall be preserved in all things.

Cap. vii. p. 105.

47. I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice,—Attend to the bishop and to the presbytery, and to the deacons. Now, some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the division that should come among you. But He is my witness for whose sake I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from man ; but the Spirit spake, saying on this wise :—Do nothing without the bishop ; keep your flesh as the temples of God ; love unity ; flee divisions ; be the followers of Christ, as He was of His Father.

Cap. vii. p. 97.

48. I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice, not my word but that of God ; attend to the bishop, and to the presbytery, and to the deacons ; but ye suspected that I said this as foretelling the division of some ; He is my witness, on account of whom I am in bonds ; that from the mouth of man I knew nothing ; but the Spirit spake, saying on this wise :—Do nothing without the bishop ; keep your flesh as the temples of God ; love unity ; flee divisions ; be ye followers of Paul and the other apostles, as they also were of Christ.

To the Smyrnæans.

Cap. viii. and ix. pp. 110, 111.

49. See that ye all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father; and *the presbytery, as the Apostles*; and reverence the deacons, as the command of God. Let no man do anything of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let the eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the bishop or by him to whom the bishop has given consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear there let the multitude be; as where Jesus Christ is there is the catholic church. It is not lawful without the bishop, neither to baptise nor make a love feast; but whatsoever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing unto God; that so whatsoever is done may be sure and well done.

51. It is a good thing to have regard to God and the bishop; he that honoureth the bishop shall be honoured of God. But he that does anything without his knowledge ministers to the devil.

Cap. viii. and ix. pp. 109, 111.

50. Follow all of you the bishop as Jesus Christ the Father, and *the presbytery as the Apostles*, and the deacons as those who minister by the command of God. Let no man do anything of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let the eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is by the bishop or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear there let the multitude be; as where Christ is there the whole celestial army is present; as with the commander-in-chief of the power of the Lord, and dispenser of all intelligent nature. It is not lawful without the bishop, neither to baptise, nor to offer the sacrifice, (administer the Lord's supper) nor to carry the offering, nor to perform the feast, but whatsoever is pleasing to him according to the acceptableness of God; that whatsoever is done may be sure and well done.

52. 'Honour' says he 'O son, God, and the king,' but I say honour God indeed as the author and Lord of all; but the bishop as high priest, bearing the image of God, according as he rules for God, according as he acts as a priest for Christ Nor is there anyone more honourable in the church than the bishop, being consecrated to God for the salvation of all the world He that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God, as therefore he who dishonours him shall be condemned of God. How think you shall he be worthy of punishment who without the bishop chooses to do anything, and who destroys harmony and

frustrates discipline. For the priesthood has risen above all good things among men, which he who dishonours, dishonours not man but God, and Jesus Christ the first-begotten and only High Priest in the nature of the Father. Let all things be performed by you which are commanded by Christ. Let the laity be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the presbyters, the presbyters to the bishop, the bishop to Christ, as He is to the Father.

4.

POLYCARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA, AND MARTYR.

Flourished A.D. 108.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians.—Cap. v. and vi. p. 120.

Wherefore ye must needs abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins admonish to walk in a spotless and pure conscience. And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful towards all: turning them from their errors; seeking out those that are weak; not forgetting the widows, the fatherless, and the poor; but always providing what is good both in the sight of God and man.

5.

JUSTIN, THE MARTYR.

Flourished A.D. 140.

Justini Apologia II pro Christianis, pp. 75, 76, 77.

1. But the word of God is His Son, as I have already said; and He is called Angel and Apostle, for he declares all that ought to be known, and is sent to proclaim what is told, as indeed our Lord himself said, (to his apostles) 'He that heareth me, heareth him that sent me.'—Luke x. 16.

2. But after thus washing him who has professed, and given his assent, we bring him to those who are called brethren; where they are assembled together, to offer prayers in common both for ourselves, and for the person who has received illumination, and all others everywhere, with all our hearts, that we might be vouchsafed, now we have learnt the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, that we may obtain everlasting salvation.

We salute one another with a kiss when we have concluded the

prayers; then is brought to the president (*προεστῶτι*) of the brethren, bread, and a cup of water and wine, which he receives, and offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of his Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and he returns thanks at length, for our being vouchsafed these things by him. When he has concluded the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent by saying Amen. This word, Amen, means in the Greek language, So be it; and when the president has celebrated the eucharist, and all the people have assented, they whom we call deacons (*διάκονοι*) give to each of those who are present a portion of the eucharistic bread, and wine, and water; and carry them to those who are absent.

3. But we, after these things, henceforward always remind one another of them; and those of us who have the means, assist all who are in want; and we are always together; and in all our oblations we bless the Maker of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called Sunday, there is an assembly in the same place of all who live in cities, or in country districts; and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as we have time. Then the reader concludes; and the president verbally instructs, and exhorts us, to the imitation of these excellent things; then we all together rise and offer up our prayers; and, as I said before, when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought, and wine, and water; and the president, in like manner, offers up prayers, and thanksgivings, with all his strength; and the people give their assent by saying Amen; and there is a distribution, and a partaking by everyone, of the eucharistic elements; and to those who are not present, they are sent by the hands of the deacons; and such as are in prosperous circumstances, and wish to do so, give what they will, each according to his choice; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the president, who assists the orphans, and widows, and such as through sickness, or any other cause, are in want; and to those who are in bonds, and to strangers from afar, and, in a word, to all who are in need, he is a protector.

Dialog. cum Tryphone Judæ, p. 202.

4. The twelve bells, again, which were directed to be suspended from the ephod, which reached to the feet of the high priest, were a symbol of the twelve apostles, who depended on the power of the Eternal High Priest, Christ, and through whose voices the whole world is filled with the glory and grace of God and His Christ. Hence David speaks thus: 'Their sound hath gone out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world.'—Ps. xix. 4.

Ibid. p. 269.

5. But that I may give you the account of the revelation of Jesus Christ the righteous, I resume my discourse and say, that that revelation was made to us who believe on him who was crucified as the Christ, the High Priest; to us who, when living in fornications and every kind of filthy practice, have through the grace given by our Jesus,

according to the will of his Father, put off all those foul sins with which we were clothed. The devil was always at hand opposing us, and endeavoured to draw us all to himself; and the Angel of God, that is, the Power of God which was sent us through Jesus Christ, rebukes him, and he departs from us. And we have been, as it were, plucked from the fire, being freed from our former sins, and from the affliction of the fiery trial, by which the devil and all his ministers try us, from which also Jesus Christ the Son of God plucks us again; who has, moreover, promised, if we perform his commandments, to clothe us with garments that he has prepared for us, and to provide for us an eternal kingdom.

6. For as that Jesus (Joshua, Zach. iii. 1-5), who is called by the prophet a priest, was seen wearing filthy garments, because it is said that he married a harlot; and is called a brand plucked out from the fire, because he received remission of his sins, the devil also who opposed him being rebuked; so we, who through the name of Jesus believe as one man on God the Creator of all things, have put off our filthy garments, that is our sins, through the name of His first-begotten Son; and are set on fire by the word of His calling and are the true high-priestly race of God, as God himself testifies, saying, that in every place among the Gentiles they offer sacrifices pure and well pleasing to Him. But God accepts not sacrifices from any except through his priests.

7. God has therefore beforehand declared, that all who through this name offer those sacrifices which Jesus, who is the Christ, commanded to be offered, that is to say, in the eucharist of the bread and of the cup, which are offered in every part of the world by us Christians, are well pleasing to him. But those sacrifices, which are offered by you, through those priests of yours, He wholly rejects, saying, 'and I will not accept your offerings at your hands. For from the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same, My name is glorified among the Gentiles; but ye profane it.'—Mal. i. 10-12.

6.

IRENEUS, BISHOP OF LYONS, AND MARTYR.

Flourished about A.D. 167.

Adversus Hæreses, lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. p. 135.

1. For after the twelve apostles it is found our Lord sent seventy others.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 169.

2. For by no others have we become acquainted with the dispensation of our salvation than by those by whom the Gospel has come to us. That Gospel which they preached, afterwards by the will of God, they delivered to us in the scriptures, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. ii. pp. 169, 170.

3. Truth, according to them, is sometimes in Valentinus, sometimes in Marcion, sometimes in Cerinthus and then in Basilides, but it was also in him who disputed against them. But when again we summon them to that tradition which is from the apostles, and which is guarded in the churches by the succession of the presbyters, they oppose tradition, saying that they have found the simple truth, that they are wiser not only than the presbyters but even than the apostles.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. iii. pp. 170, 171.¹

4. Therefore that the tradition of the apostles was made evident in the whole world there is the opportunity of seeing in every church, to everyone who wishes to see the truth; and we can reckon those who were appointed by the apostles bishops in the churches, and their successors even to us, who neither taught nor knew any such things as these (heretics) madly prate about. For if the apostles had known any hidden mysteries, which they taught to the perfect separately and secretly from the rest, they would have delivered such things to those especially to whom they committed the churches themselves. For they greatly wished that they should be perfect and blameless in all things whom they left as their successors, and to whom they delivered their office of teaching (*locum magisterii*); who, if they discharged their office well, great would be the gain, if they fell, extreme the calamity.

5. But since it would be tedious, in such a volume, to reckon the successions of all the churches, we confound all those who in any manner, whether through self-gratification or vainglory, or through blindness and evil opinion, infer what is unseemly by the successions of bishops of that greatest, most ancient and universally known church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, showing the tradition which it has from the apostles, and the faith announced to men and descended even to us. For to this church, on account of the more powerful principality, it must needs be that every church should resort, that is, those who are faithful, on every side; in which the tradition which is from the apostles has always been preserved by those who are round about it.

6. The blessed apostles, therefore, founding and regulating this church, delivered to Linus the work of the episcopate, of which Linus Paul makes mention in his epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; after him, in the third place, from the apostles, Clement is chosen (*κληροῦται*) to the episcopate, who saw the blessed apostles themselves, and resided with them, and had as yet their preaching and their tradition before his eyes; nor he alone, for at that time many survived who had been taught by the apostles. Under this Clement, a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren at Corinth, the church which is at Rome wrote very powerful letters to the Corinthians, bringing them to peace, and repairing their faith, and enforcing the tradition which had been recently received from the apostles, announcing one Almighty God, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Creator of

man, who had sent the deluge, and had called Abraham; who had brought forth His people out of Egypt; who talked with Moses; who appointed the law and sent the prophets; who prepared fire for the devil and his angels. That this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was announced by the churches, those who will can learn from the Scripture itself, and can understand the apostolical tradition of the Church; since this is an epistle more ancient than these men, who now teach falsely, and pretend that there is another God above the Demiurgus, who is the maker of all things.

7. To this Clement Evaristus succeeded, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then Sixtus was constituted, the sixth after the apostles, and then Telesphorus, who also made a glorious martyrdom, and then Hyginus, afterwards Pius, after whom was Anicetus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherius holds the episcopate.

8. In this order (τάξει), and in this doctrine (διδασχῆ), that tradition which is from the apostles in the Church and the preaching of the truth reach even to us. And also Polycarp, who was not only taught by the apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seen Christ, but was also constituted bishop in the church of Smyrna by the apostles who were in Asia, whom we also saw in our early youth, (for he persevered greatly, and, at a very great age, making a glorious martyrdom, he departed this life), he likewise taught always those things which he had learned from the apostles, which he delivered to the Church, and which alone are true. To these things all the churches which are in Asia bear testimony, and those who, even to the present day, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a man of much greater authority, and a more faithful witness of the truth, than Valentinus and Marcion, and the rest who hold their perverse opinions. For he was the man who, when he came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, converted many heretics from those of which I have already spoken, to the Church of God, declaring that he had received from the apostles that one and only system of truth which he delivered to the Church.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 198.

9. 'And having called together the bishops and presbyters of Ephesus, and of the other neighbouring cities.'—Acts xx. 17, 28.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xx. p. 245.

10. All righteous men hold the priestly order. But all priests are apostles of the Lord who neither possess houses nor lands here, but always serve God and the altar.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xliii. pp. 277, 278.

11. Wherefore we ought to obey the presbyters who are in the Church who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown, who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the sure gift of truth, according to the Father's good pleasure. But to regard others who are separate from the principal succession, and are gathered to-

gether in any place as suspected, or as heretics and of bad principles, or as schismatic and proud, and self-pleasing, or as hypocrites who act on account of gain or vainglory; but all these have departed from the truth, and indeed heretics, who offer on the altar of God strange fire, that is, strange doctrines, will be burned with fire from heaven, like Nadab and Abihu. But those who rise up against the truth, and exhort others against the Church of God, remain in the infernal regions, being swallowed up in an earthquake, as were those about Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. But those who divide and separate the unity of the church receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xlv. p. 278.

12. But they who are supposed by many to be presbyters, but serve their own pleasure, and do not place the fear of God first in their hearts, but treat others with bitter taunts, who are elated with the pride of the principal seat (*principalis concessionis*), and do evil things in secret, and say, 'No one seeth us,' shall be reproved by the word. . . . From all such we should keep at a distance, and adhere indeed to those who, as we have said before, keep the doctrine of the apostles, and, with the order of the presbytership (*presbyterii ordine*), exhibit soundness in word, and a blameless behaviour for the instruction and correction of the rest. . . . The Church cherishes such presbyters of whom the prophet says, 'And I will give thy governors (*ἀρχοντας*) in peace, and thy bishops (*ἐπισκόπους*) in righteousness.'—*Sep. ver.* Isaiah lx. 17.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xlv. p. 279.

13. Where, therefore, anyone finds such, Paul, instructing us, says, 'God has set some in the church, first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers.' Where, therefore, the gifts of the Lord have been conferred there we ought to learn the truth from those with whom is that succession of the Church which is from the apostles, and with whom is manifest a correct and irreproachable behaviour, and unadulterated and incorruptible discourse.

Ibid. cap. lxiii. p. 292.

14. The doctrine of the apostles is true knowledge, and is the ancient form of the Church in the whole world, and is with the mark (*charactere*) of the body of Christ according to successions of bishops to whom they delivered that Church which is in every place, which (doctrine) hath come even to us, having been kept without any device in the most full using of the Scriptures.

Ibid. lib. v. cap. xxxiii. pp. 454, 455.—Grab's ed. Lon. 1702.

15. Forasmuch as the presbyters make mention who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, that they heard from him after what manner the Lord spoke of those times, and he said, 'The days shall come in which vines shall be produced, each having ten thousand boughs, and on one bough ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand switches, and on every switch ten thousand bunches, and in every bunch ten

thousand grapes, and every grape, when pressed, shall yield twenty-five measures of wine.' After the same manner also a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears. . . . Nor am I ignorant that every ear shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine pure flour.

Frag. Epis. ad Florinum Eusebii, lib. v. cap. xx. p. 360.

16. These doctrines not even the heretics out of the Church ever attempted to assert. These doctrines were never delivered to thee by the presbyters before us, those who also were immediate disciples of the apostles. . . . I can bear witness in the sight of God that, if that blessed and apostolic presbyter (*ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος*) had heard any such thing as this, he would have exclaimed and stopped his ears.

Frag. Epis. ad Victorem Eusebii, lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 370.

17. And these presbyters who governed the Church (of Rome) before Soter, and which you now lead (*ἀφηγῆ*), I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Sixtus. . . . But those very presbyters before thee, who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those churches who did.

7.

THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

Flourished about 168.

Comment. in Evangelia, lib. i., *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. ii. pp. 148, 151.

1. 'Ye are the salt of the earth.' (Matt. v. 13.) The apostles are called salt because through them the human race is preserved. 'But if the salt have lost its savour.' That is, if the teacher shall err, by what other teacher shall he be amended? 'Ye are the light of the world.' He said this to the apostles who illuminate the world by heavenly doctrine. 'A city set upon a hill cannot be hid.' 'A city' is so called from the citizens; that is, it is so named from the inhabitants. The 'city' is the Church; the 'hill' must be understood to be Christ upon whom the Church is built.

2. 'Then let them which be in Judæa flee into the mountains.' (Matt. xxiv. 16.) By Judæa, the Holy Land, he denotes that a devout man ought to flee to the doctrine of the apostles.

8.

TERTULLIAN, PRESBYTER OF CARTHAGE.

Flourished about 192.

Apologeticus adversus Gentes, cap. xxxix. p. 67.

1. I will now set forth on my own part the employments of a Christian party (*Christianæ factionis*) that since I have disproved that which is

evil, I may show somewhat that is good, if so be I have also unfolded the truth. We are a body formed by our joint cognisance of religion, by the unity of discipline, by the bond of hope. We come together in a meeting and congregation (*in cœtum et congregationem*) as before God, as though we would in one body sue him by our prayers. This violence is pleasing unto God. We pray also for emperors, for their ministers, and the powers; for the condition of the world, for the quiet of all things; for the delaying of the end. We come together to call the sacred writings to remembrance, if so be that the character of the present times compel us either to use admonition or recollection in anything. In any case, by these holy words we feed our faith, raise our hopes, establish our confidence; nor do we the less strengthen our discipline by inculcating precepts. Here, too, are exercised exhortations, corrections, and godly censure. For our judgment also cometh with great weight, as of men well assured that they are under the eye of God; and it is a very grave forestalling of the judgment to come if any shall have so offended as to be put out of the communion of prayer, of the solemn assembly, and of all holy fellowship.

2. The most approved elders preside (*præsident probati quique seniores*) over us, having obtained this honour not by money, but by character; for with money is nothing pertaining unto God purchased.

De Corona, cap. iii. p. 180.

3. In fact, to begin with baptism, when we are about to come to the water, in the same place, but at a somewhat earlier time, we do in the church testify, under the hand of a chief minister (*antistitis*), that we renounce the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. . . . The sacrament of the eucharist, commanded by the Lord at the time of supper, and to all, we receive even at our meetings before daybreak, and from the hands of no others than the heads of the Church (*præsidentium*).

De Præscriptione Hæreticorum, cap. xx. p. 206.

4. Immediately, therefore, the apostles (whom this title intendeth to denote as sent) . . . having obtained the promised power of the Holy Spirit for the working of miracles and for utterance, first having throughout Judæa borne witness to the faith of Jesus Christ, and established churches, next went forth into the world, and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and forthwith founded churches in every city, from whence the other churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition of the faith, and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily borrowing them, that they may become churches. And for this cause they are themselves also accounted apostolical, as being the offspring of apostolical churches. The whole kind must needs be classed under their original. Wherefore these churches, so many and so great, are but that one primitive church from the apostles, whence they all spring. Thus all are the primitive, and all apostolical, while all are one. The communication of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality prove this unity, which rights no other principle

directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same doctrine (*sacramenti.*) [i. e. The whole sacred truth of the Gospel.—See Eph. iii. 4.]

Ibid. cap. xxi. pp. 206, 207.

5. To this point, therefore, we direct prescription : that, if the Lord Jesus Christ sent the apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed ; for ‘no man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son hath revealed him.’ Neither doth the Son seem to have revealed him to any other than to the apostles, whom he sent to preach, to wit, that which he revealed to them. Now, what they did preach, that is, what Christ did reveal unto them, I will also here rule, must be proved in no other way than by those same churches which the apostles themselves founded ; themselves, I say, by preaching to them as well *vivâ voce* (as men say) as afterwards by epistles.

6. If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest that the doctrine which agreeth with these apostolic churches—the wombs and originals of the faith—must be accounted true, as, without doubt, containing that which the churches have received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, Christ from God ; and that all other doctrine must be judged at once to be false which savoureth things contrary to the truth of the churches, and of the apostles, and of Christ, and of God. It remaineth, therefore, that we show whether this our doctrine, the rule of which we have above declared, be derived from the tradition of the apostles, and, from this very fact, whether the other doctrines come of falsehood. We have communion with the apostolic churches, because we have no doctrine differing from them. This is evidence of truth.

Ibid. cap. xxxii. p. 210.

7. But if there be any heresies, which venture to plant themselves in the midst of the age of the apostles, that they may therefore be thought to have been handed down from the apostles, because they existed under the apostles, we may say, Let them, then, make known the originals of their churches ; let them unfold the roll of their bishops so coming down in succession from the beginning, that their first bishop had for his author and antecessor (*auctorem et antecessorem*) some one of the apostles, or of apostolic men, so he were one that continued steadfast with the apostles. For in this manner do the apostolic churches bring down their register (*census*). as the church of the Smyrnæans recounteth that Polycarp was placed there by John ; as that of the Romans doth that Clement was in like manner ordained by Peter. Just so can the rest also show those whom, being appointed by the apostles to the episcopate, they have as transmitters of the apostolic seed. Let the heretics invent something of the same sort ; for, after blasphemy, what is withholden from them ? But even though they invent it, they will advance never a step : for their doctrine, when compared with that of the apostles, will of itself declare, by the difference and contrariety between them, that it had neither any apostle for its author (*auctoris*)

nor any apostolic men : because, as the apostles would not have taught things differing from each other so neither would apostolic men have set forth things contrary to the apostles, unless those who learned from apostles preached a different doctrine.

8. To this test, then, they will be challenged by those churches which, although they can bring forward as their author (*auctorem*) no one of the apostles, or of apostolic men, as being of much later date, and indeed being founded daily, nevertheless, since they agree in the same faith, are by reason of their *consanguinity in doctrine* counted not the less apostolical.

9. So let all heresies, when challenged by our churches to both these tests, prove themselves apostolical in whatever way they think themselves so to be. But in truth they neither are so, nor can they prove themselves to be what they are not ; nor are they received into union and communion by churches in any way apostolical, to wit, because they are in no way apostolical, by reason of the difference of the doctrine (*sacramenti*, the whole sacred truth of the Gospel) which they teach.

Ibid. cap. xxxvi. p. 211.

10. Now, would you exercise your curiosity to better purpose in the business of your salvation, run through the apostolic churches, in which the very seats in which the apostles sat are now filled ; where their authentic epistles are read, conveying the sound of their voices, and the representation of their persons. Is Achaia near you ? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. If you can pass over to Asia, you have Ephesus ; but if you are near Italy, you have Rome, whence we also can have an authority at hand. Happy Church ! to which the apostles poured forth all their doctrine with their blood. Where Peter had a like passion with the Lord ; where Paul hath for his crown the same death with John ; where the Apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was afterwards banished to an island.

De Baptismo, cap. xvii. p. 225.

11. To conclude my little work ; it remaineth that I give an admonition also concerning the right rule of giving and receiving baptism. The right of giving it indeed hath the chief-priest (*summus sacerdos*), who is the bishop : then the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the sake of the honour of the Church, which being preserved peace is preserved. Otherwise laymen have also the right, for that which is equally received may equally be given, unless the name disciples denote at once bishops or priests or deacons. The Word of God ought not to be hidden from any : wherefore also baptism, which is equally derived from God, may be administered by all. But how much more incumbent on laymen is the duty of reverence and modesty ! Seeing that these things belong to those of higher estate, let them not take upon themselves the episcopate set apart for the bishops. Emulation is the mother of divisions. A most holy apostle hath said that ' all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.'

Let it in truth suffice thee to use such things in thy necessities, whenever the circumstances of place, or time, or person, compel thee. For then is a boldness, in him that aideth admissible, when the case of him that is in danger is urgent. For he will be guilty of destroying a man if he shall forbear to do that for him which he had free power to do.

Adversus Marcionem, lib. iv. cap. v. p. 406.

12. We have the foster churches of John. For if even Marcion rejects his Apocalypse; nevertheless the order (or series) of bishops, being traced up to its origin, will stand in John the Author. *Ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recensens, in Joannem stabit auctorem.*

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xiii. pp. 415, 416.

13. But why did Christ choose twelve apostles and not any other number? Verily, I can explain my Christ from this, not only as foretold by the words of the prophets but also by the evidence of things. For I discover from the Creator the figurative meaning of this number, viz. the twelve fountains of Elim, and the twelve precious stones on the priestly robe of Aaron, and the twelve stones chosen by Joshua from the Jordan, and laid up in the ark of the covenant. For just so many apostles were announced as fountains and streams to water the formerly arid and desert world of the nations of renown, as also by Isaiah it is said: 'I will place rivers in the land without water.'—Is. xliii. 20.

Ibid. cap. xxiv. p. 429.

14. 'And he chose other seventy *apostles*' (Luke x. 1), beside the twelve. For there were twelve according to the same number of fountains in Elim, if not also the seventy, according to the same number of palm-trees.

Adversus Gnosticos, cap. x. p. 489.

15. If thou dost still think that heaven is closed against thee, remember that the Lord gave the keys of it here to Peter, and through him he left them to the Church, which keys everyone here, being interrogated and making a good confession, shall carry with him.

De Exhortatione Castitatis, cap. vii. p. 566.

16. We shall be fools if we think that what is not lawful to priests is lawful to laymen. Are not also we laymen priests? It is written 'He has made us a kingdom, and priests to God and His Father.' The authority of the Church constituted the difference between order (those in orders) and the people; and by the session of the order (*per ordinis consessum*, i.e. those in orders sitting together) honour is sanctified by God. Where there is no session of the ecclesiastical order, thou both offerest and tingest, i.e. both administerest the Lord's Supper and baptisest: thou alone art a priest to thyself. But where there are three, there is a church, although laymen; for everyone lives by his own faith; nor is there any respect of persons with God, since not the hearers of the law, but the doers, are justified by God, as the apostle says. Therefore, if thou hast the right of the priest in thyself, where it is necessary, it becomes thee to have also the discipline of the priest,

where it is necessary to have the priestly right. Dost thou, digamist (a man twice married), tinge (*tinguis*, baptise)? Dost thou, digamist, offer (administer the Lord's Supper)? How much more will it be a capital offence for a layman digamist to act for a priest, when even from the digamist priest himself is taken away the priestly act. But you say an allowance is made for necessity. No necessity is excused which might be avoided. Do not, then, be found a digamist, and you do not fall into the necessity of administering what is not lawful to a digamist. For it is the will of God we should be all so circumstanced that we may be everywhere fit to administer his sacraments. One God, one faith, and one discipline.

De Pudicitia, cap. i. p. 600.

17. I hear that an edict is proposed, and truly a peremptory one. The highest pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), that is, the bishop of bishops, declares: I remit the sins of fornication and adultery to all who have completed their penitence. O edict, which cannot be called a good deed. And where is this liberality displayed? There, as I think, on the very gates of lust, under the very titles of lust. There this kind of penitence is to be promulgated, where iniquity itself shall be most familiar. There pardon is to be read, where one shall enter with the hope of it. But this is read in the Church, and is uttered in the Church, and yet she is a virgin. Away, away with such preaching from the spouse of Christ. That Church which is true, which is modest, which is holy, should not have such uncleanness offered to her ears.

Ibid. cap. xxi. pp. 618, 619.

18. But I come to this point distinguishing between the teaching of the apostles and the power of the apostles. Teaching guides a man, power directs (*adsignat*) him. But what did God the Spirit teach? To have no fellowship with the works of darkness. Observe what he appoints. But who can forgive sins? This is of Him alone. For who doth remit sins but God alone, truly those mortal sins which have been committed against Himself, and in His temple. For as to the crimes which have been committed against thee, thou art commanded, in the person of Peter, to forgive seventy seven-times. Therefore, if the blessed apostles also had plenary forgiveness, any such thing of which the pardon lay with God and not with man, they would not have done it by teaching, but by power. For they raised the dead, which none but God could do, and renewed the feeble, which no one could do except Christ. Yea, they also inflicted chastisements, which Christ would not do. For it did not become Him to act with severity who had come to suffer. Ananias and Elimas were struck, one with death, the other with blindness, that by this very thing it might be proved that Christ could also have done these things. So also prophets had pardoned murder, and with it adultery to penitent persons, because they also made them proofs of severity. Now, therefore, show me, O apostolic man, prophetic examples, and I will acknowledge that Divine power in thee, and claim for thyself the power of remitting sins of that

kind ; but if thou art chosen to the office of instruction only, not to preside over a government (*imperio*), but a ministry (*ministerio*), who or what art thou to forgive sins, thou who showest thyself to be neither prophet nor apostle, and wantest that power which is needed to forgive sins ?

19. But now from your own argument, I would know from whence you usurp this right for the Church ? If from our Lord's saying to Peter, ' Upon this rock I will build my Church, to thee I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' or, ' Whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven ;' dost thou, therefore, presume this power of loosing and binding to have descended to thee, that is, the whole Church which is related to Peter ? Who art thou, thus overturning and changing the manifest intention of our Lord, who conferred this on Peter personally. Upon *thee*, He says, I will build my Church ; and, To *thee* I will give the keys, not to the Church ; and, whatsoever *thou* shalt loose or bind, not whatsoever *they* shall loose or bind. So likewise the event teaches. On him the Church was built, that is, by him ; he furnished the key. Behold, what key ? Ye men of Israel, hear these words : Jesus of Nazareth, a man destined for you by God, &c. He too, first, in the baptism of Christ, unlocked the gate of the celestial kingdom, by which offences were formerly bound or loosed, and those things which might not be loosed are bound, according to the true salvation ; and he bound Ananias with the bond of death, and he loosed the impotent man from his lameness. Likewise in that disputation ; whether the law was to be kept or not, Peter, the first of all filled with the Spirit, and having spoken before of the calling of the nations, saith, ' And now why do ye tempt the Lord by placing a yoke upon the brethren, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear ? But by the grace of Jesus we believe that we shall obtain salvation, even as they.' This opinion both loosed the things of the law which were omitted, and bound those things which were retained. So that the power of loosing and binding conferred on Peter has nothing to do with the mortal sins of believers. For to him the Lord had commanded forgiveness of his brother, even if he had sinned against Him seventy times seven ; and surely He would not afterwards have commanded him to bind sins, that is, to retain them : unless, perhaps, those which anyone might have committed, not against his brother, but against the Lord. For the very command given to forgive offences committed against man seems to imply that no authority was intended to forgive sins against God. What, now, has all this to do with the Church, and especially with thine, thou carnal man ? For according to the person of Peter, this power will suit spiritual men, such as an apostle or prophet. Since the Church properly and principally is that Spirit in whom is the Trinity of one Divinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He gathers that Church, which the Lord hath placed in three. And therefore, from that time, every such member who unites in this faith is esteemed a church by its Author and Consecrator. And thus, indeed, the Church will forgive offences, but this is the Church of the Spirit by the spiritual man, not the

church which is the number of bishops. For this is the prerogative and will of the master, not of the servant; of God Himself, and not of the priest.

9.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, PRESBYTER.

Flourished about A.D. 192.

Pædagogus, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 99.

1. If indeed we are pastors, who are the leaders (*προηγούμενοι*) of the churches, &c.

Ibid. lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 175.

2. Luke vii. 37, 38.—But this can be a sign and symbol of the doctrine of the Lord and of His passion, for the feet which were anointed with odoriferous ointment signifies Divine doctrine, going forth with promptitude to the ends of the earth: 'For their voice hath gone out unto the ends of the earth.' (Ps. xix. 4.) And so, if I do not seem tiresome, the feet of our Lord anointed with ointment are the apostles, a prophecy of sweet-smelling ointment, that is to say, participators of the Holy Spirit. Therefore the apostles, who traversed the whole world and preached the Gospel, by an allegory are called the feet of the Lord, of whom the Lord predicted by the Psalmist, 'Let us worship in the place where His feet stood.' (Ps. cxxxii. 7, Sep. ver.) That is, the place in which His feet, the apostles, have come through whom He has come preaching to the ends of the earth.

Stromatum, lib. ii. p. 410.

3. If I shall adduce as a witness the Apostle Barnabas, who was one of the seventy, and a helper (*συνεργός*) of Paul.

Ibid. lib. vi. pp. 666-668.

4. He, therefore, who, having subdued his passions, and having acquired true self-denial, daily exercises with increased success true beneficence, he is a perfect gnostic, and is equal to angels. Thus shining as the sun in acts of goodness, he sedulously proceeds by true knowledge and the love of God, like the apostles, to the mansions of holiness. The apostles were not chosen as apostles because of any natural excellence or inherent virtue of theirs, for Judas was elected along with the rest, but they were elected by Him who saw the end from the beginning. Matthias was not elected with the rest, yet when he had shown himself worthy to be an apostle, he was appointed in the place of Judas. It is lawful, therefore, that those who are exercised in the Lord's commands, living perfectly and intelligently according to the Gospel, should be inscribed into the selection of the apostles. This man is truly a presbyter of the Church, and a true deacon of the will of God, if he do and teach the things of the Lord, not by being ordained (*χειροτονούμενος*) by men, nor, because a presbyter, reckoned just; but, because just, enrolled in the presbytery: and though upon earth he be

not honoured with sitting in the first seat (*πρωτοκαθεδρία*) yet he shall sit on those four-and-twenty thrones judging the people, as John speaks in the Revelation. . . . And of the elect, whether Jews or Gentiles, those are more particularly so who, according to this perfect knowledge, have been gathered from the Church on earth, and honoured with the magnificent glory of sitting on the four-and-twenty thrones, as judges and administrators in that assembly where the grace of time is crowned with a double increase. For even in the Church here on earth, there are promotions of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, which are, I think, imitations of the angelic glory, and of that economy which the Scriptures say they wait for who, treading in the steps of the apostles, lived in the perfection of evangelical righteousness. For these, the apostle says, shall be taken up in the clouds; and first, as deacons, attend, and then, according to the process, or next station of glory, be admitted into the presbytery: for glory differs from glory, till they increase to a perfect man.

Ibid. lib. vii. pp. 700, 701.

5. In most things there are two offices, one superior, the other subordinate. It is equally so as to the Church; the presbyters preserve the better form, the deacons the subordinate. Both these ministrations angels perform to God, in the dispensation of terrene affairs.

Ibid. lib. vii. p. 730.

6. Whatever is in his mind is also in his tongue towards those who are fit recipients; both in speaking and living he harmonises his profession with his opinions. He both thinks and speaks the truth, except when consideration is necessary; and then, as a physician for the good of his patients, he will be false, or utter a falsehood (*ψεύσεται, ἢ ψεῦδος ἐρεῖ*), as the sophists say. For instance, the Great Apostle circumcised Timothy, while he cried out and wrote down, 'Circumcision availeth not;' and yet, lest he should so suddenly tear his Hebrew disciples from the law as to unsettle them, accommodating himself to the Jews, he became a Jew, that he might make his gain of all. . . . He gives himself up to the Church, for the friends whom he hath begotten in the faith, for an example to those who have the ability to undertake the high office of a teacher, full of love to God and man; and so while he preserves the sincerity of his words, he at the same time displays the work of zeal for the Lord.

Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, lib. iii. cap. xxiii.
pp. 173, 174.

7. Clement also, indicating the time, subjoins a narrative most acceptable to those who delight to hear what is excellent and profitable, in that discourse to which he gave the title, 'What rich man is saved?' Taking the book, read it where it contains a narrative like the following: 'Listen to a story that is no fiction, but a real history, handed down and carefully preserved, respecting the Apostle John. For after the tyrant was dead, coming from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus, he went also, when called, to the neighbouring regions of the Gentiles;

in some to appoint (*καταστήσω*) bishops, in some to institute entire new churches, in others to choose by lot to the clergy some one of those that were pointed out by the Holy Ghost. When he came, therefore, to one of those cities, at no great distance, of which some also give the name, and had in other respects consoled his brethren, seeing a youth of fine stature, graceful countenance, and ardent mind, he turned to the bishop appointed over all, and said, "Him I commend to you with all earnestness, testifying before the Church and Christ." The *bishop* having taken him and promised all, he repeated and testified the same thing, and then returned to Ephesus. The *presbyter*, taking the youth home that was committed to him, educated, restrained, and cherished him, and at length baptised him.'

10.

ORIGEN, PRESBYTER.

Flourished about A.D. 230.

On Leviticus, as quoted from Nicolas de Lira.—Lev. viii. tom. i. col. 983.

1. Attend to the difference of the less and greater priests. Not the two vestments which are given to them, nor the ephod, nor the breastplate, nor the ornament of the head, but only the bonnet and the girdle which girded the coat. They, therefore, receive the grace and perform the office of the priesthood, but not as he who is adorned with the ephod and breastplate, and shines in manifestation and truth, and is decorated with the ornament of the golden plate. Whence, as I think, it is one thing to perform the office, and another thing to be qualified and adorned in all things. For anyone is able to perform the solemn ministry to the people; but few who, adorned with morals, instructed in doctrine, erudite in wisdom, are fit to manifest the truth of things, and who bring forth the knowledge of faith not without the ornament of the senses and glittering of affirmations.

Hom. ii. in Num. tom. iii. p. 278.

2. Dost thou think that they who are honoured with the priesthood, and glory in their priestly order, walk according to that order? In like manner, dost thou suppose the deacons also walk according to their order? Whence, then, is it that we often hear reviling men exclaim, 'What a bishop!' 'What a presbyter!' or, 'What a deacon is this fellow!' Do not these things arise from hence that the priest or the deacon had in something gone contrary to his order, and had done something against the priestly or the levitical order?

Comment. in Matt. cap. xvi. 16-19, tom. iii. p. 523-526, 529-531.

3. Which if we also say, as Peter did, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' not as if it had been revealed to us by flesh and blood, but by the light shining in our hearts from the Father who is in

heaven, we become as Peter, and it may be said by the Word unto us also, 'Thou art Peter,' and what follows. For the rock is every disciple of Christ, from whom they drank who drank of the Spiritual Rock that followed them, and on every such rock every ecclesiastical word is built, and the system of life instituted accordingly; and in every such perfect man, having the combination of words, and works, and thoughts, perfecting holiness, the Church built by God is found. But if thou thinkest that the whole Church is built by God upon Peter only, what dost thou say of John, the son of thunder, and everyone of the other apostles? Or shall we dare to say that the gates of hell were not to prevail specially against Peter? Were they, then, to prevail against the other apostles and the faithful? Is it not plain that to all and each the assurance is made good, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it;' and this also, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church'? Or is it to Peter alone that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given, and shall none other of the blessed receive them? And if this is common to others, 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' how should not those things which precede it, and which are evidently connected with it, as also said to Peter, be common likewise? For here it seems to be said to Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, &c.'

4. But in the Gospel of John, the Saviour, giving the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing on them, says, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' together with what follows. Therefore many will say to the Saviour, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;' but not all who say this do so because they have been taught by flesh and blood revealing it, but because our Father who is in heaven hath taken away the veil that was on their heart, that afterwards, His face being revealed, they, beholding the glory of the Lord, might say, by the Spirit of God, 'Lord Jesus,' and to Him, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' And if anyone say this to Him, the revelation being made, not by flesh and blood, but by the Father which is in heaven, that will follow which the letter of the Gospel declares was said to Peter; for His Spirit teaches him that whosoever becomes such an one he is the same as that Peter. For all the imitators of Christ derive their name from the rock—that spiritual rock which follows them who are saved, that from it they should drink spiritual drink. They take their name from the rock, that is Christ; for as, because they are members of Christ, by the name derived from Him, they are called Christians, so from His being the rock (*Petra*), they are called rocks (*Petri* or *Peters*).

5. Taking occasion from the same principle, you may say that Christians are denominated the righteous, from the righteousness of Christ, the wise, from the wisdom of Christ, and you may do the same with all his other names, applying them to the saints; and whosoever shall be such as these names signify to them it shall be said by the Saviour, 'Thou art Peter,' with what follows the passage, 'They shall not prevail against it.' What does this word *It* signify? Is it the rock on which Christ builds the Church, or the Church? The word is ambiguous; whether is this because the rock and the Church mean the

same thing? I think this to be the truth; for neither against the rock upon which Christ builds the Church, nor against the Church, shall the gates of hell prevail. . . .

6. We see by all this how it may be said to Peter, and to everyone who is a Peter, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' And first, indeed, I think these words are to be connected with the others, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' for he who is defended against the gates of hell, so that they prevail not against him, is worthy to receive from the Divine Word himself the keys of the kingdom of heaven as a reward, that as the gates of hell could do nothing against him, he, receiving the keys of the kingdom of heaven, might open to himself those gates which are shut to all who are overcome by the gates of hell; and thus the key of chastity admits him into the gate of chastity, and the key of righteousness admits into the gate of righteousness, and so of the other virtues. . . .

7. But since there are some who interpret this passage of the episcopacy as being Peter, and teach that by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, received from the Saviour, those things which are bound by them, that is, condemned, are bound in heaven, and those which are loosed on earth are loosed in heaven, it may be said that they judge truly if they have the quality on account of which it was said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter;' and if they are such that upon them the Church may be built by Christ, and this privilege can be justly granted to them. But the gates of hell ought not to prevail against him who would bind and loose. For if he is bound by the cords of his sins, he binds and looses in vain.

Therefore, if anyone be not what Peter was, nor be possessed of those qualities which have been mentioned, and yet thinks that he, like Peter, can bind upon the earth, so that those things which he binds shall be also bound in heaven, and that he can loose upon the earth, so that whatever he looses shall be loosed in heaven, that man is proud, not knowing the sense of the Scriptures, and 'being lifted up with pride, he falls into the crime of the devil.'

In Matt. tract xxx. tom. iii. 865.

8. We ought not to give heed to those who say, 'Here is Christ,' and do not manifest Him in the Church which from the east even to the west is full of glory, which is full of true light, which is the pillar and ground of the truth, in which is the whole advent of the Son of Man, who saith to all that are in every place, 'Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world.'—*Matt. xxviii. 20.*

Ibid. tract xxiii. 12, tom. iii. p. 838.

9. Even in the Church of Christ are found not only feasts, . . . but those also who love the first seats at them, and do many things: first, indeed, that they may be made deacons, not such as the Scripture mentions, but such as devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; and they shall therefore receive the greater damnation. And those who wish to be made deacons next go about to obtain the chief

seats of those who are called presbyters. But some, not even satisfied with these, intrigue very much that they may be called bishops by men, which is Rabbi: when they ought to understand that he should be made a bishop who is unblamable, and the other things which follow, so that, if he be not by man said to be a bishop, he may nevertheless be one before God. For he who has in himself the things which Paul enumerates respecting a bishop, although he is not a bishop before men, is a bishop before God, although he has not reached that rank by ordination of men. As he is a physician who has learnt the science of medicine, and is able to administer medicine as a physician, although the sick do not trust their bodies to him.

The bishops and presbyters of the people, who have been entrusted with the chief seats, and as it were sell whole churches to those to whom they should not, and who appoint those as rulers whom they ought not, they are those who sell doves.

Hom. xx. in Luc. tom. iii. p. 956.

10. If Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is subject to Joseph and Mary, shall not I be subject to the bishop, who is of God ordained to be my father? Shall not I be subject to the presbyter who by the Lord's vouchsafement is set over me (*præpositus est*)?

Hom. ii. in Cant.

11. Imagine the ecclesiastical order, sitting in the seats or chairs of bishops and presbyters. She saw also the array of servants standing to wait in their service. This (as it seems to me) speaks of the order of deacons standing to attend on divine service.

Philosoph. Proæmium.

12. The Holy Spirit was given to the Church, which the apostles having first received conferred it on those who had rightly believed; of whom we (Origen, a presbyter) being the successors (*διάδοχοι*), and partaking of the same grace and chief-priesthood and doctrine, and being reckoned guardians of the Church, have not slept at our post, or withheld right instruction.

11.

CYPRIAN, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE, AND MARTYR.

Flourished about A.D. 248.

Adversus Judæos, lib. iii. cap. 85, pp. 41, 63.

1. That we must rise up when the bishop or presbyter comes. 'Thou shalt rise up before the face of the elder (*senioris*), and honour the person of the presbyter (*presbyteri*).'—Lev. xix. 32.

De Unitate Ecclesiæ, pp. 76-78.

2. So long as there is no regard to the source of truth, no looking to the Head, nor keeping the doctrine of our heavenly Master. If anyone

consider and weigh this, he will not need length of comment or argument. It is easy to offer proofs to a faithful mind, because in that case the truth may be quickly stated. The Lord saith unto Peter, 'I say unto thee,' saith He, 'that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' To him again, after his resurrection, he says, 'Feed my sheep.' Upon one (*him alone*) he builds his church; and though he gives to all the apostles an equal power, and says, 'As my Father sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to him, and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained;' yet in order to manifest unity (*he constituted one chair*, and) he has by his own authority so placed the source of the same unity as to begin from one.

3. Certainly the other apostles also were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power; but a commencement is made from unity (*the primacy, primatum, is given to Peter*), that the Church may be set before us as one (*and one chair, cathedra, and all are pastors, but there appears to be but one flock, which is fed by all the apostles with one consent*), which one Church, in the Song of Songs, doth the Holy Spirit design and name in the person of our Lord: 'My dove, my spotless one, is but one; she is the only one of her mother, elect of her that bare her.' (Cant. vi. 9.) He who holds not this unity of the Church does he think that he holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church (*he that forsaketh Peter's chair, upon which the Church was built*) is he assured that he is in the Church?

De Lapsis, p. 94.

4. Listen to an event that took place in my own presence and on my own testimony. Some parents who made their escape, in the thoughtlessness of terror, left behind them at nurse an infant daughter, whom the nurse finding in her hands gave over to the magistrates. Unable through its tender years to eat flesh, they gave it, before an idol to which the crowd assembled, bread mingled with some wine, which, however, was remains of that which had been used in the soul-slaughter of perishing Christians. The mother afterwards got back her child, but the infant was unable to express and make known the act that had been committed, as she had before been to understand or to prevent it. Through ignorance, therefore, it arose that, when we were sacrificing, the mother brought it in with her. The child, however, mixed with the holy congregation, could not bear our prayers and worship; it was at one moment convulsed with weeping, then became tossed like a wave by throbs of feeling, and the babe's soul, while yet in the tender days, confessed a consciousness of what had happened, with what signs it could, as if forced to do so by a torturer. When, however, after the solemnities were complete, the deacon began to offer the cup to those who were there, and, in the course of their receiving, its turn came, the little child turned its face away, under the instinct of God's majesty,

compressed its lips in resistance, and refused the cup. The deacon, however, persevered, and forced upon her, against her will, of the sacrament (*sacramento*) of the cup. There followed a sobbing and vomiting. The eucharist was not able to remain in a body and mouth that had been polluted. The draught which had been consecrated in the blood of the Lord made its way from a body which had been desecrated. So great is the power of the Lord, so great the majesty. The secrets of the darkness are laid open under his light, and God's priest could not be deceived in crimes however hidden. Thus much concerning an infant, which had not the age to make known a crime which was committed on her by the act of others. . . .

5. When another person endeavoured, with desecrated hands, to open her ark (*arcani*), in which was the holy thing of the Lord (*Domini sanctum*), by fire rising from within was she frightened off from daring to touch it. Another person, also, who adventured secretly, after having defiled himself, when the sacrifice was celebrated by the priest, to accept his portion with the rest, was disabled from eating or handling the holy thing of the Lord; on opening his hands, he found that they contained a cinder. Thus, by the instance of one, it was shown that the Lord withdraws when He is denied, and that what unfit persons receive cannot profit them unto salvation, since the saving grace turns into ashes when holiness departs.

EPISTOLÆ.

Epis. iii. pp. 172, 173.

Cyprian to his brother Rogatianus, greeting.

6. We were much and painfully concerned, I and the *colleagues* who were with me, dearest brother, when your letter was read, in which you complained of your deacon, that, unmindful of your priestly station, and forgetting his own office and ministry, he had harassed you by his reproaches and insults. . . . But deacons should remember that the apostles, that is, bishops and rulers (*episcopos et præpositos*) the Lord chose; but deacons the apostles, after the Lord's ascension into heaven, constituted for themselves, as ministers to their episcopate and to the Church. If, then, we may presume in aught against God who maketh bishops then may deacons against us, by whom they are made. It behoves the deacon, then, of whom you wrote, to do penance for his presumption, and own the dignity of a priest, and with entire humility make satisfaction to the bishop his ruler (*præposito*).

Epis. iv. p. 174.

Cyprian, Cæcilius, Victor, Sedatus, Tertullus, with the presbyters who were present with them, to their brother Pomponius, greeting.

7. In the first place, therefore, dearest brother, in nothing must both rulers (*præpositis*, bishops and presbyters) and people labour more earnestly than that we who fear God should observe with all diligence the precepts of His holy discipline. . . . And as all ought by all means

to uphold discipline, much more is it the duty of *rulers* and deacons (*præpositos et diaconos*) to take heed to this, who are to give an example and pattern to others in their own conversation and conduct. For how can they take charge of the integrity and continence of others if corruptions and instruction in sin take their beginning in them?

Epis. v. p. 175.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his dearest brethren, greeting.

8. And since the state of the city does not suffer me to be with you at present, I entreat you by your faith and religion that you will perform there both your parts and mine, that so nothing be wanting either as regards discipline or diligence.

Epis. vi. p. 177.

9. Cyprian, addressing several laymen and women who were confessors, said: Having entered in the path of the Lord's favour, go on in the strength of the spirit to receive your crown, having the Lord your protector and guide, who said, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' O blessed prison on which your presence hath shed light! O blessed prison which sends the men of God to heaven!

Epis. viii. pp. 179, 180.

A letter from the clergy of Rome to the clergy of Carthage, concerning the retirement of Cyprian.

10. We have learnt from Crementius, the sub-deacon, who has come to us from you, that the blessed pope (*papam*), Cyprian, has for a certain reason retired. . . . And since it is incumbent on us, who seem to be rulers (*præpositi*), to keep the flock instead of the Shepherd, the same will be said to us, if we be found negligent, as to our predecessors, who were such negligent rulers (*præpositi*), that 'we have not sought that which was lost, and have not brought back that which was strayed, and have not bound up that which was broken; but have eaten their milk and clothed ourselves with their wool' (Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 3). Moreover, the Lord Himself, fulfilling what was written in the Law and the Prophets, teaches, saying, 'I am the good Shepherd, who lay down my life for my sheep; but he that is a hireling, and whose own the sheep are not, when he seeth the wolf coming, leaveth them and fleeth, and the wolf scattereth them.' To Simon, too, He thus speaks: 'Lovest thou me?' he answered, 'I do love Thee;' He saith unto him, 'Feed my sheep.' That this word was fulfilled, we know from the very act whereby he departed.

Epis. xiv. p. 192.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his brethren, greeting.

11. As regards the matter whereon our *fellow-presbyters*, Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, wrote to me, I could give no answer by myself; in that from the beginning of my episcopate I resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice (*consilio*) and the concurrence (*consensu*) of the people; but when, by

the grace of God, I shall have come to you, we will consult in common (*in commune*) concerning the things which either have been or are to be done, as mutual honour (*honor mutuus*) demands.

Epis. xvii. p. 196, 197.

Cyprian to his brethren of the laity.

12. The blessed martyrs have written to me about certain persons, requesting that their desires may be considered. When peace is first given to us all by the Lord, and we have begun to return to the Church, each case shall be examined, you being present and judging (*præsentibus et judicantibus vobis*).

Epis. xxix. pp. 208, 209.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his brethren, greeting.

13. You are to know, then, that I have made Saturus a reader, and Optatus the confessor a subdeacon; whom we had already, by common advice, made next to the clergy: having previously, on Easter-day, appointed Saturus to read once and again: and when, with the teaching presbyters (*presbyteris doctoribus*), we had made careful trial of the readers, we appointed Optatus from among them to be a teacher of the hearers; examining whether, in both, all things corresponded to what ought to be found in such as were being prepared for the clergy. I have done nothing new then in your absence; only, what had been long since begun by the common advice of us all has, on an urgent occasion, been set forth (*promotum est*).

Epis. xxx. p. 211.

To Pope Cyprian, the presbyters and deacons, abiding (or assembled, consistentes) at Rome, greeting.

14. But to return to the subject whence we have somewhat digressed, what sort of letters we sent to Sicily also you will find subjoined. On us, however, there lieth a further necessity for delaying this matter, in that, since the decease of Fabianus, of most honoured memory, on account of the difficulties of circumstances and the times, we have no bishop yet constituted (*constitutus*) who should moderate (*moderetur*) all these matters, and might, with authority and counsel (*consilio*), take account of those who have lapsed.

However, in a business of such vast magnitude, we agree with what you also have yourself fully expressed: that the peace of the church must be awaited, and then, in a full conference of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and confessors, together with those of the laymen who have stood, account be taken of the lapsed. For it seems to us both very invidious and oppressive to examine, without advice of many, what many have committed, and for one to pass sentence when so great a crime is known to have spread and extended itself among great numbers; neither indeed can a decree be firm which shall not appear to have the consent of numbers. . . . There is demanded then a largeness of counsel (*consilium*) proportioned to the wide extent of the sin. . . .

Those who strive to repair this damage should use all the management of counsels (*consiliorum moderamine*), lest anything being done as it ought not should be considered by all as not binding.

Epis. xxxiii. p. 216.

Cyprian to the lapsed.

15. Our Lord, whose precepts and warnings we ought to follow, determining the honour of a bishop and the constitution (*rationem*) of his Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter, 'I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and on this rock (*istam petram*) will I build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Thence the ordination of bishops, and the constitution (*ratio*) of the Church runs down through the course of times and successions, so that the Church should be constituted upon the bishops, and every act of the Church should be regulated by the same rulers. (*Inde per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrît, ut ecclesia super episcopos constitutur: et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur.*) Since then this is founded on the Divine law, I marvel that some have had the bold temerity to write to me, as if they were addressing letters in the name of a church; whereas a church is constituted in (*sit constitua in*) the bishop, and the clergy, and all who stand. Far be it that the mercy of the Lord and His invincible might, should allow the number of the lapsed to be called a church: whereas it is written, 'God is not the God of the dead but of the living.'

Epis. xxxiv. p. 217.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his brethren, greeting.

16. Meanwhile, if any rash and intemperate person, whether of our presbyters and deacons, or of strangers, shall presume to communicate with the lapsed before our sentence is given, let him be forbidden our communion, having hereafter to give account of his temerity before us all, when, by God's permission, we shall meet together. Ye desire me also to give my opinion concerning Philumenus and Fortunatus, subdeacons, and Favorinus, an acolyte, who withdrew in the middle of the persecution, and have now come back. In this matter I cannot make myself sole judge (another reading, 'I do not think I ought to give an opinion'), since many of the clergy are still absent, and have not thought right, even thus late, to return to their place. The case of each must be considered separately, and decided more fully, not only with my colleagues; but with all the people themselves (*cum collegis meis, sed et cum plebe ipsa universa*).

Epis. xxxv. p. 218.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons abiding at Rome, his brethren, greeting.

17. But if, after all, their temerity shall not be checked either by

mine or by your letters, and they (certain of the lapsed) will not obey wholesome counsel, we shall take those steps which the Lord, according to the Gospel, has commanded to be taken.—Matt. xviii. 17, Fell.

Epis. xxxviii. p. 222.

Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, and to the whole people, greeting.

18. In clerical ordinations, dearest brethren, we are accustomed to consult you beforehand, and by common advice to weigh the character and merits of each; but human testimonies need not be waited for when Divine suffrages (*divina suffragia*) preceded. . . .

Such an one merited a higher degree of clerical ordination and larger accessions, estimated, as he ought, not after his years, but his deserts. But for the present I thought right that he should begin with the office of reader. For nothing is more fitting for that voice, which has confessed the Lord with a glorious attestation, than to sound abroad in the solemn reading of the Divine word; than after lofty words, which delivered forth the witness of Christ, to read the Gospel of Christ, whence His witnesses are made; after the rack to come to the pulpit (*pulpitum*); in the one place to have been a spectacle to the multitude of Gentiles, in the other to be beheld by the brethren: there to have been heard amid the wondering amazement of the surrounding populace, here to be heard with the joy of the brotherhood.

Epis. xxxix. pp. 223, 224.

Cyprian to the presbyters, and deacons, and the whole people, his brethren, greeting.

19. Exult therefore, and rejoice with us, when you read our epistle, wherein we, I and my colleagues, who were with me, report to you (*referrimus ad vos*) that Celerinus our brother, renowned alike for his courage and his character, has been joined to our clergy, not by human suffrage (*suffragatione*) but by Divine favour. Who, when he hesitated to assent to the Church, was, by her own admonition and exhortation in a vision by night, compelled not to hold out against our persuasions. This man, coming to me, dearest brethren, with such vouchsafements from the Lord, illustrious by the testimony and wonder of the very person (Decius) who had persecuted him, what else was to be done than that he should be placed on the pulpit (*pulpitum*), that is, on the tribunal of the Church; that, placed on the eminence of a loftier station, and conspicuous to the whole people (*plebæ universæ*); conformably to the brightness of his honour, he may read the precepts and the Gospel of the Lord, which he courageously and faithfully follows? Understand then that they are for the present appointed readers, because it was fitting that the 'candle' should be 'set in a candlestick,' whence 'it may give light to all,' and their glorious countenances be placed on a higher station (pulpit), where, beheld by all the surrounding brotherhood, they may to the beholders furnish an incitement to glory. But understand that I have already designed them for the honour of the presbytery, that they may be honoured with the same allowances as the presbyters, and share the monthly divisions in equal quantities, here-

after to sit (*sessuri*) with us in their advanced and strengthened years.

Epis. xliii. pp. 227-229.

Cyprian to the whole people, greeting.

. . . . 20. Certain presbyters, mindful of their old conspiracy, and retaining their ancient venom against my episcopate, yea against your suffrage (*suffragium*) and the sanction of God, renew their old attack upon us, and with their wonted treachery again resume their unholy machinations. And indeed by God's Providence, when we neither wished nor desired it, nay even pardoned them and were silent, they have received the punishment they deserved, so that, not ejected by us, they have of their own accord ejected themselves; they have, from their own consciences, passed sentence upon themselves; in accordance with your Divine suffrages (*vestra divina suffragia*) the conspirators and wicked men have voluntarily expelled themselves from the Church. . . . The same method now, the same overthrow of the faith, is anew brought about by the five presbyters joined with Felicissimus, to the ruin of salvation; that God be not entreated, nor he who has denied Christ seek mercy of the same Christ whom he has denied; that, after a fault committed, penitence also be taken away; the Lord be not appeased through the bishops and priests: but that, the priests of the Lord being abandoned, a new tradition of unholy institution should rise up against ecclesiastical discipline. . . .

21. Exile for now two years suffices not, nor the mournful separation from your presence and sight, perpetual sorrow and mourning, which, in my solitude without you, rend me asunder with continual lamentation; nor my tears flowing by day and night, that the priest whom *you made* (*fecistis*) with so great love and zeal is not allowed even yet to greet you, not even yet to throw himself into your embraces. . . . There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair, founded by the word of the Lord on Peter (*Petrum*). Another altar cannot be set up, nor a new priesthood made, beside the one altar and one priesthood. . . . Let them remain alone without the Church who have withdrawn from a church. Let them alone be without *bishops* who have rebelled against the *bishops*. Let them alone undergo the punishment of their conspiracy who formerly, according to your suffrages (*vestra suffragia*), now according to God's judgments, have deserved to undergo the sentence of their own conspiracy and malignity. . . . This is the latest and last temptation of this persecution; which also shall, by the protection of the Lord, soon pass away, so that after the Passover-day I shall be again restored to you with my colleagues; in whose presence we shall be able to arrange and perfect the things that are to be done, both according to *your judgment* and the *common counsel* (*consilium*) of us all, as may at once be agreeable. But if anyone refusing to do penance, and to make satisfaction to God, shall go over to the party of Felicissimus and his satellites, and shall join himself to the heretical faction, let him know that he cannot afterwards

return to the Church and communicate with *the bishops* and people (*episcopis et plebe*) of Christ.

Epis. xlv. pp. 231, 232.

Cyprian to Cornelius, his brother, greeting.

22. Mindful also of the common honour, and having regard to the gravity and sanctity of the priesthood, we rejected those bitter accusations which the adverse party had heaped together in a libel transmitted to us; as well considering and weighing that in so large and solemn an assembly of brethren, when the *priests* of God were sitting together (*considentibus*), and the altar was set, such things ought neither to be read nor heard. . . . Wherefore, dearest brother, when such things were written to me concerning you and *your fellow-presbyters* sitting (*considentibus*) with you, in a tone of religious simplicity, not ringing with the yells of maledictions and revilings, I ordered them to be read to the clergy and people. . . . For this, brother, very especially we both do and ought to labour; that we strive to hold fast, as much as we can, the unity appointed by the Lord, and through the apostles delivered to us, *their successors*, and, as much as in us lies, that we gather into the Church the straying and wandering sheep, which the froward faction of some, and the temptation of heresy, separate from their mother.

Epis. xlvi. p. 234.

Cyprian to his brother Cornelius, greeting.

23. The Lord, who vouchsafes to choose and appoint priests for himself in his own Church, protecting them when chosen and appointed by his good will and succour, inspiring (*inspirans*) them in their government, &c.

Epis. lv. p. 243.

Cyprian to Antonianus, his brother, greeting.

24. And he was made (*factus est*) bishop by very many (sixteen) of our colleagues then present in the city of Rome, who sent to us letters, touching his ordination (*ordinatione*), remarkable for their high and honourable testimony and praise. Cornelius, moreover, was made (*factus est*) bishop by the sanction of God and his Christ, by the testimony (*testimonio*) of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage (*suffragio*) of the people who were then present, and by the college of ancient priests and good men; at a time when no one had been made before him, when the place of Fabian, that is, when the place of Peter and the rank of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant.

Epis. lix. pp. 260-262, 267, 268.

Cyprian to his brother Cornelius, greeting.

25. How can they escape the censure of the Lord the avenger who heap up such charges not on brethren only but even on priests (*sacerdotibus*), to whom so much honour is vouchsafed by the favour of God, that whosoever should not obey (*obtemperaret*) His priest and him who judges here for the time (*ad tempus*) is to be instantly put to death?

The Lord God speaks in the book of Deuteronomy, saying, 'The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest or the judge, whosoever he shall be in those days, that man shall die : &c.' —Deut. xvii. 12.

. . . . 26. For this has been the very source whence heresies and schisms have taken their rise, that the priest of God is not obeyed (*obtemperatur*), nor is it considered that there is one priest for the time (*ad tempus*) in a church, and a judge for the time (*ad tempus*) in Christ's stead; whom if the whole brotherhood would obey, according to the Divine injunctions, no one would stir in anything against the college of priests; no one after the Divine sanction (*divinum iudicium*) had, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of our fellow-bishops, would make himself a judge, not of a bishop, but of God; no one would by a rent of unity rend asunder the Church of Christ, no one, pleasing himself and swelling with pride, would found a new heresy separate and apart, unless any be of such sacrilegious temerity, and of so abandoned mind, as to think that a priest is made without the judgment of God.

27. Whereas the Lord says in His Gospel, 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them does not fall on the ground without the will of your Father.' (Matt. x. 29.) When he saith that not even the least things are done without the will of God, does anyone think that the highest and chief things are done in the Church of God without either God's knowledge or permission? And that priests, that is, His stewards (*dispensatores*), are not ordained by His decision? This is not to have that faith by which we live; this is not to give honour to God, by whose will and arbitrement we know and believe that all things are ruled and governed. But (I speak on provocation, I speak in sorrow, I speak on compulsion) when a bishop is put in the place of one deceased, when in time of peace he is chosen by the *suffrages of the whole people*, when in persecution he is protected by the aid of God, faithfully united to all his colleagues, approved by his own people in the exercise of his episcopate for now four years. . . . After all this, they yet, in addition, having had a pseudo-bishop ordained for them by heretics, dare to set sail, and to carry letters from schismatic and profane persons to the chair of Peter, and to the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise, remembering not that they are the same Romans whose faith has been commended by the apostle, to whom faithlessness can have no access. Already has their cause been heard; already has sentence been given concerning them; nor does it accord with the authority of priests to incur blame for the levity of a changeable and inconstant mind, since the Lord teaches us and says, 'Let your communications be, yea, yea, nay, nay.' (Matt. v. 37.) If the number of those who judged in their cause last year be computed with the presbyters and deacons, more then assisted at the examination and judgment than these same persons now amount to who appear to be joined to Fortunatus. . . .

28. In the dignity of a Catholic Church, dearest brother, is the faithful and incorrupt *majesty* (*majestas*) of the people placed within it,

is the priestly authority and power also to be therefore laid aside, that those who are set without the Church may say they wish to judge a ruler in the Church? heretics, a Christian? wounded, the sound? maimed, the whole? fallen, one who standeth? criminals, their judge? sacrilegious, a priest? What remains but that the Church give way to the Capitol, and that the priests withdrawing and removing the altar (*altare*) of the Lord, the images and idols with their altars (*aras*) pass into the sacred and venerable consistory of the clergy, and a wider and fuller scope be afforded Novatian for declaiming against us and reviling us? Now, though I am aware, dearest brother, that, by reason of the mutual love which we owe and manifest towards each other, you always read my epistles to the very eminent clergy who there *preside* (*præsidenti*) with you, and to your most holy and flourishing people, yet now I both exhort and beg of you to do at my request what on other occasions you do of your own accord and of courtesy, and read this my epistle, that so, if any contagion of poisoned language or pestilent reports has crept in amongst the brethren, it may be wholly removed from their ears and hearts, and the sound and sincere affection of the good my be cleansed from every taint of heretical detraction.

Epis. lxi. p. 272.

Cyprian, with his colleagues, to his brother Lucius, greeting.

. . . . 29. We understand, dearest brother, and see clearly with the whole light of our heart, the salutary and holy purposes of the Divine Majesty, whence that unlooked-for persecution lately arose amongst you, whence the secular power suddenly burst forth against the Church of Christ, the bishop and blessed martyr Cornelius, and you all: that, for the confounding and beating down of heretics, the Lord might show which is the Church, who its one bishop, chosen by a Divine ordination (*divina ordinatione delectus*); which *presbyters are joined with the bishop in priestly honour* (*sacerdotali honore conjuncti*); which is the united and true people of Christ knit together by the love of the Lord's flock; who they were whom the enemy would attack, who, on the other hand, they whom the devil would spare as being his own.

Epis. lxvi. pp. 284-286.

Cyprian, who is also Thascius, to his brother Florentinus, who is also Pupianus, greeting.

30. I had thought, brother, that you were now at length turned to repentance, for having rashly in times past either listened or given credit to things concerning me so abominable, so base, so execrable even to Gentiles. But even now I perceive by your letter that you are still the same as before, that you believe the same things of me, and persist in what you believed; and lest perchance the excellence of your lustre as a martyr might be tarnished by communion with me, that you are enquiring diligently into my conduct, and, after God the judge, who maketh priests, are desirous of judging, I say not of me (for of what account am I?) but of the judgment of God and of Christ. This is not to believe in God, this is to be a rebel against Christ, and against

His Gospel, that whereas he says, 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? Yet neither of them falls to the ground without the will of the Father.' (Matt. x. 29.) And His majesty and truth prove that even the smallest things do not come to pass without the cognisance and permission of God, you suppose that the priests of God are, without His cognisance, ordained in the Church? For to believe that those who are ordained are unworthy and incestuous, what else is it but to believe that not by God, or through God, are His priests constituted in the Church?

31. But as to thy saying, that priests should be humble because both the Lord and His apostles were humble, not only all the brethren but the Gentiles also very well know and love my humility; and you too once knew it and loved it, while you were yet in the Church and held communion with me. But which of us is far from humility: I, who daily serve the brethren, and with kindness and good wishes and joy receive all that come to the Church, or you who set yourself up as a bishop of a bishop, and as a judge of the judge for *the time* (*ad tempus*) appointed by God? Whereas the Lord God says in Deuteronomy xvii. 12, &c. . . . Unless perhaps I were a priest to you before the persecution, when you held communion with me, but after the persecution I ceased to be a priest! For the persecution coming raised you to the highest eminence of martyrdom, but me it sunk with the weight of prescription, when it was publicly proclaimed, 'If anyone holdeth or possesseth any of the goods of Cæcilius Cyprian, a bishop of the Christians;' so that even they who believed not in God appointing a bishop might yet believe the devil proscribing a bishop. Nor do I boast of these things, but bring them forth with sorrow, since you set yourself up as a judge of God and Christ, who says to the apostles, and thereby to all rulers (*præpositis*), who, by vicarious ordination, are successors of the apostles, 'He that heareth you heareth me; and he that heareth me heareth Him that sent me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me.'—Luke x. 16.

32. For thence have schisms and heresies arisen, and do arise, in that a bishop who is one and presides over (*præest*) a church is, by the proud presumption of some persons, held in contempt, and a man honoured by the favour of God is by man deemed unworthy. For what swelling of pride is this, what arrogance of spirit, what inflation of the mind, to call rulers and priests to one's cognisance, and if I am not cleared in your sight, and absolved by your sentence, lo! for these six years past, neither has the brotherhood (*fraternitas*) had a bishop, nor the people a ruler, nor the flock a shepherd, nor the Church a governor (*gubernatorem*), nor Christ an overseer (*antistitem*), nor God a priest! Pupianus must come in aid, and pronounce sentence, and accept the judgment of God and Christ, lest so large a number of believers as have been summoned away under my rule should appear to have departed without hope of salvation and peace; and the multitude of new believers be adjudged to have attained no grace of baptism and of the Holy Spirit by my ministry, lest the peace granted and communion allowed, on our examination, to so many lapsed and penitents, be annulled by

the authority of your judgment. Vouchsafe at length and deign to pronounce on us, and to confirm our episcopate by the authority of your hearing, that God and His Christ may give you thanks, for that through you an overseer and ruler (*antistes et rector*) has been restored as well to their altar as to their people. . . . Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop; and if any be not with the bishop that he is not in the Church. . . . Wherefore, brother, if you will consider the majesty of God who ordains priests; if you will at length have respect to Christ, who by His will, and fiat, and presence, governs *rulers* themselves, and the Church with the *rulers*; if you will judge of the innocence of priests, not according to human resentments, but the Divine judgment; if you begin, though late, to do penance for your temerity and pride and insolence; if you will give most ample satisfaction to God and His Christ, whom I serve, and to whom, with pure and untainted mouth, I unceasingly offer sacrifice, as well in persecution as in peace: we may have some consideration of communion with you, retaining, however, respect and awe of the Divine censure; so that I should first consult my Lord, whether by His own manifestation and admonition He would allow peace to be granted to you, and that you should be admitted to the communion of the Church.

33. For I remember what has been already shown to me, yea what has been enjoined by the authority of our Lord and God to an obedient and fearing servant, who, among other things which he vouchsafed to manifest and reveal, added this also, '*Whoso therefore believeth not Christ appointing a priest shall hereafter begin to believe him avenging a priest.*' Although I am aware that to some persons dreams appear ridiculous, and visions trifling, yet assuredly it is to such as had rather believe against priests than believe a priest.

Epis. lxvii. pp. 287-289, 291.

Cyprian (and many others) to Felix the presbyter, and the people abiding at Legio and Asturica, also to Lælius the deacon, and the people abiding at Emerita, brethren in the Lord, greeting.

. . . . 34. Nor let the people flatter themselves as if they can be free from the contagion of the offence, when communicating with a priest who is a sinner, and lending their consent to the unrighteous and unlawful episcopate of their ruler, since the Divine censure threatens by the Prophet Hosea, and says, 'Their sacrifices shall be as the bread of mourning; all that eat thereof shall be polluted' (Hos. ix. 4): plainly teaching and showing that all are altogether bound by sin who have been polluted by the sacrifices of a profane and unrighteous priest. This also we find manifested in Numbers, where Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, in opposition to Aaron the priest, claimed to themselves the privilege of sacrificing. There also the Lord commanded by Moses that the people should be separated from them, lest, joined with the wicked, they also should be swept away by the same wickedness. 'Depart,' he says, 'from the tents of these hardened men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye perish together in their sins.' Wherefore a

people which obeyeth the precepts of the Lord, and feareth God, ought to separate themselves from a ruler who is a sinner, nor mingle themselves up with, the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; especially since they themselves have the power (*potestatem*) either of choosing (*eligendi*) worthy priests or rejecting the unworthy. This, too, has been derived from Divine authority, that a priest should be chosen in presence of the people, in sight of all, and be approved worthy and fit by public sentence and testimony; as in Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, saying, 'Take Aaron thy brother and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto the mount, before all the congregation; and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son, and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.' (Numb. xx. 25, 26.) God commands a priest to be appointed before all the congregation, that is, he instructs and shows us that the ordinations of priests ought only to be made with the knowledge of the people standing by, that so by their presence either the crimes of the wicked may be detected or the merits of the good proclaimed, and so the ordination be right and lawful, as having been examined with the suffrage and judgment of all. This is afterwards observed in the Acts of the Apostles, in accordance with the Divine pattern, when Peter speaks to the people of ordaining an apostle in the room of Judas: 'Peter, it saith, stood up in the midst of the disciples, but the whole number of them was about a hundred and twenty.' And we find that the apostles observed this not only in the ordination of bishops and priests but also in that of deacons, concerning which, too, it is written in their Acts, 'Then the Twelve called the whole multitude of the disciples, and said unto them.' This surely was, therefore, done so diligently and carefully, the whole people being called together, that no unworthy person might creep into the ministry of the altar, or to the priestly rank. . . . Wherefore the practice, received from Divine tradition and apostolic observance, must be diligently upheld and kept, which is also kept by us and by almost all the provinces, namely, that to the due solemnisation of ordinations all the neighbouring bishops of the same province should meet together among the people for whom a ruler is ordained, and the bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, who know most fully the lives of each, and are thoroughly acquainted with the character of everyone from his conversation. This, too, we see was done among you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, so that by the suffrages of the whole brotherhood, and by the judgment of the bishops who had met together in their presence, and who had written to you concerning him, the episcopate was conferred upon him, and hands were laid on him in the room of Basilides. . . . Wherefore, dearest brethren, we alike commend and approve the religious anxiety of your integrity and faith, and, as far as we are able, exhort you by our epistles not to mingle in unholy communion with profane and polluted priests, but with religious awe uphold the firmness of your faith steadfast and sincere.

Epis. lxi. pp. 296, 297.

Cyprian to his son Magnus, greeting.

35. And yet those (Corah, Dathan, and Abiram) had made no schism, nor gone without, in shameless and hostile rebellion against the priests of God; which these now do who, rending the Church and rebels against the peace and unity of Christ, attempt to set up a chair for themselves, and to assume the primacy (*cathedram sibi constituere et primatum assumere*), and to claim the privilege of baptising and offering. . . . For whereas in baptism all have their sins forgiven, the Lord shows and declares in his Gospel that sins can be remitted by those only who have the Holy Ghost. For after His Resurrection, when He sendeth forth His disciples, He speaks to them and says, 'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto them; and whosoever ye retain, they shall be retained.' In which place He shows, that he only can baptise and give remission of sins who has the Holy Ghost.

Epis. lxxi. pp. 302-304.

Cyprian to Quintus, his brother, greeting.

36. Lucian, our *fellow-presbyter*, has reported to me, dearest brother, that you have expressed a desire that I should make known to you our opinion as to those who seem to have been baptised by heretics and schismatics. Whereon that you may know that very many of our fellow-bishops, with our fellow-presbyters, decreed lately in council, I send you a copy of our epistle. For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and on whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him about circumcision, claim or assume anything insolently and arrogantly to himself; so as to say that he held the primacy (*primatum*), and should rather be obeyed of those lately and newly come.

Epis. lxxiii. pp. 308, 309.

Cyprian to Jubaianus, his brother, greeting.

. . . 37. The subject of profane and adulterous baptism the Prophet Jeremiah sharply touches on, saying, 'Wherefore do they who afflict me prevail against me? My wound is hard; whence shall I be healed? It has become unto me like deceitful water, that be not sure.' The Holy Ghost by the Prophet maketh mention of 'deceitful water that be not sure.' What is this deceitful and faithless water? Surely that which assumes the lying resemblance of baptism, and mocks the grace of faith by a feigned and shadowy likeness. . . .

38. But it is manifest where and by whom remission of sins can be given, that, namely, which is given in baptism. For to Peter first, on whom He built the Church, and from whom He appointed and showed that unity should spring, the Lord gave that power, that 'whatsoever he should loose on earth should be loosed in heaven.' And after His Resurrection also, He, speaking to the apostles, saying, 'As my

Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed upon them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' Whence we learn that it is not allowed to any to baptise, or to confer the remission of sins, except to rulers within the Church (*in ecclesia præpositis*, 'who are set over the Church'—*Library of the Fathers*), and who are appointed by the law of the Gospel and the ordinance of the Lord; but without, nothing can be bound or loosed, where there is no one who can either bind or loose. Nor do we propound this, dearest brother, without the authority of Divine Scripture, when we say that all things are Divinely ordered by a certain law and peculiar appointment; and that no one can usurp to himself, against bishops and priests (*episcopos et sacerdotes*), what is not in his own right and power. . . . But whereas some allege that those baptised in Samaria were not rebaptised, but that, when the Apostles Peter and John came, received imposition of hands only, that they might receive the Holy Ghost; see, dearest brother, that this instance evidently no way pertaineth to the present case. For they who had believed in Samaria had believed with a true faith; and within the Church which is one, and to which alone it is given to confer the grace of baptism and to loose sins; they had been baptised by Philip the Deacon, whom the same apostles had sent. Wherefore, inasmuch as they had obtained the legitimate baptism of the Church, it was not fitting that they should be baptised again; but only what was lacking was done by Peter and John, namely, that prayer being made for them, with laying on of hands, the Holy Spirit should be invoked and poured upon them. Which now also is done among us, those baptised in the Church being brought to the rulers (*præpositis*, 'bishops'—*ibid.*) of the Church, and by our prayer and laying on of hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and are perfected with the seal of the Lord.

Epis. lxxiv. pp. 317, 318.

Cyprian to his brother Pompeius, greeting.

. . . . 39. But for religious and simple minds, there is a short method whereby to put off error, and to discover and extract the truth. For if we return to the head and original of Divine tradition, human error ceases; and having seen into the grounds of the heavenly sacraments, whatever lay hid under the gloom and cloud of darkness is laid open to the light of truth. If a conduit conveying water, which before flowed copiously and abundantly, should suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain, that there the reason of the failure may be ascertained, whether the springs having failed, the water has dried up at the fountain-head; or whether, flowing thence in unimpaired fulness, it is stopped in the middle of its course; that so, if through the defects of leaks or obstructions in the conduit the water supplied have been hindered from flowing in a continuous and unbroken stream, then, the conduit being repaired and strengthened, the water, kept together, may be supplied for the use and consumption of the city in the same abundance and fulness wherewith it issues from the fountain?

40. This, then, it now behoves the priests of God to do who keep the Divine commandments, that, if the truth has in any respect tottered and faltered, we should go back to our Lord, as our Head, and to the evangelic and apostolic tradition; that so the grounds of our action might spring thence, whence both our order (*ordo*) and origin took its rise.

De Unctione Chrismatis.—Commonly ascribed to Cyprian; at the end of his works, p. 81.

41. And Christ is so called from anointing (*chrismate*); therefore when God anoints with that oil of singular excellence, and so many as are participators of it become partners as well of the anointing as of the name, and are called Christians from Christ, as Christ is their leader, they become governors and leaders, being ordained of God the priests of holiness.

12.

FIRMILIAN, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Flourished about A.D. 250.

Cypriani Opera, pp. 319, 320, 322, 324, 326, 327.

Firmilian to Cyprian, his brother in the Lord, greeting.

. . . . 1. It is of necessity arranged among us that we, elders (*seniores*) and rulers (*præpositi*), meet every year to set in order the things entrusted to our charge: that, if there be any matters of graver moment, they may be settled by common advice. . . . Moreover, the several other heretics, if they have separated themselves from the Church of God, can have no power or grace (*potestatis aut gratiæ*); for that all power and grace is placed in the church where the presbyters preside (*præsident majores natu*), who also possess the power of baptising and of laying on of hands and of ordaining. For as a heretic cannot lawfully ordain, or lay on hands, so neither can he baptise, or do any holy or spiritual act, in that he is a stranger to spiritual and deifying sanctity. . . .

2. But how great his error, how exceeding his blindness, who says that remission of sins can be given in the synagogues of heretics, and abideth not on the foundation of the one Church, which was once fixed by Christ on a rock, may be hence learnt, that Christ said to Peter alone, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;' and again in the Gospel, when Christ breathed on the apostles only, saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' The power then of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishops who succeeded them by vicarious ordination. . . . We have judged that those also are to be accounted unbaptised who had been baptised by such as had before been bishops in the Catholic Church, and afterwards assumed to themselves the powers of their clerical ordination. And this is observed amongst us that whosoever came to us, having been wetted (*tincti*) by them, are, as aliens and having obtained

nothing, baptised by us with the one true baptism of the Catholic Church. . . . And yet is not Stephen (bishop of Rome) ashamed to give support to such against the Church, and for the upholding of heretics to divide the brotherhood; nor, further, to call Cyprian 'false Christ,' and 'false apostle,' and 'deceitful worker.' He, conscious that all these marks are in himself, has been beforehand, and falsely objected to another what himself deserved.

13.

THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE, ETC. CYPRIAN AND CLARUS, BISHOP OF MASCULA.

A.D. 256.

Cyprian Opera, pp. 158, 166.

1. When on the first of September many bishops from the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, with the presbyters and deacons, had met together at Carthage, a great part of the laity being also present, and when the letter addressed by Jubaianus to Cyprian, as also the answer of Cyprian to Jubaianus, on the subject of baptising heretics, had been read, Cyprian said. . . .

2. It remains that we severally declare our opinion on this same subject, judging no one, nor depriving anyone of the right of communion if he differ from us. For no one of us setteth himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying, inasmuch as every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another. But we must all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has the power both of setting us in the government of his Church and of judging of our acts therein. (Eighty-six others express their opinion.)

CLARUS OF MASCULA, the seventy-ninth in order, said:—

3. The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is plain, when he sent his apostles, and entrusted to them alone the power given to Himself by His Father, whom we have succeeded, governing the Church of the Lord with the same power, and baptising such as believe. Wherefore heretics, who, being without, have neither power nor the Church of Christ, can baptise no one with his baptism.

14.

NOVATIAN, PRESBYTER OF CARTHAGE, AND RIVAL BISHOP TO CORNELIUS OF ROME.

Flourished about A.D. 251.

De Trinitate, cap. xii.—*In the Writings of Tertullian*, p. 630.

1. 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and ye shall call his name Immanuel.' (Is. vii. 14.) Which interpreted is God with us; so Christ himself said, 'Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of

the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Therefore God is with us, but much more also is He within us. Christ with us, whose name, therefore, is God; with us, because HE is with us.

Ibid. cap. xxix. pp. 646, 647.

2. But for the order of the constitution and the authority of the faith, the words and writings of the Lord being digested, He admonishes us, after these things, to believe also in the Holy Ghost, formerly promised to the Church, but at stated opportunities given again. For it was repromised by the Prophet Joel, but by Christ given again. 'In the last days,' said He, 'I will pour out my spirit upon my servants and upon my handmaids.' (ii. 28, 29.) But the Lord said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 22, 23.) But the Holy Ghost the Lord Christ calls the Comforter, and pronounces that He is the Spirit of Truth, which was not new in the Gospel, nor newly given, for He Himself accused the people in the Prophets.

15.

LACTANTIUS.

Flourished about A.D. 303.

Divinarum Institutionum lib. iii. *De Falsa Sapientia*, cap. xxvi.
pp. 293, 294.

1. But the precepts of God, because they are simple and true, daily experience demonstrates how great an influence they have on the minds of men. Give to me a man who is angry, furious, and passionate, and with a very few words of God I will make him quiet as a sheep. Give to me one who is covetous, greedy, and grasping, and I will restore him to you liberal, and giving bountifully with full hands. Give to me one who is fearful of pain and death; immediately he shall contemn the crosses, the fires, and the bull. Give to me one who is libidinous, adulterous, and unclean; you shall see him sober, chaste, and continent. Give to me one who is cruel and bloodthirsty; immediately his fury shall be changed into true clemency. Give to me one who is unjust, unwise, wicked; he shall presently become just, and prudent, and innocent. For by one laver all wickedness is abolished. So great is the force of Divine Wisdom that, infused into the breast of man, it expels folly, the mother of faults, at once with one stroke.

Ibid. lib. iv. *De Vera Sapientia et Religione*, cap. xxi. pp. 379, 380.

2. These commands concerning the Gospel and the preaching of His name being given to His disciples, a cloud suddenly surrounded Him, and bore him to heaven on the fortieth day after His Passion, as Daniel had predicted, saying, 'And behold in the clouds of heaven the Son of Man coming, went even to the ancient of days.' But His disciples being dispersed through the provinces, placed the foundations of the Church everywhere, doing great things in the name of their Lord God, and miracles almost incredible, because, in departing, He had endowed them

with virtue and power by which the system of the new annunciation might be established and confirmed; and He also opened to them all future events, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome, and this preaching being written has remained a memorial.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. xxx. pp. 406-408.

3. But those whose faith is easily moved, since they pretended that they knew and worshipped God, seeking only that they might grow in wealth and honour, aimed at being the chief of the priests (*maximum sacerdotium*), and being overcome by the more worthy, they prefer to secede with their voters (*suffragatoribus*) than to endure those men as their rulers (*præpositos*) whom they themselves desired to govern. . . .

4. For when they are called Novatians, Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or the like, they cease to be Christians, who, bearing the name of Christ, have assumed human and external appellations. The only Catholic Church, therefore, is that which retains true worship and service of God; this is the well-spring of truth, the dwelling-place of faith, the temple of God, into which whosoever entereth not, and from which whosoever departeth, is without all hope of life and eternal salvation. But because every assembly of heretics think themselves principally to be Christians, and that theirs is the Catholic Church, we must know that that is the true Church wherein there is confession and repentance, which wholesomely cures the sins and the wounds to which the frailty of the flesh is subject.

16.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Flourished about A.D. 315.

Historia Ecclesiastica of Philo, lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 106.

1. Besides this, he (Philo) describes the mode of government (*προστασία*) of those to whom are committed the ecclesiastical services, those of the diaconate (*διακονίας*), and also those of the presidency of the episcopate (*ἐπισκοπῆς*), as the highest.

The Writings of Papias, lib. iii. cap. xxxix. pp. 210, 211.

2. He (Papias) states in the following words: 'But I shall not regret to subjoin to my interpretations, also for your benefit, whatsoever I have at any time accurately ascertained and treasured up in my memory, as I have received it from the *presbyters* (*πρεσβυτέρων*), and have recorded it in order to give additional confirmation to the truth, by my testimony. For I have never, like many, delighted to hear those that tell many things, but those that teach the truth; neither those that record foreign precepts, but those that are given from the Lord, to our faith, and that came from the truth itself. But if I met with anyone who had been a follower of the *presbyters* anywhere, I made it a point to enquire what were the declarations of the *presbyters*; what was said by Andrew, Peter, or Philip; what by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord.'

Of Fabianus, who was appointed Bishop of Rome, lib. vi. cap. xxix.
pp. 439, 440.

3. Anteros also was succeeded by Fabianus, after having been engaged in the service about a month. It is said that Fabianus had come to Rome with some others from the country, and staying there, in the most remarkable manner, by divine and celestial grace, was advanced to be one of the candidates for the office. When all the brethren had assembled in the church for the purpose of ordaining him that should succeed in the episcopate (χειροτονίας ἐνεκεν μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπήν), though there were very many eminent and illustrious men in the estimation of many, Fabianus being present, no one thought of any other man. They relate, further, that a dove suddenly flying down from on high, sat upon his head, exhibiting a scene like that of the Holy Spirit descending upon our Saviour in the form of a dove. Upon this the whole body exclaimed, with all eagerness and with one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy; and without delay they took and placed him upon the throne of the bishop.

Life of Constantine, lib. iii. cap. vii. pp. 914, 915.
(*Relating to the Council of Nice.*)

4. In effect, the most distinguished of God's ministers (leitourgῶν) from all the churches which abounded in Europe, Africa, and Asia, were here assembled. And a single house of prayer, as though Divinely enlarged, sufficed to contain at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop, too, was present at this council, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished ministers; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were notwithstanding in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The ruler (προεστῶς) who was of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age, but his presbyters were present and supplied his place.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 916.

5. Now the defect of that assembly was that not all who composed it were ministers of God; but in the present company the number of bishops exceeded two hundred and fifty, while that of the presbyters and deacons in their train, and the crowd of acolytes and other attendants, was altogether beyond computation.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xiii. pp. 920, 921.

6. As soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the Latin tongue, which another present rendered into Greek, he gave permission to the presidents (προέδροις) of the council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbours, who defended them-

selves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 921.

7. Those points also which were sanctioned by the resolution of the whole body were committed to writing, and received the signature of each several member.

17.

ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

Flourished about A.D. 326.

Epist. ad Serapion. tom. i., pp. 193, 194.

1. So it is written in the one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm, 'The Lord looseth the fettered ones; the Lord illuminates the blind.' (Vs. 7, Sep. ver.) And when the Spirit was given to us the Saviour said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' (John xx. 22.) God is in us, for so John wrote, 'If we love one another God dwelleth in us.' (1 John iv. 12.)

Ad Episcopos Ægypti Libyæ, Epist. Encyclica contra Arianos.

Oratio I. tom. i. p. 291.

2. Had these expositions of theirs [the Arians] proceeded from the orthodox [here he gives a list of apostolical bishops], with others of the same sentiments as these, there would then have been nothing to suspect in their statements, for the minds of apostolical men are sincere and incapable of fraud. But when they proceed from those who are hired to advocate the cause of heresy, and since, according to the Divine proverb, 'The words of the wicked are to lie in wait, and the mouth of the wicked poureth out evil things, and the counsels of the wicked are deceit,' it becomes us to watch, and be sober, brethren, as the Lord hath said, lest any deception arise from subtlety of speech and craftiness; lest anyone come and pretend to say, 'I preach Christ,' and after a little while he be found to be antichrist. These indeed are antichrists whosoever come to you in the cause of the Arian fanaticism.

Contra Arianos, Oratio II. tom. i. p. 355.

3. He gave the Spirit as His own to the saints, and so also now He became man, sanctifying all by the Spirit, and He says to His disciples, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' So also He gave to Moses and the other seventy.

Sancta Synodos Alexandriæ ex Ægypto, &c. tom. i. p. 732.

4. Now such a person is the notorious Ischyras, who was never ordained (or elected, *χειροτονηθείς*) by the Church, and when Alexander admitted the presbyters that had been constituted (*κατασταθέντας*) by

Melitius, he was not even numbered amongst them, and therefore was not constituted from that quarter. By what means, then, did Ischyra become a presbyter? By whom was he constituted? By Colluthos? for this is the only supposition that remains. But it is well known, and no one has any doubt about the matter, that Colluthos died a presbyter, and that every hand of his was invalid, and that all who were constituted by him, in his schism, became laymen.

Epist. ad Solit. Vitam Agentes, tom. i. pp. 845, 846.

5. One might look upon their proceedings as a comedy which they are performing on the stage, in which the pretended bishops are actors, and Constantius the performer of their behests, who makes promises to them, as Herod did to the daughter of Herodias, and they, dancing before him, accomplish, through false accusations, the banishment and death of the true believers in the Lord. . . . Who is there among the servants of Jesus Christ that these rebels have not calumniated, or whom they have not laid snares for? Who is there that Constantius has not banished upon their false accusations; he who has always so readily hearkened to them, who has always so constantly refused to hear whatsoever should be said against them, and who never refused to believe all that they have said against others? Where nowadays shall we find a Church that worships Jesus Christ with liberty? If churches have any piety, they are in danger; if they dissemble, they are always in fear. The emperor has filled all with wickedness and hypocrisy, as far as things depend on him. I know that there are everywhere many persons who have piety and a love of Jesus Christ, but in what place soever they are, they are forced either to conceal themselves, as the prophets and as the great Elijah, till they find some faithful Obadiah, who should hide them in a cave, or of themselves go to dwell in the deserts. For it is most true that these wicked men make use of the same calumnies against the good that Jezebel made use of against Naboth, and the Jews against Jesus Christ. And the emperor, who stirs up himself to defend heresy and to overthrow the truth, as Ahab overthrew Naboth's vineyard, refused nothing to the desires of these heretics, because these heretics also spoke to him according to his desire.

Ad Ubique Orthodoxos Epist. tom. i. pp. 944, 945.

6. For even if there had been any complaint generally prevailing against me, it was not an Arian, or one professing Arian doctrines, that ought to have been chosen to supersede me, but according to the ecclesiastical canons, and according to the saying of Paul when the people were gathered together, and the spirit of them that appoint with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. [The Latin is, *Congregatis populis una cum Spiritu Sancto, qui episcopum constituent*; the people being assembled together with the Holy Spirit, who appoint a bishop.] All things ought to have been enquired into and transacted canonically, the laity and clergy being present who demanded the change; and not that a person brought from a distance by Arians, as if making a traffic of the name of bishop, should with the support and strong arm of heathen magistrates

thrust himself upon those who neither demanded nor desired his presence, nor indeed knew anything of what had been done. Such proceedings tend to the dissolution of all ecclesiastical rules, and compel the heathen to blaspheme, and to suspect that the appointments (*αἱ καταστάσεις*) are not made according to a Divine rule, but as a matter of power and commerce. Such was the notable appointment (*κατάστασις*) of Gregory, brought about by the Arians.

Epist. ad Dracontium, tom. i. pp. 955, 958, 959.

7. But if the regulation of the churches is not agreeable to thee, or thou dost not think that the function of a bishop is a reward, and dost despise the Saviour who instituted it, I entreat that thou do not admit anything of this kind into thy mind, nor allow advisers of counsels of this kind. For these things are not worthy of Dracontius. For those things which the Lord instituted by His apostles are both good and remain firm, so that the fearfulness of brethren is allayed. Because, if all had been of the same mind as those who gave thee counsel, in what way couldst thou have been made a Christian, there being no bishop found? For, if, indeed, after our times they should take up opinions of that sort, how can churches exist at all? Or do they think who advise thee that thou receivedst nothing in baptism, because it seemed worthless to them? It is clear that they think nothing of the grace of the laver if they despise the office of the bishop; but thou hast learned, O beloved Dracontius, neither to defend counsellors of this kind nor to falsify thyself. This thing is demanded again by God who gave it. Hast thou not heard the apostle saying, 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee?' Or hast thou not read how he approved him who doubled, and condemned him who hid, his talent? . . . We have known of bishops who fast, and of monks who feast; and we have known of bishops who drink no wine, and of monks who drink wine; we have known also of bishops who perform miracles, and of monks who do not perform them. Many, also, of the bishops do not enter into marriage; monks, on the contrary, have been made the parents of children. . . . For who shall preach the Passover to them if thou art absent? Who shall announce the day of Resurrection if thou art hid? Who shall give counsel to them that they may conduct themselves rightly if thou fleest? O how great a benefit they may realise on thy returning; how great an injury may they be conscious of on thy fleeing! And who is he who will approve of thee in such acts? And what is that which they advise thee, that thou accept not the episcopate since they themselves desire to have presbyters? For if thou art evil, they need not be thy friends and associates, but if they know that thou art suitable, they need not envy others. Since if to teach and to preside according to them is the cause of sin, they need not be taught or have presbyters.

Tract. quod Veritas non Multitud. tom. ii. pp. 293, 294.

8. Shall we not hearken to Jesus Christ, who says, 'That many are called and few chosen;' that strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find that gate, or this way?

What man of good understanding will not rather choose to be among this small number that enters into life than to be joined to this multitude that goes to perdition? If we had lived in the age of Stephen, should we not have rather chosen his party, though it should have been forsaken by all else, buried under stones, and exposed to all manner of reproaches, than the party of that multitude which thought that the faith ought to follow the greatest number! One man alone who has the truth on his side is more to be esteemed than ten thousand presumptuous men; and this is what the Scriptures of the Old Testament confirm, for when myriads of men fell under God's sword, one Phineas alone opposed himself in the breach, and put a stop to the anger of the Lord. If he had not resisted that torrent which bore down all others, if he had approved that which the multitude did, he had never himself been commended above all, he had never put a stop to the flood of Divine vengeance, nor had he saved that remnant which was after that the object of God's mercy. It was therefore a thing worthy of praise that one man alone should boldly maintain right and justice against the opinion of the multitude. Go if you will, and be drowned with the multitude that perished in the Deluge, but give me leave to save myself in the ark with that small number. Be consumed if you please with the inhabitants of Sodom; I shall not fail to go out of it with Lot.

The Festal Epistles. Epist. xiv.

9. For the Word is near, Who is all things on our behalf; even our Lord Jesus Christ, who, having promised that His habitation with us should be perpetual, in virtue thereof cried, saying, 'Lo! I am with you all the days of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For He is the Shepherd, and the High-Priest, and the Way, and the Door, and everything at once to us.

18.

CYRIL, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

Flourished about A.D. 326.

De Fide in Christum, Catechesis x. p. 87.

1. There is 'one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.' Jesus Christ is called by two names: Jesus, because he saves, Christ, because of his priesthood. And, knowing this, the Divine prophet Moses conferred these two titles on two most special men; changing the name of his own successor in the government, Auses, to Jesus (Joshua xiii. 16); and surnaming his own brother Aaron, Christ (the anointed), that by two special men he might represent at once the high-priesthood and the kingdom of Him who was to come, the one Jesus Christ. For Christ is a High-Priest like Aaron: since 'Christ glorified not Himself to be made a High-Priest; but He that said unto Him, thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' And Jesus (Joshua), the son of Nun, was a type of him in many things. When

he began his government of the people, he began at Jordan, whence Christ also, after baptism, began His gospel. The Son of Nun appoints the twelve, who were to divide the inheritance; and Jesus sends forth the Twelve Apostles, the heralds of truth into all the world.

De Resurrectione, Catechesis xiv. p. 145, 154.

2. 'Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness;' and the *image* he received: but the *likeness*, by his transgression, he defaced; at that very season then in which he lost this, did his restoration also come to pass. [See the next sect.] . . . Be not ashamed of thine apostles: they are not inferior to Moses, or behind the prophets; but they are noble with the noble, yea, than the noble yet more noble. For Elias truly was taken up into heaven; but Peter has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, having received the words, 'Whatsoever thou shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Elias was taken up only to heaven; but Paul both into heaven and into paradise.

De Spiritu Sancto, Catechesis xvii. pp. 197, 204, 209.

3. The fellowship of this Holy Spirit He bestowed on the apostles, for it is written, 'And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, &c.' This was the second time He breathed (His first breath having been stifled by wilful sins), that the Scripture might be fulfilled. 'He went up breathing upon thy face, and delivering thee from affliction.'—Nahum ii. 1, Sep. ver. [See preceding sect. for the first breathing.]

. . . . Peter, the chief of the apostles (*ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων*), and the bearer of the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

. . . . Beware, lest by any means thou come to the dispensers of baptism, like Simon, in pretence, thy heart the while not seeking the truth. It is ours to warn, but it is thine to secure thyself. If by faith thou standest, blessed art thou; if thou hast fallen by unbelief, from this day forward cast away thine unbelief, and take up an undoubted faith. For at the season of baptism, when thou goest to the bishops, or presbyters, or deacons—for its grace is everywhere, in villages and in cities, on them of low as on them of high degree, on bondsmen and on freemen—for this grace is not of men, but the gift is from God through men—approach the minister of baptism, but, approaching, think not of the face of him thou seest, but remember that Holy Ghost of whom we are now speaking.

19.

HILARY, BISHOP OF POICTIERS.

Flourished about A.D. 354.

De Trinitate, lib. vi. pp. 39, 42, 43.

1. The consecrated choir (*chorus*) of prophets, and the whole sacrament of Gospel preaching: Matthew, chosen from a publican to be an apostle; John, through the kind familiarity of the Lord, thought

worthy of a revelation of heavenly mysteries; Simon, blessed after the acknowledgment of the sacrament (of the incarnation), lying beneath the foundation of the Church, and receiving the keys of the celestial kingdom, and all the rest preaching by the Holy Spirit; and Paul, from a persecutor made an apostle of Thine election, living in the depth of the sea, a mortal in the third heaven, in paradise before martyrdom, the offering of a perfect faith being consummated by martyrdom. By these I am instructed in the doctrines which I hold, with these I am unalterably imbued. And forgive me, Almighty God, for adding that in these I am not able to improve, but am able to die.

2. 'Now we are sure that thou knowest all things.' (John xvi. 30.) You, O holy and blessed men, who had seen so many things only suitable to God, performed by our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, and who, on account of the merit of your faith, obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the right of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth, do you protest that you now, for the first time, understood the truth, that the Saviour had come forth from God? . . . Upon this rock of confession is the building of the Church. But flesh and blood did not reveal the knowledge of this confession. This is the sacrament (*sacramentum*) of a Divine revelation that he does not only call, but believe Christ to be the Son of God. Or is the naming rather than the nature revealed to Peter? If the naming, now he had frequently heard this from the Lord, He confessing that He was the Son of God. In what, therefore, was the glory of the revelation? Undoubtedly of the nature, not of the name, as the profession of the name had now become frequent. This faith is the foundation of the Church. Through this faith the gates of hell are impotent against it. This faith hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven. This faith looses and binds on earth, and by it things are bound or loosed in heaven. . . . He (Peter) confessed Christ to be the Son of God; but at this day, you, the lying priesthood of a new apostate, cast forth Christ as being a creature from nothing. What force do you give to these glorious sayings? Confessing the Son of God, for this he was blessed. This is the revelation of the Father, this is the foundation of the Church, this is the security of eternity, from this are the keys of the kingdom of heaven, from this his earthly judgments are accounted heavenly.

Contra Constantinum Augustum, pp. 120, 121.

3. Dangerous as well as miserable is our condition, now that there are as many creeds as wills, as many doctrines as manners, and as many causes of blasphemy as vices, whilst our faith is written as we choose, or as we choose is interpreted. And although, since there is one God, and one Lord, and one baptism, there should be one faith, we cut off a part from that only faith; and while we may make many creeds, we begin to approach that state where there is none. For we are conscious among ourselves, that, since the council of Nice, nothing has been written but creeds. It is a battle about God in words, while there is a dispute about novelties, while there is a falling into snares through ambiguities, while there is a quarrel about authors, and a conflict about

studies, while there is difficulty in consent, while one begins to pronounce anathema against another; already we are near the point when no one is of Christ. We are driven about by an uncertain wind of doctrines, and either we trouble others while we instruct or we err while we are instructed. Already it may be asked whether the creed of the last year has anything immutable about it. First there is a council which decrees that the word consubstantial should be disused; then another which decrees and preaches this same consubstantiality; afterwards a third, which excuses the word substance by way of indulgence, inasmuch as it was taken in simplicity from the Fathers; lastly a fourth, which excuses not, but condemns it. . . . Hear I ask, those things which are written concerning Christ, lest instead of these things, those things which are not written should be preached. Submit your ears to what I shall say to you from the sacred books. You may raise your faith to God. Hear what is profitable for faith, for unity, for eternity. I shall set before you, with due respect to words, your kingdom and your faith, all those things which may benefit the peace both of the East and West; under the public conscience, under contending councils, under notorious strife. I give you beforehand, meanwhile, a pledge of my future discourse; I shall support nothing for the sake of scandal, nor anything which goes beyond the Gospel.

Contra Auxentium Mediolanensem, pp. 121-123.

4. The name of peace is indeed specious, and the mere appearance of unity is beautiful; but who denies that sole unity of the Church, that peace of the Gospels, which are of Christ? Which He spoke to the apostles after the glory of His Passion, which, on His going away, He commended for a pledge of His eternal command. This peace, most beloved brethren, we have taken care to seek when lost, to re-establish when disturbed, and to preserve when found again. But the sins of our times have not deserved this peace, nor the forerunners and ministers of the approaching antichrist suffered us either to become the authors or participators of it. They have their peace, that is, the unity of their impiety, of which they boast themselves, whilst they conduct themselves not as the bishops of Christ, but as the priests of antichrist. . . . I exhort you that ye take heed of antichrist, for the love of walls hath wickedly taken hold of you, and ye wickedly venerate the Church of God in roofs and buildings; under these ye wickedly thrust the name of peace. The mountains, and the woods, and the prisons, and the gulfs, are safer for me. The prophets, remained and concealed in these, prophesied by the Spirit of God. Separate yourselves, therefore, from Auxentius, that angel of Satan, that enemy of Christ, that open persecutor, that denier of the faith, which he so professed before the king that he deceived him; so he hath fallen that he might blaspheme. Let him congregate as many synods against me as he pleases, and make me a heretic as he often now does; let him proscribe me by public authority; let him stir up the wrath of the great men against me as much as he will, he can never be any other to me than a devil, since he is an Arian.

Enarratio in Psalmum cxviii. p. 273.

5. 'How many are the days of thy servant? When wilt thou execute judgment for me on them that persecute me?' (Psalm cxix. 84.) The Lord gave to the apostles (seventy disciples), saying, 'Behold, I give unto you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.' (Luke xvi. 19.)

Enarratio in cxxiv. Psalmum, p. 304.

6. 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For He is present also when He is called upon faithfully. He is present by His nature. For the Spirit enters and encompasses all things. For He is not present bodily after the manner of us, as when He is present here, He is absent elsewhere: but present by virtue, and extending Himself everywhere: His Spirit replenishing all things; He is in all things, but so as to be present with him who believes in Him. For He will be present with two or three who are met in His name, and 'He is round about His people, from henceforth and even for ever.' (Psalm cxxv. 2.)

Enarratio in cxxvi. Psalmum, p. 308.

7. 'Except the Lord build the house, they that build labour in vain: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman watches in vain.' (Psalm cxxvii. 1.) Therefore this house must be built of God, for a house erected by human efforts will not remain. Nor is the house instituted on doctrines of this age, nor is it kept by the vain labour of our solicitude. Otherwise must the Church be built, and otherwise must it be kept. It must be commenced, not upon the earth, not upon the uncertain and shifting sand, but its foundation must be placed upon the prophets and the apostles. It must be enlarged by living stones; it must be held together by the chief cornerstone, and must be constructed of additions joined together unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the body of Christ, must also be adorned with the image and glory of spiritual graces. This house so built by God, that is, by His doctrines, will not fall. . . . He chose apostles, He prayed the Father saying, 'Holy Father, keep them; when I was with them, I kept them in thy name;' when finally after His Passion He Himself promised the watchings of His eternal keeping towards us, saying, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20); the eternal keeping of this blessed and holy city: which is of many convened in one, and to everyone of us it is God's city.

Enarratio in cxxxviii. Psalmum, p. 336.

8. 'Thou knowest my down-sitting (*sessionem*), and mine up-rising' (*resurrectionem*). (Psalm cxxxix. 2.) The Gospel is our authority, that by sitting (*sessione*) doctrine is denoted. But what with us are called sittings (*sessiones*), with the Greeks are called chairs (*cathedræ*). Moses had a chair, according to the statement of the Lord. 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' chair (*cathedra*); all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye

after their works, for they say and do not.' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.) When therefore, the doctrine of the Pharisees was taught, as is probable, for this reason, because they sat in the chair of Moses, doctrine is necessarily signified by the chair.

20.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF EMESSA.

Flourished about A.D. 359.

De Symbola, hom. ii. *Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr.* tom. v. pt. i. p. 555.

1. 'The Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, eternal life.' We believe in God, but these things we call to mind; we do not, however, believe in them, but we believe them in God. I say we confess these things, not as God, but as gifts of God. 'The Catholic Church,' that is, diffused throughout the whole world with shining grace. The Church as the mother of regeneration, not as the author of salvation; because man is not of the Church, but the Church takes its beginning from man.

Hom. Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tom v. pt. i. p. 575.

2. The princes (*principes*), Peter and Paul have given usury to the God of this light, for the commerce of eternity. The two chosen chiefs for the salvation of two peoples, Peter for that of the Jews, Paul for that of the Gentiles; they bestowed, as pious dispensers throughout the whole world, silver tried in the fire. They disclosed the gold of wisdom, the pearl of faith, and dispersed in all parts gratuitously the treasure of eternal salvation. The two trumpets, filled with the majesty of the Spirit, sounded the glory of God to the astonished peoples, of whom we read, 'Their sound hath gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' . . . I have said that they were wonderful lamps shining with equal light throughout the whole world, for their parts were equal, by various and different kinds of virtues: to Peter were entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the Lord committing them; but to Paul, whether in the body or out of the body, were opened the secret things of heaven, even to the third throne.

Feria Tertia post Secundam Dominicam, tom. v. pt. i. p. 642.

3. 'The scribes and Pharisees sit on the chair of Moses.' For what is it to sit on the chair of Moses unless to preach the doctrine and law of Moses, and to govern and admonish the people? This was the duty of the scribes and Pharisees, whence they are said to sit upon the chair of Moses. But what is that which the Lord elsewhere enjoins, saying, 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy?' But He says, 'All things whatsoever they say to you observe and do.' The doctrine of the Pharisees is called leaven, but not that which they teach, when they sit upon the chair of Moses. For they sit upon the chair of Moses, when they preach no other thing, except those things which

Moses hath commanded. These things must be observed and done. But when they teach by fraud and hypocrisy, not the words of the law, but their own traditions, then they ought not to be believed and obeyed, since they sit not upon the chair of Moses. Whosoever, therefore, is the preacher, if however he announce not his own words, but the words of God, the people ought to believe and obey him.

Dominica I. post Pascha, tom. v. pt. i. p. 678.

4. 'Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you.' (John xx. 21.) Frequently He commends peace to them, since the perfection of the Christian faith and religion consists in peace and love. Whence He also Himself said to His disciples, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' 'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.' I constitute you my vicars, I charge you in my stead, I commend my office to you, I send you to teach, to preach, to baptise, to save, and to glorify my name and that of the Father. 'And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' By the help and inspiration of whom you will be able to bear so great a burden. And so perhaps He breathed that they might understand by this, and believe more firmly, that as the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, so also doth He from Himself. . . . 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' 'Whosoever sins,' says he, 'ye remit either by baptism, or by penitence, or by holy confession, they are remitted to them, and whosoever ye retain, either by their unbelief, or by an impenitent heart, or by disobedience, they are retained.'

21.

EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP OF SALAMIS.

Flourished about A.D. 368.

Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. hæc. lxxv. tom. i. pp. 906, 908-910.

1. The language of Ærius was more outrageous than becomes a man. He says, 'What is a bishop to a presbyter? He differs nothing from him, for there is but one order, and the honour is one, and the dignity is one.' He says, 'The bishop lays on hands, but so also does the presbyter; the bishop gives the laver (baptises), and so does the presbyter; the bishop saith Divine service, and so doth the presbyter; the bishop sitteth upon a throne, and so doth the presbyter.' By this he hath deceived many, and they have taken him for their chief. . . . To say that a bishop and a presbyter are equal, how can this be possible? For the order of bishops is the progenitor of fathers, for it begets fathers to the Church; the order of presbyters cannot beget fathers, but begets sons to the Church by the laver of regeneration (baptism), but not fathers or teachers. And how was it possible to make a presbyter not having the power of imposition of hands, or to say that he is equal to a bishop? But fancifulness and arrogance have deceived the above-said

Ærius. He imposes upon himself, and those that hear him, saying 'that the apostle writes to presbyters and deacons, and does not write to bishops;' and to the bishop he says, 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which thou hast received by the hands of the presbytery;' and again, in another place, he writes to bishops and deacons. Wherefore Ærius says, 'A bishop and presbyter is the same,' and knows not, being ignorant of the sequence of truth, not being conversant with the recon-dite histories, that; when the preaching was but newly begun, the holy apostle wrote according to the state of things as they were then; for where there were bishops appointed, he wrote to bishops and deacons, for the apostles could not immediately at first settle all things. For there was need of presbyters and deacons, for by these two ecclesiastical matters may be completed; and where a person could not be found worthy of the bishopric, the place remained without a bishop, and where there was need and persons were worthy of the bishopric, bishops were appointed. And where they were so few that presbyters could not be found among them to be ordained, they were satisfied with one bishop in an appointed place. But it is impossible for a bishop to be without a deacon, and the holy apostle provided that deacons should be with the bishop for the ministry; so did the Church receive the fulness of dispensation, such as at that time the places were in need of. For each had not all things perfect from the beginning, but as time passed on those things which were necessary for completion were added. . . . And that indeed this cannot be, viz. that a presbyter and bishop are the same, the Divine word of the holy apostle teaches who indeed is a bishop, and who is a presbyter, when he says to Timothy, who was a bishop, 'Rebuke not a presbyter, but entreat him as a father.' What occasion is there that a bishop should rebuke a presbyter except that he has authority over a presbyter? As also he says again, 'Against a presbyter receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses.' But he never said to any presbyter, receive not an accusation against a bishop, nor did he write to any presbyter not to rebuke a bishop.

Hæresis lxxix. vol. i. pp. 1059, 1060.

2. If the priesthood had been committed to women, or if they were allowed to perform any canonical office in the Church, none would have been preferred to Mary. This office of a priestess ought to have been committed to her, in the New Testament, upon whom so great an honour had been conferred as to receive into her lap and into her bosom the King of all, the God of heaven, and the Son of God; and her womb, as a temple and the home of the incarnate Word, was prepared by the remarkable and great kindness of God, and by a stupendous mystery. But far otherwise did it seem fitting to the Almighty; not even was the power of baptising conferred on her, otherwise Christ would have preferred to have been baptised by her rather than by John; but John, the son of Zacharias, passed his life in the desert after having been entrusted with the baptism of the remission of sins, whose father had the priesthood, and who at the hour of incense beheld a vision. After this Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,

Thomas, Thaddeus, and James the son of Alpheus, and Judas the son of James, and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias, who completed the number of the twelve apostles. All these were chosen apostles, and ministered the Gospel throughout the earth, together with Paul, and Barnabas, and others, also authors of mysteries, with James the brother of our Lord, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, from which bishop, and the apostles before mentioned, there have been constituted successions of bishops and presbyters in the House of God; but never among these was any woman constituted. There were, indeed, as it is written, four daughters of Philip the Evangelist, who prophesied, but did not however minister. Similarly also Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, but she was not entrusted to officiate as a priest; although it was necessary that that should be fulfilled which was written, 'And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, &c.' Although, indeed, there is the order of deaconesses in the Church yet it was not instituted for the function of the priesthood, nor any administration of the kind.

22.

OPTATUS, BISHOP OF MILEVIA.

Flourished about A.D. 368.

De Schismate Donatistarum, lib. i. *Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr.* tom. iv.
p. 271.

1. Deacons constituted in the third, presbyters in the second priesthood; some bishops the apexes and princes of all.

Ibid. lib. ii. tom. iv. pp. 274, 276, 278.

2. Therefore thou canst not deny but that thou knowest that the episcopal chair was given to Peter first in the Roman city, in which Peter sat the head of all the apostles (*omnium apostolorum caput*), whence also he was called Cephas, in which one chair unity might be kept by all men; nor could the rest of the apostles claim each a chair for himself, so that now he should be a schismatic and a sinner who should place another chair against that single chair. Therefore in the one chair, which is the first as to privileges, Peter sat first, whom Linus succeeded, Clement succeeded Linus, Anacletus Clement, Evaristus Anacletus, &c., Damasus Siricius, who at this day is our fellow (*noster est socius*).

The Church has her own certain members, bishops, presbyters, deacons, ministers, and a crowd of the faithful.

Since there are (as I have said above) four kinds of heads in the Church, that of bishops, that of presbyters, that of deacons, and that of the faithful.

23.

BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Flourished about A.D. 370.

Hom. in Psalmum xlv. tom. i. p. 226.

1. Since indeed he enjoined above that the people and father's house should be forgotten; that the virtue of obedience might be rewarded, he accepts sons. 'Instead of thy fathers children are born to thee, and thou shalt make them rulers over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) Since, indeed, he enjoined above that the people and father's house should be forgotten, that the virtue of obedience might be rewarded, he accepts sons instead of fathers powerful in so great a dignity, that he might make them rulers over all the land. Who are therefore the sons of the Church? Those truly who are sons of the Gospel, who govern the whole earth. He says, 'Their sound is gone out in all the earth,' and being constituted upon twelve thrones, they shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. But if anyone takes the fathers of the bride to be patriarchs yet in this case he does not reject this opinion respecting the apostles. For instead of them sons of the bride have been born by Christ, doing the works of Abraham, and so are admitted to be equal in honour with the patriarchs, because these also do the same things, which also they have done, for which things the Fathers have been esteemed worthy of great and pre-excellent honour. The rulers indeed of the whole earth are the saints.

Hom. xxviii. De Pœnitentia, tom. i. pp. 531, 532.

2. Peter was pronounced blessed when he had said, Thou art the Son of the Most High God, and he had heard in return that, 'Thou art a rock,' receiving that encomium. But if he were a rock yet not so as Christ was a rock. Peter was a rock, but Christ indeed an immovable rock. Peter is a rock through Christ the Rock, for Jesus bestows His own dignities on others. . . . He is light, 'Ye are the light of the world,' says He. He is a priest, and maketh priests. . . . He is a Rock, and maketh a rock.

Hom. xxxi. De Libero Arbitrio, tom. i. p. 544.

3. He said to the apostles (seventy disciples), 'Behold, I give you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.' (Luke x. 19.)

Adversus Eunomium, lib. ii. tom. i. pp. 728, 729.

4. Therefore by this word we understand that he was the son of Jona, who was of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, who from being a fisherman was called into the ministry of the apostleship, who, since he excelled in faith, received the building of the Church upon himself.

Comment. in caput ii. Esaiaë, tom. ii. p. 70.

5. Moreover, the house of God is placed upon the highest point of the mountains; that is, the Church, according to the opinion of Paul, who says, 'How thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God' (1 Tim. iii. 15), whose 'foundations are on the holy mountains:' for the Church 'is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' One of these mountains was Peter, upon which rock (*ἡς πέτρας*) it had been promised that Christ would build His Church.

De Spiritu Sancto, cap. xxix. tom. ii. p. 360.

6. In what place shall I put Gregory the Great and his discourses? Shall it be with apostles and prophets? Was he not a man versed with the same spirit with which they were? Did he not adhere through all his life to the steps of the saints? And did he not excel in the vigour of evangelical conversation as long as he lived? Indeed I may say this, we should certainly affect truth with injury if we did not number that soul with those who have been united to God; who shone with a great light in the Church of God; who through the Spirit had great power over demons. For he had received so great grace for the obedience of faith among all nations, he receiving seventeen Christians (in his own see when he entered upon it), that he joined, as is acknowledged, a whole body of people, both civic and rural, to God.

Constitutiones Monasticæ, tom. ii. pp. 792, 793.

7. And we are taught this by Christ Himself, when He constituted Peter the pastor of His Church after Himself. For to Peter He said, 'Lovest thou me more than these? Feed my sheep.' (John xxi. 15, 16.) And thereafter he gave the same power unto all pastors and teachers, a sign of which is that all pastors do equally both bind and loose as well as he.

Epist. lxii. Ecclesiæ Neocæsariensi Consolatoria, tom. iii. p. 93.

8. But if we ought to lament at all, which I do not say, we should not on this occasion be like those who have no hope. If we should seem to you as a mourning band (*χορδὸς*) surrounding the leader (*κορυφαῖον*), agreeing harmoniously with him.

24.

DIONISIUS, MISCALLED THE AREOPAGITE.

Flourished probably in the fourth century.

De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, cap. ii. Sacramentum Illustrationis.
Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr. tom. i. p. 123.

1. Then the entire holy congregation being assembled in the holy place for the purpose of assisting and celebrating his salvation [that of

the person to be baptised], and giving thanks for the Divine goodness, . . . a certain priest from the credence table cites him and the sponsor ; he is then led by the priests to the water, he being led by the hand by them to the hand of the high-priest ; the high-priest standing upon a higher place, when again the priests at the water cite the name of him who is to be initiated ; then thrice he immerses him, and with the three immersions and emersions of him who is initiated he calls and invokes the names of the Three Persons of Divine Blessedness. And the priests commit him who is received to the sponsor and the leader of the way, and where, together with him, they robe the person initiated with a suitable garment, that is, the albe [a white garment] ; again they lead him to the chief priest, &c. &c. &c.

Mysterium Consecrationum, quæ sacros ordines attingunt, cap. v.
tom. i. p. 132.

2. A high-priest (bishop) is brought for consecration to the high-priesthood, kneeling before the altar, has the Gospels delivered by God placed on his head, and the hand of the high-priest ; and in this manner, by him who is high-priest, who consecrates him, is he consecrated by holy prayers and supplications.

The priest (presbyter), kneeling before the altar, has the right hand of the high-priest placed on his head ; and so by the high-priest who consecrates him, he is consecrated with holy prayers.

The deacon, kneeling before the altar, has placed upon his head the right hand of the high-priest, and by him he is consecrated with those prayers and supplications with which deacons are accustomed to be consecrated. And upon each of them is made the sign of the cross by the high-priest who consecrates, and the name and degree of each is declared ; and, this being done, the salutation is given by all of the ecclesiastical order, together with the high-priest, the consecrator, who salute him who is chosen into a certain ecclesiastical order of those which we have enumerated.

25.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Flourished about A.D. 370.

Oratio i. Apologeticus, tom. i. p. 45.

In which he explains the reason of his fleeing to Pontus after he had been made presbyter, and his returning again to Nazianzum.

1. I consent to be content in the chair (καθέδρα) of the presbyters. . . . You have me, O pastors, and fellow-pastors (ὡ ποιμένες καὶ συμποιμένες). . . . May the God of Peace . . . receive me with glory, ruling as a Pastor those who act as pastors, and guiding the guides (ποιμαίνων ποιμαίνοντας, καὶ ὀδηγῶν ὀδηγῶντας) ; as we act as pastors toward the flock with knowledge. . . . That we all in His temple may speak of His glory, flock as well also as pastors, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Oratio v. tom. i. p. 136.

The consecration of Gregory by his father to be bishop, together with him, of Nazianzum.

2. Thou didst anoint me chief priest (ἀρχιερέα), didst put upon me a garment down to the foot (ποδήρη), and didst place upon my head the mitre (κίδαριον), and didst offer a spiritual burnt offering upon the altar, and didst sacrifice the calf of consecration (τελειώσεως), and didst fill (τελειοῖς, consecrate, Ex. xxix. 9) the hands with the Spirit, and didst introduce me to behold the Holy of Holies, and didst make me a minister of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.

Oratio xix. tom. i. pp. 308, 309.

Of the election of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Pontus.

3. The city of Cæsarea was in a state of sedition respecting the creation (προβολήν) of a chief priest (ἀρχιερέως)—for one had departed, and another was required—and the sedition was violent, and could not be repressed or pacified. For besides this that the city is prone to sedition, from its own nature, and especially in the matter of religious zeal, the honour of that chair caused a greater amount of contention. In this state of things, some of the bishops were present that they might present the chief priest (τὸν ἀρχιερέα δώσοντες). But as the multitude was divided by many opinions, some that they might promote one, and others another (as it usually happens in things of this kind), according as each was led, either from friendship towards some one or piety towards God. At length, the whole of the people being agreed in one mind, seized by force the first among them (συναρπασάντες τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς). He being unwilling—one, indeed, distinguished in life, but not yet sealed in holy baptism—they, together with the assistance of a military corps at that time among the people, placed him upon the tribunal (βῆμα, a raised platform for the bishop and presbyters, or the throne of the bishop), and brought him to the bishops, and desired that he might be consecrated (τελεσθῆναι) and proclaimed (κηρυχθῆναι), at the same time mingling force with persuasion, not orderly, but confidently and eagerly; and subsequent time did not show anyone more excellent than he and more distinguished for piety. For what came to pass? And whither did the sedition extend? Having seized him, they purified [baptised] him, they proclaimed him, and set him on the throne, rather by the hand than by knowledge and disposition of the mind.

Oratio xx. In Laudem Basilii Magni, tom. i. pp. 335, 336.

4. The manifold goodness of God and His Providence to our race made him known through all, in the midst of us daily opening more clearly a shining lamp of the Church. Conspicuous and celebrated among the rulers (κρατίθῃσι), he was assigned to the sacred thrones of the assembly of presbyters, and through the one city of Cæsarea he enlightened the whole world. But in what manner did he attain this? It was thus: he did not advance to that rank suddenly, nor was he

prepared and instructed in wisdom at once, after the manner of many who now desire the presidency (*προστασίας*), but in order and by the law of spiritual advancement. It was not by that perturbation and temerity which are sometimes among us, and exist among some of those who preside in the tribunals (*προεδριόντων ἐν βήμασι*). . . . For when he had first read the Holy Bible to the people, and had been an expositor of it, and was not unworthy of the order of the tribunal (*βήματος*). As in the chair (*καθέδρα*) of the presbyters so also in that of the bishops he glorified the Lord. He did not obtain that honour by stealth, nor by force, nor did he seek the honour, but was sought by the honour; nor did he attain it by the favour of men, but by the Divine favour of God.

Oratio xxi. In Laudem Magni Athanasii, tom. i. p. 377.

5. So therefore, and for these reasons, by the suffrages of all the people (*ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ*), not by any depraved example, not murderously and tyrannically, but apostolically and spiritually, he was promoted to the throne of Mark. He was not less the successor of Mark in his piety than in his presidential seat (*προεδρίας*); in the latter, indeed, he was very far distant from him, but in the former he is found next after him, which, in truth, is properly to be considered succession. For to hold the same doctrine is to be of the same throne, but to hold an opposite doctrine is to be of an opposite throne. And the one has the name, but the other the reality, of succession. For not he who has come in by force, but he who has been forced in, is a successor; not he who has violated the laws, but he who has been advanced legally; not he who holds an opposite doctrine, but he who is of the same faith. Unless anyone can thus call himself a successor, he succeeds as sickness to health, as darkness to light, as a storm to a calm, and as madness to intelligence.

Oratio xxv. Ad Arrianos et de Seipso, tom. i. pp. 431, 433.

6. Where are those men who reproach us with our poverty, and insolently boast themselves of their riches, who would define the Church by multitude, and condemn the little flock? They measure divinity, they weigh the people in the balance, they esteem the earthly, and cover with injuries the lights of the world; they heap together the common stones, and despise the precious, not remembering that the more the sands surpass in number the stars, the more the ordinary stones surpass the precious in quantity, the more those stars and precious stones surpass the sands and the ordinary stones in purity and excellency.

O honourable chair (*καθέδρα*), the seat and rest of honourable men, how many holy priests, who formerly taught Divine things, being now changed, what heathen demagogue ascends thee (the chair), and with wicked tongue and invective oration defames the religion of Christians!

Oratio xxvi. De Moderatione in Disputationibus, tom. i. pp. 449, 453, 454.

7. And that we may come to that very thing for the sake of which

I have discoursed on these things, and to which my oration tends. Order is also constituted in the churches; some form a flock, and some the pastors, some to rule (*ἄρχειν*), and some to be ruled (*ἄρχεσθαι*). Some are the head, some the feet, some the hands, some the eyes, and others for something else, as members of the body, for the proportion and harmony of the whole Church, either of those who are presided over (*προεχομένων*) or those who have the presidency (*προεχόντων*). . . . For some rule (*ἄρχει*), and some are presided over (*προκαθέξεται*), and some lead (*ἄγεται*), and some are directed (*εὐθύνεται*), and though the acts of both are not the same, unless anyone contends that to rule and to be ruled (*ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι*) are the same. However, both become one in Christ, fitly framed and compacted together by the same spirit. And, again, as they who are ruled differ among themselves both in education, practice, and age, so also among those who lead (*τοῖς ἄγουσι*) there is a difference. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, as Paul says, nor shouldst thou doubt. And some, he says, God has placed in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly pastors and teachers; first on account of the truth, secondly on account of the shadow, thirdly on account of the measure of usefulness and illumination. But the spirit, indeed, is one, but the graces are not equal, because they are not equally the channels of the spirit. For to one by the spirit is given the word of wisdom and observation, to another the word of knowledge and revelation, to another certain faith without the least doubt, to another the inspiration of powers and higher miracles, to another the graces of healing, that is helps, presidenciēs, governments, that is corrections of the flesh, kinds of tongues, interpretations of tongues, and finally the greater and less graces according to the proportion of faith. Let us, O brethren, reverence this order (*τάξις*), and let us observe it. Let one be an ear, another a tongue, another a hand, and another something else. Let one teach, let another learn, let another do good with his own hands that he may give to him that hath need. Let one rule (*ἄρχέτω*), and let one moderate (*προβεβλήσθω*). . . . And since I have made mention of Moses, wilt thou not learn the order of grace and the law of order (*τάξεως*)? If thou art Moses, enter also the cloud itself, and address God, and hear the voice, and receive the law, and observe the laws. But if thou art Aaron, ascend also with him, but outside the cloud, standing near. But if, indeed, thou art Ithamar or Eleazar, and the third from Moses, or one of the council of elders (*γερονσίας*), and of the seventy, as yet stand at a distance, having the third seat. But if thou art of the people, and one of the many, admit not thyself too near the mountain, which if a beast even touch it shall be stoned. . . .

8. And that I may instruct thee more fully. Who consecrated the priests? Moses. Who of them, who were consecrated, was first? Aaron. And besides, what person had the charge of things pertaining to God? and what person was to the people instead of a voice? and what person entered into the Holy of Holies, except one, and he not always by no means, but once a year, and it was at one time? What persons bore the ark except the Levites, and they as it

had been appointed? Some, indeed, bore the more honourable part of it, and some the less honourable, according to their rank. But since, also, it was necessary that the ark should be kept, how did they keep it? Some, indeed, one part, others another, and some a third part, not unappointed, not out of order in the least degree. . . . Dost thou wish that I present to thee another order (*τάξις*), and that a laudable and worthy one, effectual for imitation and instruction? Thou seest that among the disciples of Christ, who were all, indeed, great and eminent, and deserving such election, that one is called a rock, and he is entrusted with the foundations of the Church. And one is loved more exceedingly, and permitted to lean on the bosom of Jesus. And other disciples were preferred by Him. When it was necessary to go up into a mountain, that by a resplendent change Christ might show forth his Godhead, and that he who was concealed in the flesh might be uncovered, who ascended together with Him? (for all were not spectators of the miracle.) Peter, and James, and John, both were, and were reckoned, before the others. What persons were present in His agony and retirement a little before His Passion, when he prayed? The same persons again. This was indeed the preference of Christ. But how decorous was the remaining order. Peter enquired after one thing, Philip after another, Judas after another, Thomas after another, some one else after another, not all after the same thing, and not one after all things, but everyone by turns and singly. Thou wilt say, perhaps, that everyone looked after that which was the duty of each. But why? How does this appear to thee? Philip wished to say something, and he had not courage alone, but also takes Andrew in addition. It was necessary that Peter should enquire after something, and he beckoned to John. Where, in all this, is any austerity? Where is any lust of domination?

Oratio xxviii. Cum post ea quæ a maximo perpetrata fuerant rure in urbem rediisset, tom. i. p. 484.

9. How I wish there had been no presidency (*προεδρία*, the office of president, the privilege of occupying the first seat), no preference of place, no arbitrary privilege (*τυραννικὴ προνομία*), that we might be distinguished by virtue only. But now this right hand, and left hand, and middle, and higher, and lower; this going before, and following in company, have produced to us much unprofitable affliction, brought many into a snare, and thrust them away into the company of the goats: not only of the inferior class, but also of the shepherds, who, being masters in Israel, have not known these things.

Oratio xxxii. In Præsentia CL Episcoporum, tom. i. pp. 515, 517, 518.

10. Are you ignorant that the faith, as miserable and forsaken as it is, is a thousand times more precious than impiety in splendour and abundance? Is it so that you prefer the multitude of the Canaanites before one Abraham, or all the inhabitants of Sodom before one Lot, or all the Midianites to one Moses? Notwithstanding you know that these saints were but strangers and foreigners among those people. I

pray tell me whether the three hundred that lapped the water with Gideon were not more to be esteemed than all those thousands who shamefully forsook him? whether the servants of Abraham, who were few in number, were not to be preferred to all those kings who, with their innumerable armies, were overcome? But I pray yet further tell me how you understand that which is said, 'When the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant only shall be saved;' and this other passage, 'I have reserved to myself seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal?' The matter will not be as you imagine; no, without doubt; for God takes no pleasure in a multitude. As for you, you reckon your thousands: but God reckons those who work out their salvation; you heap up a great pile of dust: but I assemble the vessels of election. There is nothing so great before God as the pure doctrine, and a soul that is filled and adorned with the tenets of truth. . . . Lift up thine eyes round about, and see whosoever thou art who dost censure my teaching. See the woven crown of glory for the hirelings of Ephraim, and the crown of his pride. (Isaiah xxviii. 1, Sep. ver.) See the council of presbyters (πρεσβυτέρων συνᾶδριον) adorned with age and wisdom, the humility of the deacons, not far removed from the same spirit, the elegant unity of the readers, the desire of the people to be taught, the men as well as the women. . . . What shall I speak of this crown? I speak not according to the Lord; but nevertheless I will speak, I have helped somewhat to construct it.

Epist. ad Procopium, tom. i. p. 814.

11. To tell you plainly, I am determined to fly every convention of bishops; for I never yet saw a council that ended happily. Instead of lessening, they invariably augment the mischief. The passion for victory and the lust of power (you will perhaps think my freedom intolerable) are not to be described in words. One present as judge will much more readily catch the infection from others than be able to restrain it in them. For this reason, I must conclude that the only security of one's peace and virtue is in retirement.

Epist. ad Philagrium, tom. i. p. 823.

12. We are worn out, striving against envy and consecrated bishops who destroy the common peace and subordinate the word of faith to their own love of superiority.

Carmen ix. Insomnium Anastasiæ de Templo, quod ipse Constantinopoli fixit, tom. ii. p. 78.

13. I seemed to sit upon a higher throne (ὑπέροχρονος), not haughtily, for in my dream I was not proud. The presbyters sitting lower on either side of me, of chosen age, guides (ἡγεμόνες) of the flock. Then the deacons standing clothed in white, the images of angelic splendour.

26.

VICTORINUS, BISHOP OF PETAU, AND MARTYR.

Flourished about A.D. 370.

Comment. in Apocalypsin. Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr. tom. iii. pp. 136, 141.

‘And hath made us a kingdom, and priests unto God.’ (Rev. i. 6.) That is the entire church of the faithful, as Peter the apostle says, ‘A holy nation, a royal priesthood.’ . . . Whatever things in the Old Testament were little known, and spoken of, he, who was an apostle, is forbidden to write, but to leave the things which were sealed; nor was it necessary that the grace of the second degree should be placed in the first, ‘for,’ saith he, ‘the time is at hand.’ For the apostles, by their virtues, miracles, prodigies, and illustrious deeds, conquered unbelief. Now, after them, these same things having ceased, the interpretation of prophetic Scriptures only has been given to the Churches, which interpreters he called prophets. For the apostle says, ‘And God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers,’ and the rest.

27.

PACIAN, BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

Flourished about A.D. 372.

Contra Novatianum, Epist. i. Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr. tom. iv. p. 236.

Never would God threaten the impenitent, unless he would pardon the impenitent. This, you say, God alone can do. It is true. But that also which he does through his priests is his own authority. Else what is that which he saith to the apostles, ‘Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven?’ (Matt. xvi. 18.) Why said he this, if it was not lawful for men to bind and loose? Is this allowed to apostles only? Then to them also only is it allowed to baptise, and to them only to give the Holy Spirit, and to them only to cleanse the sins of the nations: for all this was enjoined on none others but apostles. But if both the loosening of bonds and the power of the sacrament are given in one place, either the whole has been derived (*deductum est*) to us from the apostolic form and authority, or else not even this relaxation has been made from the decrees. ‘I,’ he saith, ‘have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon.’ This, therefore, we build up which the teaching of the apostles founded. And, lastly, bishops also are named apostles, as saith Paul of Epaphroditus, ‘my brother and fellow-soldier, but your apostle.’ (Phil. ii. 25.) If, therefore, the power of the laver, and of the anointing, gifts far greater, descended thence to bishops, then the right of binding and loosing was with them. Which although for our sins it be presumption in us to claim, yet God, who hath granted unto bishops the name even of His only Beloved, will not

deny it unto them, as if holy, and sitting in the chair of the apostles. . . . Let no one despise the bishop on consideration of the man. Let us remember that the Apostle Peter hath named our Lord, bishop. 'But are now,' he saith, 'returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.' What shall be denied to the bishop, in whom operateth the name of God? . . . (2 Cor. ii. 10, 11.) But if what the laity forgive, the apostle saith he hath forgiven, what a bishop hath done, in what character can it be rejected? Therefore neither the anointing, nor baptism, nor remission of sins, nor the renewing of the body, were granted to his sacred authority, because nothing was entrusted to him as assumed by himself, but the whole has flowed down from the apostolic right (*jure*).

28.

MACARIUS.

Flourished about A.D. 373.

Hom. xxv. Bibl. Mag. vet. Patr. tom. iv. p. 79.

1. Who said to the apostles (seventy disciples), 'I give you power to tread on serpents, &c.' (Luke x. 19.)

Hom. xxxii. p. 90.

2. But here the true high-priest, Christ, hath entered once into the tabernacle not made with hands, and to the altar above, prepared to purge those who called upon him from conscious iniquity: for he said, 'I am with you even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) The high-priest had on his breast two precious stones containing the names of the twelve patriarchs: what was done there is a figure; so also the Lord, having robed the twelve apostles, sent them as evangelists and heralds of the whole world.

Hom. l. p. 102.

3. For, saith He, 'I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.' This is that which the Lord Himself said; namely, 'I am with you even to the end of the world.'

29.

JEROME, PRESBYTER.

Flourished about A.D. 376.

Ad Heliodorum, de Vita Eremitica, tom. i. p. 3.

1. Be it far from me that I should say anything disparaging of those who, succeeding to the apostolical degree (*qui apostolico gradui succedentes*), with sacred mouth make the body of Christ, and by whom also we are Christians; who, holding the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in a manner judge before the day of judgment.

Ad Nepotianum, de Vita Clericorum, tom i. p. 14.

2. It is the glory of a bishop to provide for the wants of the poor. It is the shame of all priests to set their affections especially on riches. I, who was born in a poor country cottage, who had scarce millet enough and coarse bread to satiate my craving stomach, now despise the finest flour, the choicest honey, am well acquainted with the different kinds and names of fish, and can tell by the taste from what coast each shellfish was brought, from what province each bird. . . .

3. Often read the Holy Scriptures, indeed never let the sacred book be laid out of thy hands. Learn, that thou mayest teach. . . . Let not thy acts contradict thy sermon, lest, when thou speakest in the Church, some one may silently answer, 'Why, therefore, dost thou say those things which thou wilt not do?' The teacher is wanton who lectures on fasting with a full stomach. Even a thief can accuse of avarice. The mouth, mind, and hands, of a priest of Christ should accord. . . .

4. This I say that bishops should know that they are priests, not lords; let them honour the clergy as the clergy, that honour may be given to them, as bishops, by the clergy. This is also a well-known saying of Domitian the orator, 'Why,' said he, 'should I esteem thee as a chief (*principem*) when thou dost not esteem me as a senator (*senatorem*)?'

5. But we know this, that a bishop and presbyters are the same as Aaron and his sons. There is one Lord, one temple; let there be also one service. Let us always remember what instruction the Apostle Peter gives to priests. (1 Peter v. 2-4.) It is a very shameful custom in some churches for the presbyters to be silent, and not to speak in the presence of bishops, as though they either envied them or did not think proper to hear them.

Ad Rusticum Monachum, tom. i. p. 46.

6. No art is learned without a teacher. The dumb beasts and wild herds follow their leaders; the bees have their rulers; the cranes fly after one in order, like an alphabet of letters. There is but one emperor; one judge of a province; Rome, newly built, could not endure two brethren to be kings together, and therefore was dedicated in parricide; Esau and Jacob were at war in the womb of Rebecca; every church hath her own bishop, her own archpresbyter, her own archdeacon; and all ecclesiastical order consisteth herein that some do rule and direct the rest. In a ship there is but one that directeth the helm. In a house or family there is but one master. And in an army, if it be ever so great, yet the direction of one general is expected.

Ad Marcellam, ut commigret Bethlehem, tom. i. p. 127.

7. This is a far holier place, as I think, than the Tarpeian rock, which the frequent stroke of the thunderbolt proves to have displeased the Lord. Read the Apocalypse of John, and behold what he declares of the *scarlet woman*, on whose forehead were written blasphemies; of the seven hills, of many waters, and of going out from Babylon. 'Go

out from her, my people, saith the Lord, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues. Fly ye from the midst of Babylon, and save every one of you his own soul. She has fallen, she has fallen, the great Babylon, and is become a habitation of demons, and a watch-tower of the unclean spirit.' There, indeed, is a holy church, there are the trophies of the apostles and martyrs, there is a true confession of Christ, there is the faith preached by the apostles, and there, while heathenism is trodden down, the Christian profession is daily erecting itself on high.

8. But ambition, power, the vastness of the city, the passion to see and be seen, to salute and be saluted, to praise and to calumniate, to hear or to speak, with the necessity of seeing such a crowd of people, however unwillingly; these things are quite foreign to the quiet and design of monks. For either we must see those who come to visit us, and thereby lose the benefits of silence, or we must refuse to see them, and thereby be accused of pride. And if we return the visits, we present ourselves to scornful doors, and enter the gilded posts amongst the tongues of backbiting menials.

Adversus Jovinianum, lib. i. tom. ii. p. 35.

9. But you say the church is founded upon Peter, although in another place that same thing is done upon all the apostles, and they all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is grounded equally upon them; yet for this cause one is chosen among the twelve, that, a head being constituted, the occasions of schisms might be taken away.

Ad Marcellam adversus Montanum, tom. ii. p. 128.

10. Among us bishops hold the place of apostles; among them (Montanists) it is the third place. For they of Pepusa, in Phrygia, give the first place to patriarchs; the second place to those whom they call cenones; and thus the bishops are thrust down to the third, that is, almost to the last, place, as if thence religion became more stately if that which is first among us is the last among them.

Ad Damasum (Pope or Bishop of Rome), tom. ii. p. 131.

11. Since the East, dashed together by the old madness of the people, tears piecemeal the seamless tunic and coat of the Lord, and the foxes destroy the vine of Christ, as among reservoirs worn out, which hold no water; and it is difficult to understand where the sealed fountain, the garden enclosed, may be found; therefore I have thought it best to consult the chair of Peter and the faith praised by the apostle's mouth; asking at this time food for my soul from the same quarter where formerly I received the garments of Christ. For the vast extent of water and of land which lies between us cannot keep me from seeking the pearl of price. 'Wherever the body is, there are the eagles gathered together.' The prodigal son having wasted his patrimony, the heritage of the fathers is kept safely amongst you alone. There, the

ground of the Lord, with its prolific soil, declares its purity by the return of a hundredfold; here the grain, drowned in the furrows, degenerates into tares and straw.

12. Now the sun of righteousness is arisen in the West, but in the East that Lucifer which had set has placed his throne above the heavens. 'Ye are the light of the world, the salt of the earth.' Ye are the vessels of gold and silver; here are vessels of earth and wood waiting for the iron rod and the eternal fire. Although, therefore, thy greatness deters me, thy behaviour invites me. I demand from a priest an offering of salvation, from a pastor the defence of the sheep. Let envy be dismissed, let the ambition of a Roman chief be laid aside, when I speak with the successor of a fisherman, and with a disciple of the Cross.

13. I, following no chief except Christ, am united in communion with your blessedness, that is the chair of Peter; upon that rock I know that the Church is built. Whoever shall eat the lamb out of this house is profane.

15. (Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri communione consocior: super illam petram ædificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, prophanus est.)

16. If any man was out of the ark of Noah during the flood, he must perish in the flood. And because, for my sins, I have dwelt in this

wilderness which lies on the boundary between Barbaria and Syria, and could not always seek the holy (thing, *expetere sanctum*) of the Lord from your holiness, through so great an intervening distance: therefore I follow here your colleagues, the confessors of Egypt [the Athanasian party], and, among the largest vessels, I lie hid in a little boat. I know nothing of Vitalis; I despise Meletius; I have no acquaintance with Paulinus.

17. Whoever does not gather with thee scatters; that is, whoever is not of Christ is of antichrist. For now, O shame! after the Nicene faith, after the Alexandrine decree, the West also concurring, the new phrase of three *hypostases* is exacted of me, a Roman, by the Campenses, and the chief of the Arians. What apostles, I pray, have disclosed these words? What new Paul, the master (*magister*) of the nations, has taught this doctrine? We may ask what these three *hypostases* are supposed to mean? They say, three subsisting persons.

'St. Jerome, in writing to the pope, even goes further in his expressions than probably many of us would do. He writes:—

'14. "I follow Christ, being joined in communion with your holiness," that is with the see of St. Peter, "for upon this rock I know the Church is founded; whoever eats the paschal lamb out of this house is profane; whoever gathereth not with it scattereth abroad."

'These are the terms in which he addresses the pope; that he follows Christ because he is in communion with his holiness—that is his very expression—with the successor of Peter; and upon that rock alone he knows the Church is founded.'—*Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Roman Catholic Church by the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D. lect. viii. p. 187, ed. 1836.*

We answer that we believe this. The sense does not content them; they insist upon the very words, because there lies hid I know not what poison in the syllables. We cry aloud, if anyone does not confess three hypostases, that is, three subsisting persons, let him be anathema. And because we do not pronounce their very words, we are adjudged heretics. But if anyone, understanding the word *hypostasis* in the sense of *substance* or *essence*, saith that the hypostasis is not one in three persons, he is an alien from Christ; and in this confession we are united with you, as though we were branded together. . . . Should Ursicinus be joined with thy blessedness, should Auxentius be associated with Ambrose? Let that be far from the Roman faith.

Adversus Luciferianos, tom. ii. pp. 136, 137, 139.

18. *Orthodox.* Explain to me why thou wilt receive a layman coming from the Arians, and wilt not receive a bishop? *Luciferianus.* I receive a layman because he confesses he has erred, and the Lord desireth the repentance rather than the death of a sinner. *Orth.* Therefore receive thou also a bishop because he confesses that he has erred, and the Lord desireth the repentance rather than the death of a sinner? *Lucif.* If he confesses that he has erred, why does he continue a bishop? Let him lay aside the priesthood, and I will grant pardon to the penitent. *Orth.* I will answer thee in thy own words. If a layman confesses that he has erred, why does he continue a layman? Let him lay aside the priesthood of a layman, that is baptism, and I will grant pardon to the penitent.

19. For it is written, 'He hath made us a kingdom and priests unto His Father' (Rev. i. 6); and again, 'A holy nation, a royal priesthood, a chosen people' (1 Peter ii. 9). All that is lawful to a Christian is common as well to a bishop as a layman. He that does penance condemns his former acts. If it is not lawful for a penitent bishop to remain what he was, it is not lawful for a penitent layman to remain in that state for which he does penance. . . .

20. *Orth.* Admit that what thou sayest is true; let an Arian bishop be the enemy of Christ, let him be insipid salt, a lamp without fire, an eye without sight; all that thou canst gain by this is that he who has no salt in himself cannot season others, that a blind man cannot illuminate others, nor he make others shine whose own light is extinct and his lamp gone out. But why, then, dost thou complain of the insipid seasoner whilst thou eatest of the meat which he has seasoned? Thy church shines by the light of his fire, and dost thou still complain that his lamp is gone out? He gives eyes to thee, and is he himself blind? Wherefore, I beseech thee, either allow him liberty of offering at the altar whose baptism thou approvest or else refuse his baptism whom thou dost not esteem to be a priest? For it cannot be that he who is holy in the ministration of baptism can be a sinner at the altar. . . . If you enquire in this place why a person baptised into the church may not receive the Holy Spirit, which, we all hold, is given in true baptism, except by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, be

assured that this came from the precedent that after the Ascension of our Lord the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles.

21. And we find the same thing repeated in many places rather for the honour of the bishop than the necessity of law; otherwise, if the Holy Spirit descends only at the invocation of a bishop, they are to be pitied who having been baptised by presbyters and deacons, in hamlets or garrisons, or, in more remote spots, have fallen asleep before they could be visited by the bishop. The safety of the church depends on the dignity of the highest priest (*summi sacerdotis*), on whom if a certain supereminent power be not conferred there will be in the churches as many schisms as priests. Hence it arises that without the anointing, and without the injunction of the bishop, neither the presbyter nor the deacon has a right to baptise. But we know that it is even lawful for a layman to baptise if necessity compelled. For as anyone receives so also can he give.

Ad Pammachium adversus errores Joannis Hierosol. tom. ii. p. 179.

22. Thou (a bishop) hast sent Isidore, a presbyter, a most religious man of God. . . . A man of God sends a man of God; there is no difference between a presbyter and a bishop, the honour of sending and of being sent is the same.

Ad Oceanum, num repetens matrimonium a baptismo possit fieri sacerdos, tom. ii. pp. 320, 322.

23. The apostle has said, Paul has taught these things; therefore the epistles of the apostle are brought forward, one to Timothy, another to Titus. [Here Jerome quotes 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, and Titus i. 5-9, and adds:] In each epistle either bishops or presbyters (although among the ancients bishops and presbyters were the same, because the former is a title of dignity, the latter one of age), being husbands of one wife, are commanded to be elected into the clergy. . . . And after they had come to the waters, the waters make them mad. *Marah* is changed into a sacrament of the cross; and the seventy palm-trees which represent the apostles are watered by the sweetened whirlpools of the law.

Ad Evagrium, tom. ii. pp. 329, 330.

24. We read in Isaiah, 'The fool will speak foolish things.' (Is. xxxii. 6, Lat. Vul.) I hear that a certain person has rushed into so great folly as to place deacons above presbyters, that is, above bishops. The apostle plainly teaches that presbyters are the same as bishops. What a server of tables and widows to puff himself up above those at whose prayers is made (*conficitur*) the body and blood of Christ! Dost thou seek authority? Hear testimony: 'Paul and Timothy, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' (Phil. i. 1.) Dost thou wish another example? In the Acts of the Apostles, to the priests of one church Paul speaks thus: 'Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the Church of the Lord (*Domini*), which he hath purchased with his own

blood.' (Acts xx. 28.) And lest anyone maintain contentiously that in one church there were several bishops, hear thou another testimony, by which it is most plainly proved that a bishop and a presbyter are the same: 'For this cause I left thee in Crete that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in every city, as I had appointed thee. If any man be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly, for a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God.' (Titus i. 5-7.) Also to Timothy: 'Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the imposition of the hands of the presbytership' (*presbyterii*, eldership).—1 Tim. iv. 14. But Peter also in his first epistle said, 'The presbyters which are among you I exhort, who am also a fellow-presbyter and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed in time to come; rule (*regere*) the flock of Christ (*Christi*), taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God.' (1 Peter v. 1, 2.)

25. In Greek it is more significantly called *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, that is superintending, and from that term the name of bishop (*episcopi*) is derived. Do the testimonies of such great men appear small to thee? Let the Gospel trumpet sound, the son of thunder, whom Jesus loved very much, who drank the streams of doctrine from the Saviour's breast: 'The presbyter unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in the truth.' (2 John 1.) Also in another epistle: 'The presbyter unto the well-beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth.' (3 John 1.)

26. But that afterwards one was chosen to be over the rest was done to prevent schism, lest each one drawing the Church of Christ after him should break it up. For at Alexandria also, from Mark the Evangelist to the bishops Hereclas and Dionisius, the presbyters always called one elected from among themselves, and placed in a higher rank, bishop; just as an army may constitute its general, or deacons may elect one of themselves, whom they may know to be diligent, and call him arch-deacon.

27. For what does a bishop do, except in the case of ordination, which a presbyter may not do? We must not think that the church of the city of Rome is one, and the church of the whole world is another. France, England, Africa, Persia, The East, India, and all the barbarous nations, worship one Christ, and keep one rule of the faith. If we seek for authority, the whole world is greater than the city of Rome.

28. Wherever there is a bishop, be it at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, Alexandria or Tanis, they are of the same merit, of the same priesthood. The power of riches and the meanness of poverty makes not a bishop higher or lower, for they are all successors of the apostles. But thou sayest how is a presbyter at Rome ordained on the testimony of a deacon? Why dost thou quote to me the custom of one city? Why dost thou assert for the laws of the church fewness, from which arrogancy hath sprung? Everything which is scarce is the more sought after. Amongst the Indians penny-royal is more precious than pepper. Fewness makes deacons honourable, but

a multitude of presbyters makes them contemptible. Moreover, even in the Church of Rome presbyters sit, whereas deacons stand; although by degrees, as faults increased, I have seen a deacon sit among the presbyters in the absence of the bishop, and in private entertainments pronounce the blessing instead of the presbyters.

29. Let those learn who do this that they do not act rightly, and let them hear the apostles. 'It is not meet to leave the Word of God and serve tables.' (Acts vi. 2.) Let them know why deacons were appointed. Let them read the Acts of the Apostles. Let them bring to their mind their rank. A presbyter and a bishop is a title, one of age, the other of office. Whence there is mention, in the Epistle to Titus and Timothy, concerning the ordination of a bishop and deacon, but there is entire silence about presbyters, because in the bishop the presbyter is included.

30. He who is promoted is promoted from the less to the greater; either, then, a deacon may be ordained from a presbyter, should a presbyter be proved less than a deacon, into which diaconate he is advanced from a lower degree; or, if a presbyter is ordained from a deacon, let him know that he is inferior in lucre, but superior in priestly office. And as we know that the apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament, that what Aaron and his sons and Levites were in the temple, bishops, presbyters, and deacons claim for themselves in the Church.

Ad Asellam, tom. ii. p. 363.

31. In the opinion of almost all men I was considered worthy of the high-priesthood (*summo sacerdotio*).

Fabiola de quad. Mans., Sexta Mansio, tom. iii. pp. 43, 44.

32. 'And they removed from Marah, and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and three score and ten palm-trees; and they pitched there.' (Num. xxxiii. 9.) . . . Nor is there any doubt but that there is a description of the twelve apostles, from whom, as fountains, waters are derived, to irrigate the whole parched world. By these waters there grew seventy palm-trees, whom we understand to be teachers of the second order. Luke testifies that there were twelve apostles, and seventy disciples of a minor grade, whom the Lord sent before him two by two. And of these Paul speaks, that the Lord appeared first to the eleven, then to all the apostles, intimating that some disciples of Christ were understood to be of the first degree, and some of the second. We drink of fountains of this kind, and, eagerly partaking of the sweet fruits of victory, are prepared for the mansions which remain.

De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesie, tom. iv. pp. 83-85.

33. The sixth degree is the order of seniors (*seniorum*), which is assigned to priests, who are called presbyters, who preside (*presunt*) over the Church of God, and make (*conficiunt*) the sacraments of Christ. These, however, are participators with the bishops in their office in pronouncing the blessing. . . .

34. Presbyters ought to preach to the people; it is suitable for them to pronounce the blessing, it is becoming for them to confirm, it is proper for them to administer the communion, it is necessary they should visit the sick, pray for the infirm, and complete all the sacraments of God. It is especially manifest that this was the custom in the East, in Illyricum, in Italy, and in all places in Africa, in the times of the apostles, and solely on account of the authority of the chief-priest (*summo sacerdoti*) were the ordinations of the clergy, and the consecration of virgins, reserved to him, &c. lest the discipline of the Church being claimed by the many might disturb the peace of the priests and generate scandals.

35. For this cause, also, the election of a bishop has latterly been referred to the metropolitan, and since the chief power is given to him this faculty is taken from others, and now the chief-priests begin to endure another priest, not of right, but of necessity. . . .

36. No bishop is angry if presbyters sometimes exhort the people, if they preach in the churches, if they pronounce the blessing on the people. For if anyone objects to these things, I would say to him, who does not wish the presbyters to do what they were commanded by God, let him tell me who is greater than Christ? or what can be preferred to His body and blood? If a presbyter consecrates Christ, and when he blesses the sacraments on the altar of God, ought he not to bless the people, being worthy to consecrate Christ? . . .

37. From the beginning, as we read, presbyters were enjoined to be judges in the affairs, and were present in the council of priests, since presbyters themselves were called by the name of bishops, according as it is written to Titus, 'And ordained presbyters,' . . . 'for a bishop must be blameless.' (Titus i. 5-7.) You see, therefore, that a presbyter is called a bishop, and that that is the opinion of the Apostle Paul. And elsewhere to Timothy concerning church order, 'A bishop must be blameless, &c.' (1 Tim. iii. 2.) You see, therefore, that there is no mention made of a presbyter, but this is the degree which he calls the office of a bishop. And elsewhere to Timothy, a bishop, 'These things command and teach, &c.' (1 Tim. iv. 11-14.) You understand, therefore, that in the presbyter is placed the highest point of the priesthood (*summam sacerdotii*). And elsewhere to presbyters (*majores natu*) who hath placed you bishops to rule His Church at Philippi. Certainly a single city of Macedonia. And when Paul wrote thither to bishops and deacons, why did he call those who preside as presbyters bishops unless they were so? . . .

38. But the seventh degree in this disquisition is the episcopal order, the chief and most perfect of all, who of the omnipotence of God is given in Christ, from whom proceeds all glory and fulness of virtue, from whom are all things, and in whom are all things. For He Himself ordains the priests (bishops and presbyters), He Himself the Levites (deacons), He Himself the subdeacons, He Himself the readers, He Himself the doorkeepers, He Himself the gravediggers. . . .

39. And so it is that you may recognise the Lord in the bishops, the apostles in the presbyters, who also are apostles themselves. But because

it is written, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.' He who chooses is called the chief-priest, they who have been chosen are priests. For God gave all His power to His disciples, and He desired Moses to be called the God of Pharaoh. And the man Christ Jesus was greater, in that He hath appeared in the flesh. And this is the mystery of the church which Ezra describeth, which, being arranged in five degrees, contains the meaning of our chapter [priests, Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims]. (Ezra ii. 36, 40-43.) For the episcopate and presbytership are appointed for seeing (*visui*), according to that which is written, 'I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel.' (Ezek. iii. 17.) The Levites are appointed for smelling (*odoratui*), because, they being joined to the priests, are the pillars and foundation of the truth; they, to the pure in mind, are spiritually an odour of life unto life, and through their hands an odour of sacrifice ascends in the sight of God. The Nethinims are appointed for hearing (*auditui*), as they all hear the Divine words and precepts of the priests, and the duties of the Levites. The sacred singers are appointed for speech (*sermoni*), which is the tongue. The doorkeepers or gravediggers are appointed for the mouth (*ori*), as it is written, 'Set a keeper, O Lord, before my mouth, and a door round about my lips.' (Psalm cxl. 3.) 'For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' (Matt. xii. 37.) 'For life and death are in the mouth of man.' (Prov. xviii. 21.)

40. So in the gravediggers the spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets: the teachers in the doorkeepers, the prophets in the readers, the angels in the subdeacons, the archangels in the deacons, the apostles in the presbyters, God in the bishops.

Comment. in Esaiaem, tom. v. p. 17.

41. 'And the honourable in countenance, and the counsellor.' (Isaiah iii. 3, Lat. Vul.) What is here translated as referring to two persons, in the LXX. is translated as referring to one. 'Wonderful Counsellor.' Among other favours, the Lord removed this also from Judea; they had no counsellor, they did all things without counsel. [After quoting a beautiful sentiment from the Greek poets, he adds:] We read one and the same thing in our books, 'Thou hast many friends, but let one of a thousand be thy counsellor.' (Ecclesiasticus vi. 6.) Again, 'Do all things with counsel, and with prudence, He shall give thee the Wonderful Counsellor.'

42. The senate also declares decrees, and certain Roman princes have been entitled consuls, either from giving counsel to the state or by transacting all things in council. And we have in the Church our senate, the assembly of presbyters.

Ibid. cap. lviii. 9, tom. v. pp. 218, 219.

43. With us *χειροτονία* ('stretching forth of the hands') is the ordination of the clergy which is completed (*impletur*), not only by prayer, but also the laying on of hands, lest (as we have laughed at in some men) a secret prayer should ordain persons as clergymen without their knowledge.

Ibid. cap. lxvi. 2, tom. v. p. 259.

44. 'And I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord.' (Isaiah lxvi. 21.) They who have been saved should preach to the nations. Of whom one said, 'Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.' (1 Cor. iv. 1.) And Luke the Evangelist, 'Even as they delivered them,' says he, 'unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word.' (Luke i. 2.) Of whom we read above, 'Ye shall be to me priests of the Lord.' (Isaiah lxi. 6.) For he is a Jew inwardly who is circumcised by the Spirit; of whom it is written, 'We are the circumcision which worship God in the Spirit,' and we offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, and we sing with the spirit and the understanding: and thus they are priests and Levites inwardly who follow not the order of nature, but the order of faith. However, he speaks not of apostles, nor apostolical men, who were princes (*principes*) of the Church from the people of the Jews, but of the nations enumerated above: of the sea, of Africa, of Lybia, of Cappadocia, of Italy, of Greece, of all the islands whose inhabitants heard not at first, nor saw, His glory, and afterwards they were turned into priests. That they who had been the tail became the head, and they who had been the head were turned into the tail. When he says, 'I will take of them for priests and for Levites,' He shows that He passed over the ancient priesthood, which was confined to the tribe of Levi: where there was no election but the order of nature, and handed down by family descent.

Comment in Ezech. cap. xlv. 31, tom. v. p. 549.

45. 'The priests shall not eat of anything, &c.' Keeping close to the letter, this applies to every chosen race, royal and priestly, which properly belongs to Christians, who are anointed with spiritual oil: concerning whom it is written, 'God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'

Comment. in Micheam, tom. vi. pp. 142, 143.

46. 'The leaders of my people shall be cast forth from their luxurious houses.' (Micah ii. 9, Sep. vers.) This can be taken generally as applying to the princes, priests, and pharisees, of the Jewish people, &c.; but also princes of the Church who resort to delights, and believe that they keep chastity in the midst of feasts and wantonness. . . . If we are in the place of the apostles, we should not only follow their words, but also embrace their behaviour and abstinence.

Comment. in Nahum, tom. vi. p. 181.

47. 'Thy shepherds have slumbered, O king of Assyria, thy princes shall be buried: thy people are hid in the mountains, and there is none to gather them together.' (Nahum iii. 18, Lat. Vul.) Whomsoever he (the devil) hath deceived and enticed to fall asleep, as it were, with the sweet and deadly enchantment of the sirens, those persons doth God's word arouse, saying unto them, 'Arise thou that sleepest, lift up thyself; and Christ shall give thee light.' Therefore, at the coming of

Christ, of God's Word, of the ecclesiastical doctrine, and of the full destruction of Nineveh, formerly a most specious harlot, then shall the people, which heretofore had been cast into a trance under their teachers, be raised up, and they shall make haste to go to the mountains of Scripture; and there they shall find mountains, I mean Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun.

48. Other mountains also, which are the prophets; and mountains of the New Testament, which are the apostles and the evangelists. And when the people shall flee for succour to such mountains, and shall be exercised in reading mountains of this kind, though they find not one to teach them (for the harvest will be great, and the labourers few), yet shall the good desires of the people be well accepted, in that they have betaken themselves to such mountains, and the negligence of their teachers shall be openly reprov'd.

Comment. in Malachiam, tom. vi. p. 292.

49. 'Ye priests that despise my name, &c.' (Mal. i. 6.) This Divine discourse reproves negligent bishops, presbyters, and deacons; or, since all we who have been baptised into Christ are a priestly and royal race, and are reputed Christians by the name of Christ.

Comment. in Psalmos, tom. viii. p. 68.

50. 'Instead of thy fathers sons are born to thee, thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' (Psalm xlv. 16, Sep. ver.) O church, apostles have been thy fathers, because they begat thee. But now, since they have departed from the world, thou hast in their stead sons—bishops which have been created by thee. For these also are thy fathers, because by them thou art ruled. 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' Christ appointed His saints over all peoples. For in the name of God the Gospel is extended to all the ends of the earth, in which are princes of the church—that is, bishops have been constituted.

Ibid. tom. viii. pp. 126, 127.

51. 'His foundations are in the holy mountains.' (Psalm lxxxvii. 1.) Whom can we call the foundations? The apostles. The foundations were on them; there the faith of the Church was first placed, and there the foundations were placed. And everyone building on this foundation, either gold, or silver, or precious stones, loves the gates of Zion more than all the tabernacles of Jacob.

52. 'The Lord shall tell in the writings of peoples and of the princes, of them that have been in her.' (Verse 6.) He did not say those who *are* in her, but those who *have been* in her. 'The Lord shall tell;' and how shall he tell? Not in word, but in writing. In whose writing? That of the peoples? That of the princes is not sufficient. But he also says in that of the princes; and of what princes? They who *are* in her? He did not say this, but who *have been* in her.

53. See, therefore, how full the Holy Scriptures are of sacraments (*sacramentis*, symbols). We read of the Apostle Paul, we read of Peter, and we read of him (Paul) saying, 'Do ye seek a proof of

Christ that speaketh in me?' (2 Cor. xiii. 3.) And what Paul speaks, Christ speaks; for 'He who receiveth you receiveth me.' (Matt. x. 40.) Therefore our Lord and Saviour telleth us, and speaketh in the writings of His princes. The Lord will tell in the writings of the peoples, in the Holy Writings. Which writing is read by all the people, that is, that all may understand. He saith what this is. As the apostles have written so also the Lord Himself; that is, He hath spoken by His evangelists, and that not a few, but that all may understand.

54. Plato wrote writings, but he wrote not for peoples, but for the few. For scarcely three men understand him. These indeed, that is, the princes of the Church and princes of Christ, have not written for a few, but for the whole people. And of the princes, that is, of the apostles, and evangelists of those who have been in her. See ye what he says. Who *have been*, not who *are*; that, the apostles excepted, whatever else is said afterwards is cut off, hath no authority afterwards. Although, therefore, anyone after the apostles, although he may be eloquent, he hath no authority, because 'The Lord shall tell in the writing of peoples, and of these princes that *have been* in her.'

Ibid. tom. viii. p. 193.

55. 'Ye that stand in the house of the Lord.' (Ps. cxxxv. 2.) The Church does not consist in the walls, but in the truth of the doctrines. The Church is there where the true faith is. But about fifteen or twenty years ago, heretics possessed all the walls of the churches here. For, twenty years ago, heretics possessed all the churches. But the true Church was where the true faith was.

Comment. in Matt. lib. i. tom. ix. p. 24.

56. 'For it was founded upon a rock.' (Matt. vii. 25.) On this rock the Lord founded His Church; from this rock the Apostle Peter obtained his name. . . . The foundation which the apostle as an architect (*architectus*) laid is one, our Lord Jesus Christ; upon this foundation, stable and firm, founded by itself in great strength, the Church of Christ is built.

Ibid. lib. ii. p. 49.

57. 'And I say to thee that thou art Peter, &c.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) As the Lord Himself gave light to the apostles, that they might be called the light of the world, so did they obtain other names from Him; thus on Simon, who believed in the rock Christ, the name of Peter is bestowed. And according to the metaphor of a rock, it is rightly said to him: I will build my Church on thee. . . .

58. 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' (Matt. xvi. 19.) Bishops and presbyters, not understanding this passage, assume to themselves something of the superciliousness of the Pharisees, thinking that they can condemn the innocent and absolve the guilty, when, before God, it is not the sentence of the priests, but the life of the accused, that is required. We read in Leviticus of the lepers, where they are ordered to show themselves to the priests, and if they had the leprosy then the priest should pronounce them un-

clean; not that the priest could make them leprous and unclean, but that they might have notice of those who were lepers and those who were not, and might be able to discern between the clean and the unclean. In the same manner, therefore, as the priest then announced the clean and the unclean so now the bishop and the presbyter do not bind or loose those who are innocent or guilty, but by virtue of their office, when they hear the varieties of sins, they know who should be bound or who should be loosed: 'bindeth or looseth;' not those who are innocent or guilty, but according to his office, when he hears the varieties of their sins, he knows who ought to be bound and who ought to be loosed.

Ibid. lib. iii. p. 55.

59. Because He had said, 'If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican.' (Matt. xviii. 17.) Whereupon the brother so contemned might answer, or think within himself, 'If you despise me, I also will despise you; if you condemn me, you shall be condemned by my sentence.' He therefore confers powers upon the apostles, that they may be assured that, when any are condemned after this manner, the sentence of man is ratified by the sentence of God.

Ibid. lib. iii. p. 67.

60. 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' chair (*cathedram*). All, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works.' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.) Who more gentle, more benignant than the Lord? He is tempted by the Pharisees. Their snares are broken, according to the Psalmist, 'The arrows of children are made their wounds.' (Ps. lxiv. 8, Lat. Vul.) Yet nevertheless, for the sake of the honour of the priesthood and its name, He exhorted the people to be subject to them, but not to observe their works, but their doctrine. But what is that He says? 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair.' By 'chair' he denotes the doctrine of the law. . . . We ought to accept the term 'chair' as relating to doctrine.

Comment. in Matt. xxiii. 35, tom. ix. p. 70.

61. That which hath no authority from Scripture is as easily rejected as approved.

Ibid. lib. iv. tom. ix. p. 86.

62. 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) He who promised that He would be with His disciples to the end of the age shows also that they shall always live, and that He will never depart from believers. He, however, who promises His presence to the end of the world does not overlook the day in which He knows He will be with His apostles.

Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas, lib. i. tom. ix. p. 159.

63. 'Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father.' (Gal. i. 1.) An apostle (*ἀπόστολος*) is

one who is sent. It is properly a term of the Hebrews; *silas* (שִׁלַּס, *sheleeach*), the same signification; from the term *sending*, the name is applied to one who *is sent*. The Hebrews also say among themselves that there are prophets and certain holy men who are both prophets and apostles, but that there are others who are prophets only. Moses, to whom it is said, 'And I *will send* thee to Pharaoh' (Ex. iii. 10); and he himself answered, 'Provide another whom thou *mayest send*' (Ex. iv. 13, Sep. ver.) And Isaiah, to whom God speaks, 'Whom *shall I send*, and who shall go to this people?' (Is. vi. 8.) These were both prophets and apostles. . . . But there are four kinds of apostles; one which is neither of men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father. There is indeed another kind which is of God, but by man; a third which is of man, not of God; a fourth which is neither of God nor by man nor of man, but of themselves. Isaiah and other prophets, and Paul the apostle himself, can be of the first kind, who were neither of men nor by man, but sent of God the Father and Christ. Of the second kind is Joshua the son of Nun, who was indeed constituted an apostle of God, but by the man Moses. There is a third kind, anyone who is ordained with the favour and desire of men. And now we see that there are very many who have been elected into the priesthood, not by the judgment of God, but by the purchased favour of the multitude. The fourth kind consists of false prophets and false apostles, of whom the Apostle says, 'Such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ.'

Ibid. lib. i. tom. ix. pp. 164, 165.

64. 'But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.' (Gal. i. 19.) I remember that I, whilst I was in Rome, urged at the request of the brethren, published a book on the perpetual virginity of holy Mary. On which I was obliged to discourse at great length respecting those who were called the brethren of our Lord. Whence, whatsoever things those are which we have written, we ought to be satisfied with them. Now let this suffice, that, on account of the extraordinary character and incomparable faith, and wisdom of no common kind, he (James) hath been called the brother of our Lord, and for that reason was the first to be over that Church which was the first to believe in Christ, and to be gathered out of the Jews. Certain other apostles also are called the brethren of our Lord, as in the Gospel, 'Go and tell my brethren I go to my Father and to your Father, and to my God and to your God.' (John xx. 17.) 'I will declare thy name to my brethren: in the midst of the Church will I praise thee.' (Psalm xxii. 22.) But chiefly he is called brother to whom the Lord, when going to His Father, had commended the sons of His Mother. And as Job and other patriarchs are called indeed servants (*famuli*) of God—but Moses had it as an eminent title, that it should be written of him, but not as Moses *My* servant—so also the blessed James was called (as we have said before) the brother of the Lord. But besides the Twelve, certain other persons were called apostles for this reason, that all who have seen the Lord, and afterwards preached Him, were

called apostles, as it is written to the Corinthians, 'Then He was seen of the eleven (*undecim*); after that, He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom many remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen of James; then of all the apostles.' (1 Cor. xv. 5-7.) In course of time, others also were ordained apostles by those whom the Lord had chosen, as that discourse to the Philippians declares, 'Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour and fellow-soldier, but your apostle, and he that ministered to my wants.' (Phil. ii. 25.) And to the Corinthians of such it is written, 'Or the apostles of the Churches in the glory of God.' (2 Cor. viii. 23.) Silas also and Judas are named apostles by the apostles. (Acts xv.) Whence he hath erred very much who has thought that James here is the apostle of the Gospel, brother of John, who, it is plain, according to the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles, shed his blood for Christ. But this James was the first bishop of Jerusalem, surnamed the Just.

Ibid. lib. ii. tom. ix. p. 181.

65. 'Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am: for I am as ye are. (Gal. iv. 12.) Peter also spoke these words: 'The elders (*seniores*) among you I ask who am myself also a fellow-elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ.' This indeed incites us to humility, and cuts off the pride of bishops, who, as if placed on some high tower, scarcely deign to look at mortals, and speak to their fellow-servants.

Ibid. lib. iii. tom. ix. p. 190.

66. Arius, in Alexandria, was at first but one spark; but because it was not presently extinguished, it broke out into a flame which devoured the whole world.

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephesios, lib. ii. tom. ix. p. 223.

67. 'And gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers.' (Eph. iv. 11.) But it should not be thought that, as in the three superior grades, he said that there were some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, so also among pastors and teachers he appointed different offices; for he did not say some pastors and some teachers, but some pastors and teachers; so that he who is a pastor ought also to be a teacher, although it is not established in the Churches for one to assume to himself the name of a pastor unless he can teach those over whom he is pastor. Or certainly otherwise one and the same president of a Church would be pastor and teacher; pastor of the sheep, teacher of men. Forasmuch as, O Lord! thou dost save man and beast. I think also, in the Churches at this present day, that, as there are found prophet and evangelist, also pastor and teacher, so there could be found an apostle in whom the signs and marks of the apostolate are accomplished; and that out of this region there are very many, without as well as within, in the Church as well as in heresies, who are false apostles, and false prophets, and false evangelists, and false pastors, and false teachers. And of heresies there is

no doubt, but by a false faith those who are in them possess all false things. But in the Churches, doth it not appear to you that there are false pastors who feed not the sheep with discipline, but as hirelings who think not of the safety of the flock, bringing not back what has strayed, and seeking not after what is lost, but only taking of the sheep the milk and the wool, that is to say, food and clothing? . . . Now he adds that some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and teachers, were distributed in the Church; who were necessary to the perfection of the 'instruction of the saints in the work of the ministry for the edifying of the body of Christ,' because since the Church is the body of the Lord, and the Church is constructed of living stones, those whom we have named above as constituted in the Church have that kind of work that, according to the dispensation and offices entrusted to them, they should build the Church of Christ, that is, His Body. If anyone, therefore, doth not build the Church of Christ, doth not prepare a people subjected to him, as of a people subjected the Church of Christ is constructed, such a one is not to be called an apostle, nor a prophet, nor an evangelist, nor a pastor, nor a teacher.

Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, tom. ix. pp. 244, 245.

68. 'For this cause left I thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in every city as I had appointed thee.' (Titus i. 5.) It belongs to the dignity of an apostle to lay the foundation of a Church which no one is able to lay except a master builder (*architectus*). But there is no other foundation except Christ Jesus. Those who are inferior workmen (*inferiores artifices*) can construct buildings on the foundations. Paul, therefore, as a wise master builder (*architectus*), and contending with all labour, that he might not glory in things ready to his hands, but where Christ had not yet been preached after he had softened the hard hearts of the Cretians to the faith of Christ, and both by preaching and miracles had tamed and instructed them not to believe in their household Jove, but in God the Father and in Christ

71. He left Titus a disciple at Crete that he might confirm the first principles of the rising Church;

Dr. Wordsworth.

69. 'Q. "You say that they (Timothy and Titus) were not apostles; was their power apostolic?" A. "Yes; their office was similar to and in the place of that of the apostles." Q. "How do you show this?" A. "St. Paul tells Titus that he had left him in Crete, that he might *perfect* the things which he (St. Paul himself) had left incomplete." (See Chap. IV. 9 of this volume.)

70. "That thou mightest set in order in addition the things that are wanting." A proof of the apostolic authority committed to Titus. He, as *bishop* of Crete, had been appointed by St. Paul to *succeed* in the discharge of the ordinary functions of his office in the *place* of the Apostle Paul, and to *supply* what was left incomplete by him.'

72. "He left Titus at Crete that he might confirm the first principles of the rising Church." "That thou

and if anything seemed to be wanting, he might set it in order : he himself going forward to other nations that again he might lay the foundation of Christ among them. What he said 'That thou shouldest (further) set in order the things that are wanting' shows that, whilst they had not come to the full knowledge of the truth, although they had been set in order by the apostle, yet then amendment was still needed, but everything which is set in order is imperfect. For in Greek there is the addition of a preposition with which it is written (*ἐπιδιορθώσης*), which does not mean *corrigeres* (thou shouldest set in order), but *corrigeres super* (thou shouldest further set in order), that those things which have been set in order by me, not yet drawn in the full line of truth, may be set in order by thee and receive the pattern of equality.

shouldest set in order in addition the things that are wanting." But everything which is set in order is imperfect. For in Greek there is the addition of a preposition with which it is written, which does not mean *corrigeres* (thou shouldest set in order), but *corrigeres super* (thou shouldest set in order in addition), that those things which have been set in order by me, not yet drawn in the full line of truth, may be set in order by thee and receive the pattern of equality.'—*Theophilus Angli.* pp. 94, 95, and *Notes on the Greek Test. Titus* i. 5.

73. 'And constituted presbyters.' Let bishops hear, who have the power of constituting presbyters in every city, under what kind of law of the ecclesiastical constitution the order is held ; nor let them think that they are the words of the apostle, but of Christ, who said to His disciples, 'He that despiseth you despiseth me ; and he that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me. So also, 'He who heareth you heareth me, but he who heareth me heareth Him that sent me.' (Luke x. 16.) From which it is plain those who in contempt of apostolic law would confer the ecclesiastical degree upon anyone, not of merit, but of favour, act contrary to Christ, who has declared by His own apostle in the words following what kind of presbyters is to be constituted in the Church. Moses, the friend of God, to whom God spoke face to face, was able to make his own sons successors to the chief power, and leave the peculiar honour to his posterity. But Joshua, of another descent, of another tribe, is elected, that we might know that the chief government of the people must not be conferred on blood relations, but on life.

74. We see that most bishops now do this of favour, so as not to seek those who can most assist the Church, and that they may set up pillars in the Church ; but to those whom they either themselves love, or by whose subserviency they have been won over, or for whom some person of note has made the request, and, that I may not say worse things, who, that they may become clergymen, have obtained the office by gifts. Let us attend diligently to the words spoken by the apostle. 'That thou shouldest constitute presbyters as I had appointed thee.'

What kind of presbyters must be ordained he shows in what follows, when he says, 'If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, &c.' Afterwards he states, 'For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.'

75. A presbyter, therefore, is the same as a bishop, and before dissensions were introduced into religion by the instigation of the devil, and it was said among the peoples, 'I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas,' Churches were governed by a common council of presbyters; afterwards, when everyone thought that those whom he had baptised were his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest, and to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schisms might be plucked up. Whosoever thinks that there is no proof from Scripture, but that this is my opinion, that a presbyter and bishop are the same, and that one is a title of age, the other of office, let him read the words of the apostle to the Philippians, saying, 'Paul and Timotheus, servants of Christ to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons.' (Phil. i. 1.) Philippi is one city of Macedonia; and certainly in one city there cannot be many bishops, such as are now so called.

76. But because at that time they called the same persons bishops whom they called presbyters therefore the apostle speaks of bishops as presbyters indifferently. Should this still seem ambiguous to anyone, unless verified by another testimony, in the Acts of the Apostles it is written 'that, when the apostle had come to Miletus, he sent to Ephesus and called the presbyters of the Church,' to whom afterwards, among other things, he said, 'Take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to feed the Church of the Lord (*Domini*), which he hath purchased with his own blood.' (Acts xx. 17, 28.) And here observe you very attentively how, calling the presbyters of one city, Ephesus, he afterwards called the same persons bishops. If anyone wishes to receive that epistle which under the name of Paul is written to the Hebrews, there he finds the care of the Church divided equally among many under whom it is placed. 'Obey your rulers (*principibus*, L. V. *præpositis*), and be subject unto them,' &c. (Heb. xiii. 17.) And Peter, who received his name from the firmness of his faith, in his epistle speaks, saying, 'The presbyters who are among you I exhort who am a fellow-presbyter and a witness of the sufferings of Christ.' (1 Peter v. 1.)

77. Therefore, as we have shown, among the ancients presbyters were the same as bishops; but by degrees, that the plants of dissension might be rooted up, all responsibility was transferred to one person.

78. Therefore, as the presbyters know that it is by the custom of the Church that they are to be subject to him who is placed over them so let the bishops know that they are above presbyters rather by custom than by Divine appointment, and ought to rule the Church in common, following the example of Moses, who, when he alone had power to preside over the people Israel, chose seventy, with the assistance of whom he might judge the people. We see therefore what kind of presbyter or bishop should be ordained.

Ibid. tom. ix. p. 257.

79. We read in the exordium of this epistle, 'For this cause left I thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in every city, as I had appointed thee.' Because, as the Cretians had lately believed, Paul leaving and passing over to other churches, they might not be left as orphans, but might have an apostolic man who might set in order the things which appeared to be wanting.

80. Therefore, after the foundation of other churches was laid, Titus was necessary to erect a building thereupon. Paul writes to him that, when he should send Artemas or Tychicus to Crete, namely, one of the two who were with him, that his place might be filled, he himself would go to Nicopolis, stating that he should spend the winter there. From which we prove the paternal affection of Paul for the Cretians. He needed Titus in the ministry of the Gospel. However, he did not wish him to come to him except Artemas or Tychicus came as a successor in his place. Nicopolis is that city which took its name on the victory of Augustus, because there he conquered Antony and Cleopatra.

81. 'Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey, &c.' This is that Apollos of whom Paul writes to the Corinthians, 'Every-one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas.' He was a man of Alexandria, of the Jews, very eloquent and perfect in the law, a bishop of the Corinthians. On account of the dissensions which were at Corinth, it is thought that he passed over to Crete, a neighbouring island, with Zenas the lawyer, and, when the dissensions which had arisen at Corinth were moderated by the epistle of Paul, that he returned thither again.

82. We cannot say who Zenas the lawyer was from any other passage of Scripture, except this only that he was an apostolic man, and had that kind of work in which Apollos was engaged, namely, the erecting of Churches of Christ. . . . Thou (Titus), says he, hast power among the disciples; teach them that they be not unfruitful, but that they minister to evangelists and apostolic men who labour in good works.

Comment. in Epist. Priorem ad Corinth. tom. ix. p. 299.

83. 'In every place both theirs and ours.' (1 Cor. i. 2.) Because priests (*sacerdotes*) both act in their own place and in that of the apostles, they are called apostles of the Churches.

Comment. in Epist. Priorem ad Tim. tom. ix. pp. 383, 384.

84. 'Likewise must the deacons, &c.' (1 Tim. iii. 8.) It is asked why he has made no mention of presbyters, but has included them under the name of bishops. Because the degree is second, nay, almost the same, as he writes to the Philippians to bishops and deacons, though one city could not have more bishops than one; and in the Acts of the Apostles, when about to go to Jerusalem, collecting together the presbyters, among other things, he said, 'Look to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath ordained you bishops.'

30.

AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

Flourished about A.D. 376.

Enarratio in Psalmum xxxviii. tom. ii. col. 744.

1. Finally I hear Him saying, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that thou mayest both loose and bind.' Novatian did not hear this, but the Church of God heard it. Therefore he is in apostacy (*in lapsu*), we in remission (*in remissione*). He in penance (*penitentia*), we in favour. What is said to Peter is said to the other apostles.

Enarratio in Psalmum xl. tom. ii. col. 762.

2. This is that Peter to whom Christ said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' Therefore, where Peter is, there is the Church; where the Church is, there is no death, but life eternal. And therefore He adds, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' That blessed Peter, against whom the gates of hell prevailed not, did not close the gates of heaven against himself, but, on the contrary, destroyed the entrances of hell, and made manifest the entrances to heaven. Being, therefore, placed on earth, he opened heaven and closed hell.

Enarratio in Psalmum cxviii. octon. x. tom. ii. col. 958, 959.

3. 'Thy hands have made me.' (Ps. cxix. 73.) For man is not the image of God, but after the likeness. There is another who is the 'image of the Invisible God, the First-Born of every creature, by whom are all things.' He is not after the image, but the image; thou art not the image, but after the image. . . . Thou wast made a living soul. . . . Christ said, 'Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' (John xx. 21, 22.) Do you not see, therefore, what hands made man, or what man they made? We therefore have put on him whom, according to Christ, 'having put off the old man with his deeds, and having put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, where there is neither bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.' (Col. iii. 9-11.) We therefore have put on Christ, as it is elsewhere said, 'have put on Christ.' We have received the Holy Ghost, who not only remits our sins, but also makes us His priests to remit sins to others.

Comment. lib. v. in Evang. Luc. tom. iii. col. 81.

4. 'And he gave to them that were with him.' (Luke vi. 4.) But how should this observer and defender of the law eat and also give to those who were with him that bread which it was not lawful for any to eat except for the priests alone, unless he designed to show by this figure that the food of the priests was likewise to be extended to the

people? Whether because we ought all to imitate the sacerdotal life, or because all the sons of the Church are priests, for we are anointed to be a holy priesthood, offering ourselves as spiritual sacrifices unto God.

Ibid. lib. vi. tom. iii. col. 111.

5. 'And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide.' (Luke ix. 4.) That Jesus Christ alone is He from whom we ought never to separate ourselves, and to whom we ought to say, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.' That above all things the faith of a Church ought to be regarded, that we ought to hold it there if Jesus dwell there; but if a people should be found there who are violators of the faith, or that a heretical pastor has polluted that habitation, we ought to separate ourselves from a church that rejects the true faith, and does not preserve the fundamentals of the apostles' preaching, without fear, lest its communion should brand us with some note of perfidiousness.

Ibid. lib. vi. tom. iii. col. 116, 117.

6. 'Peter answering said, The Christ of God.' (Luke ix. 20.) Believe therefore, as Peter believed, that you also may be blessed, that you may deserve to hear, 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven.' For *whoever* overcomes the flesh is a *foundation of the Church*: if he cannot equal Peter, he can imitate him; for the gifts of God are great, who has not only repaired in us what is ours but has even vouchsafed to grant us what is His own. . . . The rock is Christ: 'For they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ;' and He has not denied to His disciple even the favour of this word, *that he may also be a Peter*, because from the rock he derives the solidity of perseverance and the firmness of faith. Strive, therefore, that thou also mayest be a rock. And look for that rock not without thee, but within. The rock is thine action, the rock is thy mind. Upon that rock thy house is built, that it may be struck by no spiritual wickedness. The rock is thy faith, faith is the foundation of the Church. If thou art a rock, thou shalt be in the Church, because the Church is upon the rock. If thou art in the Church the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. The gates of hell are the gates of death, but the gates of death can never be the gates of the Church. But what are the gates of death, that is, the gates of hell, unless they be the several sins. If thou art a fornicator, thou hast entered the gates of death. If thou hast violated thy faith, thou hast gone through the gates of hell. If thou hast committed any mortal sin, thou hast passed the gates of death; but God is mighty, who exalteth thee from the gates of death, that thou mayest announce all his praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion. And the gates of the Church are the gates of chastity, the gates of righteousness, into which the just enter, saying, 'Open to me the gates of righteousness, and I will go into them, and I will praise the Lord.' But as there are the gates of death, the gates of hell, so also there is the gate of righteousness, the gate of God. For this is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in by it.

Ibid. lib. viii. tom. iii. col. 186, 187.

7. Luke xviii. 20-23. This exordium of the law is suitably read for me to-day, seeing it is the birthday of my priesthood. For every year I seem to begin my priesthood anew, since it is renewed by the age of time. That is good which has been read, 'Honour father and mother.' For ye are my parents, ye who conferred my priesthood. Ye, I say, are both sons and parents; sons individually, parents collectively.

De Officiis, lib. i. cap. i. tom iv. col. 1.

8. 'And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers.' (Eph. iv. 11.) I do not claim the honour of the apostles, for who had this but those whom the Son of God himself chose? Nor the grace of prophets, nor the authority of evangelists, nor the circumspection of pastors; but only the attention and diligence concerning the Divine writings, which last the apostle placed among the duties of the saints, and that I may learn this by the study of teaching.

For he only is a true teacher who hath not learned merely, but so learned that he might teach all. But men learn before that which they may teach, and they receive from him taught what they may teach to others. Indeed, hath not that very thing happened to me? For, snatched from benches of justice and robes of government into the priesthood, I have begun to teach what I have not myself learned.

De Spiritu Sancto, lib. ii. tom. iv. col. 252-254.

9. Nor is this operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, found only in Peter, but the same unity of the Divine work is revealed in all the apostles, as the authority of the heavenly constitution. . . . For Paul said, 'Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to rule the Church of God.' (Acts xx. 28.) Therefore we behold unity of government, unity of system, unity of bounty. . . . This is the heritage of apostolic faith and devotion, which may be gathered from the consideration of the Acts of the Apostles themselves. Therefore Paul and Barnabas obeyed the commands of the Holy Spirit. And all the apostles obeyed the same. . . .

10. Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, although the one was the foundation of the Church and the other a wise architect ('master builder'), knowing how to establish the steps of those who believed; nor was Paul, I say, unworthy of the apostolic college, since he may also be compared with the first, and was *second to none*. For he who does not acknowledge himself inferior makes himself equal.

De Incarnationis Dominicæ Mysterio, cap. iv. v. tom. iv. col. 290.

11. When Peter heard, 'But what say ye that I am?' immediately remembering his place he takes the primacy (*primatum*); the primacy indeed in confession, not in honour; the primacy in faith, not in order (*ordinis*); and therefore he is called a foundation, because he professes

to keep not only that which is proper to himself but common to all. To him Christ declares that His Father hath revealed it. For he who speaks the true generation of the Father receives it not from flesh, but from the Father. *Faith, therefore, is the foundation of the Church*; for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it; but the confession overcame hell. And this confession does not exclude one heresy only; for since the Church, like a good ship, is often assailed by many waves, the foundation of the Church ought to prevail against all heresies.

De Sacramentis, lib. iii. cap. i. tom. iv. col. 362.

12. The Father beautifully says to the Son, 'To-day have I begotten Thee,' that is, when Thou hast redeemed the people, when Thou hast called them to the kingdom of heaven, when Thou hast fulfilled my will, Thou hast proved that Thou art my Son. Thou hast ascended from the fountain; what is that which follows? Thou hast heard the lesson. The high-priest was girded. For although presbyters may also have done this yet is the beginning of the ministry from the high-priest. The high-priest, being girded, I say, has washed thy feet. What is this sacred rite? Thou hast heard, then, that the Lord, when He had washed the other disciples' feet, came to Peter, and Peter said to Him, 'Dost Thou wash my feet?' Dost Thou, the Immaculate One, wash my feet? Dost Thou, the founder of the heavens, wash my feet? Thou hast heard the same thing elsewhere. He came to John, and John said to Him, 'I have need to be baptised of Thee, and comest Thou to me?' I a sinner, and Thou comest to me, a sinner, that Thou mayest, as it were, put away Thy sins, who hast never committed sin. See complete righteousness, see humility, see grace, see sanctification! 'Except I wash,' said He, 'thy feet, thou hast no part with me.' We are not ignorant that the Church of Rome has not this custom (of washing of feet), the example and form of which Church we follow in all things; this custom, nevertheless, of washing of feet, she does not retain. Behold, therefore, perhaps she has declined on account of the multitude. There are some, truly, who endeavour to excuse her by the plea that this custom is not a sacred rite: it is not to be done in baptism, nor in regeneration, but it is simply to be done to our guests, as a mark of hospitality. But it is one thing to perform an act in token of humility, and another thing to perform it in order to sanctification. Hear, therefore, how we prove this to be a sacred rite, in order to sanctification. 'Unless I wash thy feet (saith Christ), thou hast no part in me.' I do not speak thus, however, that I may censure others, but that I may commend my office. I desire in all things to follow the Church of Rome; but, nevertheless, we men have sense also; and therefore *whatever is more correctly practised elsewhere, we are more correct in practising*. We follow the Apostle Peter himself, we adhere to the example of his devotion. What can the Roman Church say to this? For truly Peter the Apostle, who was a priest (*sacerdos*) of the Church of Rome, is our authority for this assertion. Peter

himself saith, 'Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.' Behold his faith.

De Dignitate Sacerdotali, cap. ii. tom. iv. col. 379.

13. It was said by the Lord to the blessed Peter, 'Peter, lovest thou me?' and he said, 'Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee;' and when he had been asked for the third time, and it had been followed by a third answer, it being demanded by the Lord for the third time, 'Feed my sheep;' those sheep and that flock the blessed Peter did not then undertake alone, but he also undertook them with us, and all of us undertook them with him.

Ibid. cap. v. col. 382, 383.

14. But if you wish to enquire particularly who made them priests, they at once answer and say, 'I have been lately ordained bishop by an archbishop, and I have given a hundred gold coins to him, that I might deserve to receive episcopal grace, which if I had not given I should by no means have been a bishop to-day. Whence it is better for me to draw gold from my purse than to lose so great a priesthood. I have given gold, and I have procured a bishopric; however, if I live, I do not despair of receiving these gold coins before long. I ordain presbyters, consecrate deacons, and I receive gold. Behold the gold I have given I have got back in my purse; therefore I have received a bishopric for nothing.' I confess this is what I grieve over, that an archbishop carnally makes a bishop. For the sake of money he has ordained a man spiritually leprous. 'Thy money,' said he, 'perish with thee, because thou thoughtest the gift of the Holy Ghost might be purchased with money,' and thou hast miserably accomplished the bargain in the ruin of the soul. Both ignorant and unlearned men in their ordinations cry out and say, 'Thou art worthy, thou art just' (see 33. 8, 9); and a miserable conscience says, 'thou art unworthy, thou art unjust'; for a bishop of this sort pronounces on the people, saying, 'peace be with you,' and, indeed, to carnal eyes he appears as if he were a great bishop, but to the divine ken a great leprous bishop. He obtained the undue orders by money, and destroyed God in the inner man. The flesh undertook the honour, and the soul destroyed honesty; the flesh, which is the handmaid, is made the mistress of the soul; and the soul, which was mistress, is made servant to the flesh; the flesh is ruled by the people, and the soul serves a demon. He has conferred a priesthood on the flesh, and prepared ruin to the soul; and what shall it profit a man of this kind if he should gain the whole world, and suffer ruin to his soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? What he gave when he was ordained bishop was gold, and what he lost was his soul; when he ordained another, what he received was money, and what he gave was leprosy; these are the wares of iniquitous men in their destruction. I ask, however, our brother and fellow-bishop, for I also am a bishop, and I speak with a bishop; therefore, speak to me for a short time, brother bishop; when you gave money, what did you receive? 'I received episcopal grace.' Then I ask you why this

grace is called by such a term. He answers, why do you ask? As I suppose it is given for that which is free, and so is called grace. Therefore, if grace is given freely, and is not estimated by gold, why is grace purchased by you for money? He answered, it would not be given to me if it were not purchased by money, nor should I have been ordained bishop if I had not given money. Therefore, as it appears from your answers that you did not receive grace when you were ordained, because you did not merit it gratuitously, and so, brother, if you did not receive grace, how can you be made a bishop? For the Lord said to His disciples, freely ye have received, freely give. Why, therefore, do you conceive that you could possess gratuitous grace for a price? For as I see, you lost the gold you gave, and have not received holy grace. At the same time, drawing still nearer, my brother bishop, I ask (lest we should seem to have omitted any of the truths of an approving mind), brother, who gives the episcopal grace? God or man? You answer, without doubt, God; but yet God gives it through man; man imposes the hand, God gives the grace; the priest imposes a suppliant hand, and God blesses with a powerful hand; the bishop initiates the order, and God gives the honour. O justice! O equity! if money is given to a man who does nothing more in the matter than the service which alone is committed to him, why is the whole denied to God who bestowed on thee the order itself? Does it appear just to thee that the servant should be honoured, and the Lord suffer injury; and a priest unjustly receive money, and God suffer injury from man? But if in granting the order God expects nothing from thee, why should a priest impudently expect money from thee? God is willing to grant to man freely, and a greedy bishop demands money from a man freely; that a benignant God surely will give to man freely, and a malignant priest makes a gain of him without a cause. 'For what hast thou that thou didst not receive? If thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?'

Comment. in Apocal. tom. v. col. 367.

15. 'And hath made us a kingdom and priests unto God.' (Rev. i. 6.) The Church of God is called the Kingdom of God; Christ therefore made the Kingdom of God from men when He constituted those such in whom He Himself, with the Father and Holy Spirit, should deign to dwell and reign. For they who are denoted by a kingdom are also designated as priests; priests, therefore, are called the chosen of God because they are members of the High-Priest.

Ibid. col. 374.

16. 'The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.' (Rev. i. 20.) Therefore we ought to understand the seven angels to be rectors (*rectores*) of the seven churches, because the term angel is interpreted messenger; and they who announce the Word of God to the peoples are not unsuitably called angels, that is, messengers.

Ibid. col. 474.

17. 'But they shall be priests of the Lord and of Christ.' (Rev. xx. 6.) By the name of priests he includes all the elect, for all the elect are called priests, either because they are members of the High-Priest, or because they do not cease by good works to offer themselves to God.

Ibid. col. 486.

18. 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb.' (Rev. xxi. 14.) What the twelve foundations signify, he himself hath explained when he subjoined that in them were written the names of the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb. I am reproved by some one because I have said that Peter was a foundation of the Church, in that passage where the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.'

19. If Peter is a foundation of the Church, as also the other apostles, as is plainly demonstrated by the above passage, therefore the Church is built upon him, as also upon the other apostles. If, indeed, the building of the Church is not upon Peter, therefore it is not upon the rest. Therefore the present assertion of this John is true, because he said that there were twelve foundations of the Church. Nor does that which the apostle said withdraw us from our meaning: 'for other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.' For Peter is not one foundation, and Christ Jesus another, because Peter is a member of Christ Jesus: as He Himself said to His disciples, 'Ye in me, and I in you.' But Christ is the foundation of all His apostles; in like manner they are the foundations of them who by them have believed. There is therefore one foundation, that is Christ, by whom are contained all the foundations, upon whom, even Christ, the entire structure of the Church is built.

31.

HILARY THE DEACON.

Flourished about A.D. 376.

Comment. in Epist. Paul. inter Op. Ambrosii. In Epist. I. ad Corinth.
tom. iii. col. 383.

1. 'For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels.' (1 Cor. xi. 10.) Power signified the veil. He calls the bishops angels, as it is said in the Apocalypse of John, and because therefore there are men that would not take hold of the common people, they are censured, and what is right in them is praised. The woman, therefore, ought to veil her head because she is not the image of God, but is subjected as is shown; and because transgression by her was voluntary, she ought to have this for a sign, as in the church, on account of reverence for the bishop, she may not have her head free, but covered with a veil; nor may she have the power of speaking, because the bishop represents the person of Christ.

As therefore before the judge so before the bishop, because he is in the place of the Lord (*vicarius Domini*), on account of the origin of guilt, she ought to appear to be in subjection.

Ibid. col. 391.

2. 'And God hath set some in His Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, &c.' 'Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? &c.' (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29.) Therefore He hath placed apostles the head in the Church, who are ambassadors of Christ, as the same apostle says, 'for whom we are ambassadors.' These are bishops, the Apostle Peter giving us assurance of it; 'and his bishopric let another take.' 'Secondarily prophets.' We understand prophets to be of two kinds, both those who foretell future things and interpret the Scriptures, although apostles may be also prophets, because the first rank includes all that are subjected to it. Lastly, Caiaphas prophesied because he was high-priest, not on the ground of suitable merit, but on account of order. However, there were prophets, especially those who interpreted the Scriptures and foretold future things; such was Agabus, who prophesied that there would be calamities and chains to this apostle in Jerusalem, and that there would be a famine, which happened in the time of Claudius; so, although an apostle is better, yet sometimes, however, he stood in need of prophets.

3. And because all things are from one God the Father, He decreed that one bishop should be over each church (*singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit*). 'Thirdly teachers.' He calls those teachers who instructed youths in the church, by keeping them to writings and traditions after the custom of the synagogue, for their tradition hath been handed down to us 'Are all apostles?' It is true, because there is one bishop in a church. 'Are all prophets?' It is not ambiguous, for prophecy is not granted to all. 'Are all teachers?' He is a teacher to whom it is conceded to instruct others.

Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. tom. iii. col. 463.

4. 'Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ.' (Gal. i. 1.) He testifies that he was not an apostle chosen and sent by men to preach, as some were, who, having been chosen by the apostles, were sent to strengthen the churches; nor as others, who were sent by the Jews to disturb the churches, whom he calls false apostles.

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephes. tom. iii. col. 498.

5. 'And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone.' (Eph. ii. 20.) That is placed upon the New and Old Testament. For that which the apostles preached, the prophets said would come to pass: although he says to the Corinthians, 'God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets;' but these are other prophets, for in that place he discusses the ordination of the Church, but here the foundation of the Church; for prophets arranged, but the apostles laid, the foundations, whence the Lord said to Peter, 'upon this rock I will build my Church,'

that is, on this confession of the catholic faith, I will build the faithful for life.

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephesios, tom. iii. col. 504, 505.

6. 'And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, &c.' (Eph. iv. 11.) The apostles are bishops (*apostoli episcopi sunt*). Prophets are interpreters of the Scriptures: although in the beginning there were prophets, as Agabus, and the four virgin prophetesses, as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, yet now interpreters are called prophets. Evangelists are deacons, as Philip was: for, although they are not priests, yet they can preach the Gospel without a chair (*cathedra*), as the blessed Stephen and Philip, before named. Pastors can also be readers, who, by reading, feed the listening people; 'for man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' Teachers are exorcists, because they repress and chastise those who are unquiet in the Church: or those who are accustomed to instruct, by writings and lessons, children, as is the custom of the Jews, whose tradition has been handed down to us, which, by neglect, has become obsolete. Among these is understood to be in addition, after the bishop, he who, on account of unlocking the hidden sense of the Scriptures, is said to prophesy, because he especially presents the words of future hope, which order now can be of the presbytership. In the bishop there are all orders, because he is the first priest (*primus sacerdos*), that is, the prince of priests (*princeps sacerdotum*), and is also a prophet and evangelist, and the other offices to be performed in the Church in the ministry of the faithful. Yet, after that churches were formed in all places, and offices constituted, matters were arranged otherwise than at the beginning: for at first all were teachers, and all baptised on whatever day, and whatever time, there was an opportunity. For Philip did not enquire the day nor the time on which he should baptise the eunuch, nor did he enjoy a fast. Neither did Paul and Silas put off the time in which they should baptise the keeper of the prison with all his. Neither had Peter deacons, nor did he seek for some day when he should baptise Cornelius and all his household, nor did he do it himself, but commanded the brethren who came with him from Joppa to Cornelius. For as yet there had been no one ordained except the seven deacons.

7. That, therefore, the people might increase and be multiplied, in the beginning it was permitted to everyone to preach the Gospel, to baptise, and to expound the Scriptures in the Church; but when the Church embraced all places, there were certain places of assembly appointed, governors and other officers ordained in the Churches. So that no one of the clergy who was not ordained would dare to take upon himself an office which he knew was not entrusted or conceded to him. And the Church began to be governed by another order and foresight; because, if all men should be equal, it would be without reason, and things would appear common and very worthless. Hence, then, it arises that now neither deacons preach to the people, nor the clergy or laymen baptise, nor are believers baptised on an ordinary day except they be sick.

8. Therefore the apostles do not agree throughout all their writings with the ordination (*ordinationi*) which is now in the Church: because those writings were written at the very commencement. For the apostle calls Timothy, created by him a presbyter, a bishop, for at first presbyters were called bishops; as when one departed the one that came next might succeed him.

9. Moreover, in Egypt, the presbyters confirm if a bishop is not present. But because the presbyters that followed began to be found unworthy to hold the primacy (*primatus*), the custom was altered, a council providing that not order, but merit, ought to make a bishop, and that he should be appointed by the judgment of many priests, lest an unworthy person should rashly usurp the office, and be a scandal to many. The priests in the Lord took their rise from the race of Aaron the Levite: but now all are of a priestly race, the Apostle Peter saying, 'For ye are a royal and priestly race, &c.' (1 Peter ii. 9.)

Comment. in Epist. I. ad Timoth. tom. iii. col. 577, 578.

10. 'Likewise must the deacons, &c.' (1 Tim. iii. 8.) After the bishop the apostle has subjoined the ordination of the deacon. Why, but that the ordination of a bishop and presbyter is one? For each is a priest, but the bishop is first, so that every bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop: for he is bishop who is first (presbyter) among the presbyters (*qui inter presbyteros primus est*). Moreover, he intimates that Timothy was ordained a presbyter, but, inasmuch as he had no other before him, he was a bishop. Whence, also, he shows that he may, after the like manner, ordain a bishop. For it was neither right nor lawful that an inferior should ordain a superior, for no one confers what he has not received. . . . But there ought to be seven deacons and some presbyters, that there may be two in every church, and one bishop in a city.

Ibid. tom. iii. col. 581.

11. 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' (1 Tim. iv. 14.) For if a ruler of the people act contrary to these things, he neglects the grace given to him. For he is created leader by the people for this purpose, to seek their salvation by admonishing and teaching, that the ordination may be fruitful. God therefore has appointed him for this end, to promote the salvation of His people. He, therefore, who is placed in this authority, being negligent, is esteemed a despiser of God, and is called the least in the kingdom of heaven. For he who cannot practise is not worthy to teach. But he intimates that the grace of the ordainer (*ordinatoris*) was given by prophecy and the laying on of hands. Prophecy is that by which he is chosen, that he may be, as it were, a suitable teacher, and the putting on of the hands are mystic words, by which he is confirmed to the work to which he was chosen, receiving authority, his own conscience being witness, that in the place of the Lord he may offer sacrifice to God.

Ibid. tom. iii. col. 582.

12. 'Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father.' (1 Tim. v. 1.) Whence also the synagogue, and afterwards the Church, had elders, without the counsel of whom nothing was done in the Church; which by what negligence it fell into desuetude I know not, unless it was by the inactivity of the teachers (*doctorum*), or rather through their pride, whilst they alone wished to seem somewhat.

Comment. in Epist. II. ad Timoth. tom iii. col. 591.

13. 'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.' (2 Tim. i. 6.) So, therefore, he stirs up in himself the gift of the grace of God, received by the ordination of the presbytery (*per ordinationem presbyterii*), whilst he cherishes his soul by alacrity of mind, rejoicing in himself as he rejoiced when he was newly ordained.

Comment. in Epist. ad Hebræos, tom. iii. col. 643, 644.

14. 'For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law: who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things.' (Heb. viii. 4, 5.) If there were an earthly high-priest, such as Aaron, he would not be a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec. For Aaron is dead, and is not a priest for ever: but because Christ lives for ever, he is always a priest, not such as those 'who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things.' All priests, indeed, being constituted by the law, represented by example and shadow, the heavenly priesthood, that is, of spiritual things, signifying the true and eternal priesthood of Christ. Is not our faith a heavenly altar, on which we offer our prayers daily? having nothing of a carnal sacrifice, which is reduced to ashes, nor is diminished to smoke, nor is diffused in vapours. These sacrifices clear and more genial are accomplished. After which manner did they not celebrate heavenly sacrifices to whom it is said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained?' (John xx. 22, 23.) For of these sacrifices, all the sacrifices of the Levitical priesthood were signs: because 'the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth were done by Jesus Christ.'

32.

RUFFINUS, PRESBYTER OF ACQUILEIA.

Flourished about A.D. 390.

De Benedictionibus, lib. ii. tom i. pp. 21, 22.

1. 'It has prevailed above the blessings of the continuing mountains, and beyond the blessings of the eternal hills.' (Gen. xlix. 26, Sep. ver.) Who are the *continuing* mountains, unless those to whom Jesus says,

'Ye are they who have continued with me in my temptations?' (Luke xxii. 28.) Therefore the apostles are rightly called *continuing* mountains, because they *continue* even unto the end, and they shall be saved. But what other persons are we to understand the eternal hills to be, unless those who are reputed by merit in the second rank of apostles, and who attain *eternal* life, for this is much more true than mountains and hills, which are believed to be eternal, but perish equally with the world.

Comment. in Symbolum Apostolorum, tom i. pp. 188, 189.

2. But as in one and the same Trinity the Godhead is taught; as it is said, 'I believe *in* God the Father,' the preposition '*in*' is added; so also in Christ His Son, so also in the Holy Ghost. But that what we have said may become more manifest, shall be proved from what follows. Nor does the preposition follow after this word (Holy Ghost). 'Holy Catholic Church, remission of sins, resurrection of the flesh.' I have not said *in* the Holy Catholic Church, nor *in* the remission of sins, nor *in* the resurrection of the flesh; for if he had added the preposition '*in*' then had the force of those clauses been all one with the force of that which went before. For in those words wherein our belief concerning the Godhead is set down, we say, '*In* God the Father, *in* Jesus Christ His Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost,' but in the rest, where the discourse is not concerning the Godhead, but concerning creatures and mysteries (*de creaturis et de mysteriis*), the preposition '*in*' is not added, that it might be said '*In*' the Holy Church; but that the Holy Church is to be believed, not as we believe in God, but as a congregation gathered to God; and that the forgiveness of sins is to be believed, not that we ought to believe *in* the forgiveness of sins; and that the resurrection of the flesh is to be believed, not that we ought to believe *in* the resurrection of the flesh. So then, by this syllable '*in*,' the Creator is distinguished from the creatures, and Divine things are separated from human. This is the Holy Ghost, therefore, who in the Old Testament inspired the Law and the Prophets, in the New inspired the Gospels and the Apostles. Whence the apostle says, 'All Scripture, Divinely inspired (*divinitus inspirata*), is profitable for teaching.'

3. And therefore those books of the Old and New Testaments which according to the tradition of our ancestors (*majorum*) are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Spirit Himself, and handed down to the Churches of Christ, it seems appropriate to designate in this place in an evident number, as we have received them from the records of the Fathers. Therefore, of the Old Testament, first of all the five books of Moses—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy—have been brought down. After these Joshua, together with Judges and Ruth. After these the four books of Kings, which the Hebrews number in two books. The books of Chronicles, and the two books of Ezra, which among the Hebrews are computed separately (Ezra and Nehemiah), also Esther. Then of the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah (including Lamentations), Ezekiel, and Daniel; beside the one book of the twelve prophets. Also Job and the Psalms of David. Solomon delivered three books to the Churches, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and

Canticles; in these are included the number of the books of the Old Testament. Then of the New, there are the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The Acts of the Apostles, which Luke wrote. Fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul. Two of the Apostle Peter. One of James the Apostle and brother of the Lord. One of Jude. Three of John. The Apocalypse of John. These are they which the Fathers have included in the Canon, and from which they designed the assertions of our faith should be demonstrated. It should be known, however, that there are other books, which are not canonical, but have been called by our ancestors ecclesiastical, that is, the Wisdom of Solomon, and of the son of Sirach, called by the Latins Ecclesiasticus, by which is meant not the author of a book, but a quality of writing. Of the same order is the little book of Tobit and Judith, and the books of the Maccabees. Then in the New Testament there is a little book called the Pastor of Hermas, or the judgment of Peter, which is denominated two ways. All of which are designed to be read in the churches, not, however, to be offered for authority for confirming the faith by them. These other writings they have named the Apocrypha, which they designed to be read in the churches. These have been handed down to us by the Fathers, which (as I have said), it seems opportune to designate in this place, for the instruction of those who have received the first elements of the Church, and of the faith, that they may know from what fountains the cups of the Word of God are to be drawn.

Comment. in Septuaginta-quinque Davidis Psalmos, tom. ii. f. 20.

4. 'Thou has put all things under his feet; sheep and all oxen.' (Psalm viii. 7.) By simple 'sheep' are understood those who are in the holy Church, who live simply and humbly after the manner of sheep under the rule of shepherds. But by 'oxen,' rulers (*rectores*) themselves are denoted, who cease not by the word of doctrine to plough up and cultivate the hearts of men, that they may return to the Lord spiritual fruit from earthly minds. The sheep therefore and all oxen the Lord subjects to Himself, because all the elect, as well those who are placed under (*subjectos*) as those who are put over (*praelatos*), He places and rules in the holy Church.

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 33.

5. 'On account of the words of Thy lips, I have kept hard ways.' (Psalm xvii. 4, Sep. ver.) They who hold the place of Christ in preaching ought to live as much as possible irreprehensibly, because the discourse of the teacher is greatly confounded if depraved by his conduct.

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 56.

6. 'He has set me on a rock, and now has exalted my head above mine enemies.' (Psalm xxvii. 5, 6, Sep. ver.) The Lord Jesus Christ is both the Rock and the Head. Concerning this rock the Lord Himself said, 'And upon this rock I will build my Church.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) On that firmly-founded rock the Church is exalted from the world to

heaven, from the devil to the Lord; and even now whilst the body sojourns and labours among enemies on the earth, he says that its Head, that is, Christ, hath been exalted. For He hath risen from the dead, and sits at the right hand of the Father in heaven. Therefore let the members be confident, nor let them fear their enemies, since they may now see that their Head hath now been exalted above them. For where the Head is there also shall the members follow. We also are with Him up there, and He also is with us down here. So what a pledge we have! Whence also we are in faith, and hope, and charity with our Head in heaven for ever, because also the Head Himself is with us on the earth in goodness, in divinity, in unity, 'even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 104.

7. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons have been born to thee.' (Psalm xlv. 16.) The apostles begat thee, they were sent (*missi sunt*), they have preached, they are the Fathers; they have been received into glory, and in their place sons have been born, have been appointed bishops. Do not think that thou art abandoned because thou seest not Paul, seest not those through whom thou wast born? Out of thine own offspring has a body of fathers (*paternitas*) been raised up to thee. Sons have been born to thee for thy use. 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' That is, thou shalt make them stable in faith and works. 'Princes,' that is, masters, and teachers (*magistros et doctores*).

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 106.

8. 'He uttered His voice, the earth shook. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our helper.' (Psalm xlvi. 6, 7, Sep. ver.) 'He uttered a voice,' that is, 'His' preaching; 'and the earth shook,' that is, men of the earth to conversion. This is that voice of which the Psalmist elsewhere says the same thing, 'The voice of the Lord is mighty; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty.' He uttered this voice by the apostles, and the earth is shook from unbelief to faith, from vices to virtues, from the devil to God. Who is He who uttered His voice? Let the apostles say, let the Church say, let the renewed people say, 'The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our helper.' Who is not moved with this voice? Who does not tremble with joy? Who does not wonder at so great grace? The Lord of Hosts, the Lord of Angels, He Himself is with us in flesh. He was taken from us, and He took us. He accepted our humanity, and took us into His divinity. He was made a participator of our mortality, that He might make us participators of His immortality. Let Christians therefore say what Jews, or pagans, or heretics, cannot say, 'The Lord of Hosts is with us.'

9. And He Himself promised this by His own prophet, saying, 'And I will dwell and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.' Hence the Truth Himself said to His disciples, 'Lo! I am with you, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Ibid. tom. ii. ff. 107, 108.

10. 'He shall subdue the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet.' (Psalm xlvii. 3.) For the Lord hath ordained in the Church, as he designed, that some should be prelates (*prælatos*), and others placed under (*subditos*). Whence also in another psalm they are called subjects. 'Thou has placed men over our heads.' It is the office of prelates (*prælatorum*) to preach, to admonish, to correct, and to hold the place of Christ in the churches. It is the duty of subjects (*subjectorum*) to hear, to obey, to show all subjection to their prelates as to the Lord Christ Himself. For it is not said, he hath subdued the people to us; this is not said of his own person, but of the person of Him whose ministry they perform. Hence Peter, admonishing certain persons, says, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.' (1 Peter ii. 13.) Therefore those things which are for the sake of God, let there be a subjection not so much shown to man as to God. It is said, therefore, on this account, because preachers are holy, 'He hath subdued the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet.' Nevertheless, this is not to be so understood that they desired this to be ascribed to themselves; when the Apostle Paul reproves certain persons desiring to be subject to him as a man, he says, 'Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptised in the name of Paul?' Therefore, by these words they desire not to commend themselves, but rather Him whose authority was in them, and who was more obeyed through them than in them.

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 122.

11. 'God assists me; and the Lord is the helper of my soul.' (Psalm liv. 4, Sep. ver.) He hath promised this assistance also to His members, where He said, 'Lo! I am with you, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) And in a Psalm elsewhere He said, 'I am with him in affliction; and I will deliver him, and glorify him.' (Psalm xci. 15, Sep. ver.)

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 139.

12. 'Thou hast exalted me on a rock.' (Psalm lxi. 2, Sep. ver.) But the rock was Christ, hence the Truth Himself said, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church.' He is exalted on the rock who is founded on the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. And he well said, 'thou hast exalted,' because the just who lives by faith transcends all temporal things, and his conversation is in heaven.

Ibid. tom. ii. f. 157.

13. 'The princes went first.' (Psalm lxviii. 25.) That is, the apostles the first preachers, to whom is given the supreme government over the Church. They have gone before others as princes and teachers (*principes et magistri*); and not alone, but 'joined with players on instruments.' By whose good works, as well as visible organs, God may be glorified. Which princes, as well as ministers and rulers (*ministri et præpositi*), shall be 'in the midst of the damsels;' that is of the churches, which were as yet new, as the primitive churches.

33.

AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO.

Flourished about A.D. 396.

Retractationum lib. i. cap. xxi. tom. i. f. 7.

1. Also a book I wrote against the epistle of Donatus at the time I was a presbyter. . . . In this book I said concerning the Apostle Peter that on him, as the rock, the Church is founded; which sense is also sung by the mouth of many in the verses of the most blessed Ambrose, where, speaking of the rock, he saith, *Hoc, ipsa petra ecclesie canente, culpam diluit*. But I know that I have since very often expounded that saying of the Lord, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam*, to mean, upon him whom Peter confessed, saying, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God:' and so that *Peter*, named from this Rock, *should figuratively represent the Church* which is built upon this rock, and which hath received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For it is not said to him, *Tu es petra*, but *Tu es Petrus*. Now *Petra erat Christus, The Rock was Christ*; whom having confessed, as the whole Church confesseth him, he was called Peter. Which of these two senses is the more probable, let the reader choose.

Confessionum lib. xiii. cap. xv. tom. i. f. 47.

2. Or who, except Thou, our God, made for us that firmament of authority over us in Thy Divine Scripture? As it is said, for 'Heaven shall be folded up like a book (*liber*), and now is stretched over us like a skin.' For Thy Divine Scripture is of more eminent authority, since those mortals by whom Thou dost dispense it unto us underwent mortality. And Thou knowest, Lord, Thou knowest how Thou 'with skins' didst 'clothe' men, when they by sin became mortal. Whence Thou hast 'like a skin stretched out the firmament of Thy Book;' that is, Thy harmonising words, which, by the ministry of mortal men, Thou spreadest over us. For by their very death was that solid firmament of authority, in Thy discourses set forth by them, more eminently extended over all that be under it; which, whilst they lived here, was not so eminently extended. Thou hadst not as yet 'spread abroad the heaven like a skin;' Thou hadst not as yet enlarged in all directions the glory of their deaths.

Augustinus Hieronymo, epist. xix. tom. ii. ff. 14-17.

3. Augustine greets in the Lord the most beloved Jerome, and holy brother, and fellow-presbyter, and to be honoured in the tender mercies of Christ. . . .

4. For I confess to thy love that I have learnt to pay such deference to the books of Scripture, and to them alone, that I most firmly believe that none of their writers has ever fallen into any error in writing. And if I meet with anything in them which seems to me to be contrary to truth, I doubt not that either the manuscript is in fault, or that the translator has missed the sense, or that I myself have

not rightly apprehended it. I read the books of *other* writers in such a spirit, as not to deem a thing true because they think it so, however holy and learned they may be, but because they are able to persuade me of its truth by the authority of Scripture, or by probable inference from it. Nor do I imagine, my dear brother, that you differ from me in this, or desire your own books to be read as if they were writings of prophets and apostles; to doubt concerning which, whether they are altogether free from error, is impiety. . . .

5. I entreat you to correct me faithfully when you see I need it; for although according to the titles of honour which the custom of the church hath now obtained, the episcopate is greater than the presbyterate, yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerome.

Acta in Designando Aug. Successore Erad. epist. cx. tom. ii. f. 100.

6. When Bishop Augustine was sitting together with his fellow-bishops Religianus and Martinianus in the church of peace in the region of Hippo, the presbyters Saturninus, Leporius, Barnabas, Fortunatianus, Rusticus, Lazarus, and Eradius being present, and the clergy and people in great numbers standing by. . . Bishop Augustine said: 'I was lately in the church of Milevum, whither the brethren and servants of God who are there had requested me to come, because it was dreaded some tumult of the people might ensue, after the death of my brother and fellow-bishop Severus, of blessed memory. I went, and the Lord, of His great mercy, granted that they did publicly receive him for their bishop whom Severus had designed when alive; for, how soon they came to understand the matter, they readily embraced the will of their dying bishop.

7. 'Howbeit, some displeasure there was taken, because somewhat too little was done by our brother Severus; for he thought it might suffice that he should name his successor to the chair: and hence he spoke nothing of it to the people. And so some of them were a little displeased. What need I insist more? God was well pleased, the displeasure vanished, joy succeeded, and he whom the former bishop had named was ordained bishop.

8. 'Therefore that no person may complain of me, I here notify to you all my intention or will, which I also believe is the will of God, and that is, I will that the presbyter Eradius be my successor.' It was acclaimed by the people. 'Thanks to God!' 'Praise to Christ!' was said twenty-three times. 'Hear, O Christ,' 'Let Augustine live,' was said sixteen times. 'Thou art our father,' 'Thou art our bishop,' was said eight times. When silence was restored, Bishop Augustine said: 'I need say nothing in praise of him; I like not to bear hard upon his wisdom, and I spare his modesty; it is sufficient that you know him, and I say that *I will that* which I know you will. And if I had not known it before, I should have experienced the truth of it this day. . . . You see that both what I say, and what you say, is taken down in writing by the notaries of the church; neither my words nor your acclamations fall to the ground. That I may speak yet more plain, we are just now framing an ecclesiastical deed; for I would willingly have

this affair confirmed as strongly as it can be by men.' It was acclaimed by the people thirty-six times. 'Thanks to God,' 'Praise to Christ,' 'Hear, O Christ,' 'Let Augustine live,' was said thirteen times. 'Thou art our father,' 'Thou art our bishop,' was said eight times. 'He is worthy and just,' was said twenty times. 'He is very deserving,' 'He is very worthy,' was said five times. When silence was restored, Bishop Augustine said: 'I desire, as I said, to have my will and your will confirmed by an ecclesiastical deed, so far as it appertains to men; and as to what belongs to the latent will of Almighty God, let us all pray that He may be pleased to confirm that which He hath wrought in us.' It was acclaimed by the people. 'We give thanks for thy judgment,' was said sixteen times. 'Let it be done,' 'Let it be done,' was said twelve times. 'Thou art our father,' 'Eradius shall be bishop,' was said six times. When silence was restored, Bishop Augustine said:—

9. . . . 'While my father and bishop, the old man Valerius, of blessed memory, was yet in the body, I was ordained bishop, and I sat with him; but I knew not, neither did he know, that such a thing was prohibited by the Council of Nice. What, therefore, was to be reprehended in me, I desire not to be reprehended in my son.' It was acclaimed by the people. 'Thanks to God,' 'Praise to Christ,' was said thirteen times. When silence was restored, Bishop Augustine said: 'He shall continue presbyter as he is, and he shall become bishop when it shall please God. . . . The instrument is now drawn up and finished, and you have given your consent and acclamations. Your approbation and acclamation are rehearsed. . . . I ask in the last place from you that as many of you as can will be pleased to subscribe this transaction; here I shall need to have an answer from you; let me have your answer, give me some acclamation in token of your assent.' It was acclaimed by the people. 'Let it be done,' 'Let it be done,' was said twenty-five times. 'He is worthy,' 'He is just,' was said twenty-eight times. 'Let it be done,' 'Let it be done,' was said fourteen times. 'He is ever worthy,' 'He is ever deserving,' was said twenty-five times. 'We give thanks for thy judgment,' was said thirteen times. 'Hear, O Christ; preserve Eradius,' was said eighteen times.

De Dissidio Donatistarum, epist. clxv. tom. ii. f. 145.

10. 'But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.' (Gal. i. 8.) For the Gospel is preached to thee by the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, which Gospel shall be preached to all nations, and then shall the end be. The Gospel is preached to thee by the writings of prophets and apostles, because the promises were made to Abraham and his seed, which is Christ, when God said to him, 'In thy seed shall all nations be blessed.' If an angel from heaven should say to thee, Banish the Christianity of the whole world and hold the part of Donatus, the order (*ordo*) of which is explained to thee in the epistle of the bishop of thy city, therefore he ought to be accursed who gives such commands, because he attempts to cut off thee from the whole, and thrust thee into a part and alienate thee from the promises of God.

11. For if the order (*ordo*) of bishops must be considered by him, how much more certain and indeed more proper that we reckon from *Peter* himself, to whom, as *bearing the representation of the whole Church*, the Lord said, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' For Linus succeeded Peter, Clement Linus, Anacletus Clement, Evaristus Anacletus, Alexander Evaristus, Sixtus Alexander, Thelesphorus Sixtus, Iginus Thelesphorus, Anicetus Iginus, Pius Anicetus, Soter Pius, Elutherius Soter, Victor Elutherius, Zepherinus Victor, Calixtus Zepherinus, Urbanus Calixtus, Pontianus Urbanus, Antherus Pontianus, Fabianus Antherus, Cornelius Fabianus, Lucius Cornelius, Stephanus Lucius, Sixtus Stephanus, Dionysius Sixtus, Felix Dionysius, Eutygianus Felix, Gaius Eutygianus, Marcellinus Gaius, Marcellus Marcellinus, Eusebius Marcellus, Melciades Eusebius, Sylvester Melciades, Marcus Sylvester, Julius Marcus, Liberius Julius, Damasus Liberius, Siricius Damasus, Anastasius Siricius. In this order (*ordine*) of succession no bishop a Donatist is found. But they regard with favour a man ordained out of the country out of Africa, who, presiding over a few Africans in a Roman city, propagated the name of Montenses or Cuzupitaræ.

12. But in that order of the bishops which is reckoned from Peter himself even to Anastasius, who now sits in the same chair, even if any traitor should have stolen in during those times, he would not prejudice the Church and innocent Christians; the Lord providing for whom said of evil rulers, 'Those things which they say do ye, but those things which they do, do not ye do; for they say and do not.' (Matt. xxiii. 3.) As there is a certain hope to the faithful, which not being placed in man, but in the Lord, is never moved in the tempest of sacrilegious schism; as these persons have been moved who read in the holy books which the apostles wrote to the churches, and have no bishop among them. But what more perverse and insane than to say to the readers reading those epistles, 'Peace be with you,' and to separate from the peace of those churches to which those very epistles have been written.

De Doctrina Christiana, lib. i. cap. xviii. tom. iii. f. 3.

13. Christ therefore gave the keys to His Church, in order that what it should lose on earth should be loosed in heaven, and what it should bind on earth should be bound in heaven; that is to say, that anyone who should not believe that his sins are forgiven in the Church, to him they should not be forgiven, but on the contrary, anyone who being in the bosom of the Church should believe that his sins were pardoned, and who being corrected should turn himself from them, by that same faith and correction he should be saved.

De Genesi ad Literam, lib. vi. cap. viii. tom. iii. f. 1124.

14. For to all those whom Christ saw would become His, He said, 'Lo! I am with you, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

De Agone Christiano, lib. i. cap. xxx. xxxi. tom. iii. ff. 164, 165.

15. For not without cause among all the apostles doth *Peter* sustain

the person of this Church Catholic ; for unto this Church were the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they were given unto Peter ; and when it is said unto him, it is said unto all, ' Lovest thou me ? Feed my sheep.'

16. Nor let us hear them who deny that the Church of God can remit all sins. Therefore they, wretched, not understanding in Peter the Rock, and being unwilling to believe that unto the Church have been given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, have themselves lost them out of their hands. These are they who condemn as adulteresses their widows if they marry again, and proclaim that they are more pure than the teaching of the apostles ; who, if they would recognise their own name, would call themselves worldly rather than pure.

Sententiæ Decerptæ, 342. tom. iii. f. 227.

17. The name of Christ is from chrisim, which is from anointing, because every Christian is sanctified that he may understand that he is not only the participator of a priestly and royal dignity but also becomes a wrestler against Satan.

Quæstionum Evangeliorum lib. ii. quæs. 40. tom. iv. f. 76.

18. Scarcely any of the faithful doubt that the priesthood of the Jews was a figure of the royal priesthood to come, which is in the Church ; to which priesthood are all consecrated who belong to the body of Christ, the highest and true Prince of Priests. For now also all are anointed, which then was only done to kings and priests. And what did Peter say when writing to a Christian people ? ' Ye are a royal priesthood.' Whence he declared that that name was suitable to that people since that anointing appertained to them.

De Consensu Evangelistarum, lib. i. cap. xxxv. tom. iv. f. 84.

19. He that sent His prophets before His incarnation, the same also sent His apostles after His Ascension. But to all His disciples, by the manhood which He assumed, as the members of His Body, He is the Head ; therefore, forasmuch as they wrote those things which He shewed and taught them, it ought not to be said that He did not write them, seeing that His members wrote that which they knew by their Head teaching them. For whatsoever He would have us to read, both of His deeds and words, that commanded He to be written by them as by His own hands. Whosoever doth understand this fellowship of unity, and agreement of members, ministering under one head in different offices, he will none otherwise receive what he reads in the Gospel narrated by the disciples of Christ than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which He carried about in His own body, writing it.

Quæstiones ex utroque Mixtim. quæs. 101. tom. iv. f. 166.

20. How must the controversy be carried on against the Levites of Rome. . . . A certain person who has the name of Falcidius, led by folly and the insolence of the city of Rome, contends that Levites are equal to priests, and deacons to presbyters. . . . What audacity to

make deacons equal to presbyters! What presumptuous temerity to compare with priests bearers of the tabernacle and its vessels, cutters of wood and bearers of water! For that is the duty of Levites. It is as if attendants (*officiales*) were equal to governors (*præfectis*) and servants to masters. For this is written, the Lord saying to Moses, 'Take the Levites from among the children of Israel,' and set them before Aaron the priest and let them wait upon him. What more plain than this example, which is also now held in the Church? Although the deacons of Rome in a short time appear very shameless, they do not presume, however, on the dignity of sitting in the church. But as they do not perform all the duties of obedience according to their order, a multitude of clergy perform them. For they especially bear the altar and its vessels, and pour water on the hands for the priests, as we see through all churches, and as it was appointed by the Lord through Moses; or are they better than Elisha who poured water on the hands of Elijah? But he so defends deacons against presbyters as if deacons were ordained of presbyters, and not presbyters of deacons. But because they are ministers of the Church of Rome, therefore they are thought to be more honourable than those of other churches, on account of the magnificence of the Roman city, which seems to be the head of all cities. If therefore it is so, ought they not on that account to defend their own priests, because, if those who are inferior acquire honour by reason of the magnificence of the city, how much more ought those to be exalted who are more worthy? For whatever is of avail to attendants (*officialibus*) becomes a reason for power, as the honour of a servant avails to the commendation of the master; although with God, a just judge, the honour which has been decreed in every office of the churches remains to everyone, as he who is a deacon may have the honour of a deacon through all the churches. For there is no honour whatsoever to a president (*antistiti*) of God, except to serve in the church. As a priest let him be esteemed worthy of the whole ecclesiastical honour.

21. For the higher order has with and within itself the less; for a presbyter performs the office of a deacon, of an exorcist, and of a reader. The Apostle Paul proves, however, that by a presbyter is meant a bishop, when he instructs Timothy, whom he ordained a presbyter, what sort of bishops he ought to make. For what is a bishop but the first (*primus*) presbyter, that is, a chief priest (*summus sacerdos*). In fine, he here calls them nothing else but his fellow-presbyters (*compresbyteros*) and fellow-priests (*consacerdotes*). Does a bishop ever call those who minister his fellow-deacons (*condiaconos*)? No, verily, they are much inferior. And it is base to call a pronotary or archdeacon (*primicerium*) a judge, for in Alexandria and through the whole of Egypt the presbyter consecrates (*consecrat*, i. e. confirms) if the bishop is absent.

De Civitate Dei, lib. xx. cap. x. tom. v. f. 271.

22. 'But they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years.' (Rev. xx. 6.) Now this is not spoken only of bishops and presbyters, who now are fitly called in the Church priests, but as we all are called Christians on account of our mystical

chrism, so also all are priests, since they are the members of one Priest, concerning whom the Apostle Peter says, 'A holy people, a royal priesthood.' (1 Peter ii. 9.)

Ibid. lib. xx. cap. xxi. tom. v. f. 276.

23. For where they are Divinely assisted there they believe, and where they believe there they come. But the Lord compares them, as by a simile, to the children of Israel, offering to Him His sacrifices with psalms in His House, as the Church doth now everywhere, and hath promised to 'take of them for priests and for Levites' (Is. lxvi. 21), which we now see hath come to pass. For he doth not choose them of the kindred of flesh and blood, as it was at first, according to the order of Aaron, but as it was necessary in the New Testament, where, according to the order of Melchisedec, Christ is the High-Priest, for whose merit, which Divine grace hath conferred on Him, He electeth priests and Levites, as we now see, who are not to be estimated by the name, which the unworthy often assume, but by that sanctity which is not common to the good and bad.

Contra Epist. Man. quam vocant Fundamenti, cap. iv. tom. vi. f. 24.

24. The consent of peoples and nations retains me. The authority which takes its rise in miracles, is nourished by hope, is increased by charity, and made firm by length of time, retains me. The succession of priests (*successio sacerdotum*) from the very seat of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord, after His Resurrection, committed His sheep to be fed, even to the present episcopate, retains me. Finally, the very name of catholic retains me, which, not without cause, the Church alone hath so obtained among so many heresies that, when all heretics desire that they may be called catholics, yet no one of the heretics dares to show his own temple or house to any stranger seeking where he may assemble with the Catholic Church.

25. These bonds, so many, so great, and most dear, rightly retain a believer in the Catholic Church, even if on account of the dulness of our knowledge, or the desert of our life, truth doth not yet show itself very manifestly. But among you (Manichæans), there is not one of these things which could invite or retain me.

26. The promise of truth alone cries aloud, which, if indeed it can be so manifestly shown that one may come to it without doubt, must be preferred to all these things by which I am retained in the Catholic Church.

Contra Faustum Manichæum, lib. xxviii. cap. ii. tom. vi. f. 96.

27. When I begin to recite the Gospel of Matthew the Apostle of Christ, where the entire narration of His nativity is contained, thou immediately sayest that that narration is not Matthew's, which the universal Church says is Matthew's, and has been brought down by undoubted succession (*certa successione*) from the sees of the apostles, even to the present bishops. What wilt thou read to me to the con-

trary? Perhaps a certain book of Manichæus, where Jesus is denied to be born of a virgin.

28. As, therefore, I believe that that book was of Manichæus, since from that very time in which Manichæus lived in the flesh, it has been kept and brought down through his disciples by an undoubted succession (*certa successione*) of your rulers (*præpositorum*), even to your times, so also that that book which is believed to be Matthew's, which from that very time in which he lived in the flesh, the Church, in an uninterrupted series of times and by undoubted succession of connection, hath brought down even to these very times.

Contra Maximinum Arrianorum Episcopum, lib. iii. cap. xiv. tom. vi. f. 151.

29. Neither should I allege the Council of Nice, nor you that of Rimini, as if we would prejudge the question. You are not bound by the authority of the one, nor I by that of the other. With authorities from the Scriptures, evidence not peculiar to either but common to both, let us compare matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason.

Contra Epist. Parm. lib. ii. cap. xiii. tom. vii. f. 9.

30. For each is a sacrament, the one when he is baptised, the other when he is ordained; and hence it is not lawful in the Catholic Church to repeat either. For whensoever, for the good of peace, even the rulers (*præpositi*) coming from the schismatic party itself, the error of their schism having been corrected, have been received, and it has been deemed expedient that they should bear the offices which they bore before, they have not been ordained again, but as their baptism, so their ordination, remained entire in them; because the fault which was corrected by the peace of unity was in the separation, not in the sacraments, which, wheresoever they may be, are themselves valid. And when, to accomplish this, it appears to the Church that their rulers (*præpositi*) coming to the catholic society should not exercise their honours there, yet the sacraments of ordination are not taken from them, but are allowed to remain upon them.

31. Therefore the hand is not laid upon them among the people, lest it become an injury, not to the man, but to the sacrament itself. And if, when it is done ignorantly, the act is not defended without fear, but being known is corrected, pardon is easily granted. 'For our God is not the God of dissension, but of peace.' Nor are the sacraments of His Church among those who have withdrawn from the Church, but they who have withdrawn are enemies. But as they have in baptism that which can be given by them, so in ordination the right of giving, in both cases, indeed, to their injury, so long as they have not the charity of unity.

32. But, however, to have another sacrament injuriously, to have another profitably, is not to have another well and truly. It must be given to anyone not having it, when there is a necessity for it to be given, but that which is held perniciously, the injury being put away,

must be effected by correction. Although a layman, if he be constrained by necessity to administer baptism to one at the point of death, which, from having himself received, he has the obligation of conferring upon others, I am not sure whether any can, with a safe conscience, insist upon its repetition. For should it be done without the plea of necessity, it amounts to the usurpation of another's office, but if there be a pressing necessity, it is either no offence or a venial one.

33. But even though it be usurped without necessity, and baptism be given by anyone whatever to whomsoever it may (*a quolibet cui libet*), still that which has been given cannot be described as not given, but may be rightly spoken of as given contrary to rule. Therefore the effect of repentance and penitence corrects the illicit usurpation.

Contra Literas Petiliani Donatistæ, lib. iii. cap. vi. tom. vii. f. 35.

34. Therefore, if there be a question concerning Christ or His Church, or any other matter appertaining to our faith or practice, I say not if we—who are by no means comparable to him who said, 'Though we'—but I do say certainly what he goes on to subjoin, 'or an angel from heaven preach' (Gal. i. 8) anything to you beside what ye have received in the Scriptures of the law and the Gospel, let him be accursed.

Contra Cresconium Grammaticum, lib. ii. cap. xxxii. tom. vii. f. 50.

35. But now, seeing that what you now adduce is not canonical, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive that which he (Cyprian) hath understood contrary to Scripture, whose praise I cannot reach, to whose great learning I cannot compare my writings, whose disposition I love, in whose speech I delight, whose charity I admire, and whose martyrdom I reverence. I do not accept the opinion of blessed Cyprian concerning the baptising of heretics and schismatics, because the Church has not accepted it, for which the blessed Cyprian shed his blood.

De Baptismo, contra Donatistas, lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. tom. vii. f. 80.

36. You are accustomed to adduce against us the writings of Cyprian, the opinion of Cyprian, the council of Cyprian; why assume the authority of Cyprian for your schism, and reject his example for the peace of the Church? Now who does not know that the holy canonical Scripture is contained in the Old as well as in the New Testament within their own certain limits, and that it is so preferred to the writings of all succeeding bishops, concerning which it cannot be doubted or disputed at all as to the truth and right of anything contained in the Scriptures.

37. But the writings of bishops which were or have been written after the confirmation of the canon may be reprehended by the wiser discourse of anyone more skilful in this affair, and by the weightier authority of other bishops, and the wisdom of more learned men, and by councils, if in anything they deviate from the truth; and even councils themselves, held in particular regions and provinces, concede,

without doubt, to the authority of fuller councils, called from the whole Christian world; and these fuller councils are often corrected by succeeding ones, when experience has brought something to light which was before hid, and something which escaped has become known; and all this may and ought to be done without any sacrilegious presumption, and inflated arrogance, and with holy humility, with catholic and with Christian charity.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xviii. f. 84.

38. 'As the Father hath sent me even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 21-23.) If, therefore, they represented the Church, and this was said to them as if it were said to the Church itself, then the peace of the Church remits sins; and if the peace is alienated from the Church, it retains sins: not according to the will of man, but according to the will of God, and the prayers of holy spiritual men, who judge all things, but they themselves are judged of no man. For the rock retains, the rock remits; the dove retains, the dove remits; unity retains, unity remits. But the peace of this unity is in the good only, who are now spiritual, or who with harmonious obedience follow after spiritual things. But this is not in the wicked, either those who make a tumult without or those who are tolerated with grief within (the Church), both they who baptise and they who are baptised

39. For if 'it is not allowed to any to baptise except to the rulers (*præpositis*) in the Church, and who are appointed by the law of the Gospel and the ordinance of the Lord' (11. 38), are they such who seized the appointment by insidious frauds, and increased their gains by multiplying usuries? For I think that those were appointed by 'the ordinance of the Lord' of whom, when the apostle gave a description, he said 'not covetous, not greedy of filthy lucre.' (1 Tim. iii. 3.)

Ibid. lib. v. cap. 17. f. 91.

40. If with the whole world (*orbe terrarum*) I understand anything more truly yet I will not prefer my own heart to his, even where he, thinking otherwise, was not yet severed from the whole world. For the might of his excellence stood out more eminently, in that, while that question was pending, not having been yet discussed, he, understanding differently from many of his colleagues, maintained such moderation as by no taint of schism to maim the holy society of the Church of God, than if, without that virtue, he had in all things understood rightly, and as they. For I should not please him, were I to seem to prefer his genius, and power of speech, and richness of teaching, to that holy council of all nations whereat he too was present through the unity of the spirit: especially where he now is, placed in such full light of truth, where he seeth most certainly what here he most peacefully sought . . .

41. O how doth Cyprian rejoice! with what deeper calmness doth he there behold how exceedingly healthfully it was ordered for man's salvation that, even in the Christian holy writings of well-skilled men,

there may be found what justly may be censured, but in the writings of the fishermen is not so found. Fully assured of this joy of that holy soul, I neither venture any way to think or to affirm that my own writings are free from all error, nor, as to this opinion, wherein he judged that such as came from heretics were to be received otherwise than in times past they had been (as himself testified), or now are received, as in the fuller council of the whole Christian world the rational custom has been established, I do not prefer my own opinion, but that of the Holy Catholic Church.

Ibid. lib. vi. cap. iii. iv. f. 93.

42. We have, as I think, clearly demonstrated by the canonical Scriptures, and by the letters of Cyprian himself, that the wicked who are not changed for the better may both possess, give, and receive baptism: yet that they do not belong to the Holy Church of God, although they may seem to be within it, appears most manifest in this way, because they are covetous, extortioners, usurers, envious, malicious, and other vices of the same kind; for the Church is the only dove that is modest and chaste; the spouse without spot and wrinkle, the enclosed garden, the sealed fountain, the paradise with the fruit of apples, and other things which are similarly spoken of it, which can be understood of none but the good, the saints, and the righteous; that is to say, those in whom not only the operations of the gifts of God are found, which are common to the good and bad, but who have also the inward and supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit, to whom the Lord said, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained.' (John xx. 23.)

43. I do not then see why we may not say that a wicked man may administer baptism, since he may have it; and as he has it to his ruin, he may give it to others also to their ruin; not because that which he gives may be a pernicious thing, not because he delivers anything evil, or because he is evil, but he to whom he delivers it is evil. For when a wicked man gives baptism to a good man, who, dwelling in the bond of unity, is truly converted, the wickedness of him who gives it is overcome by the goodness of the sacrament and the faith of him who receives it; and when his sins are remitted who is truly converted to God, they are remitted by those with whom he is joined by a true conversion. For the same Holy Spirit which is given to all the saints, dwelling in them by charity, is He who remits their sins, whether they themselves know it corporally, or know it not. And so when the sins of any person are retained, then they are retained by those from whom he has disjoined himself, to whom, by the difference of life, and the malice of a depraved heart, they are retained, whether they know him corporally, or know him not.

Ibid. lib. vii. cap. li. f. 100.

44. All which things being considered, I think I am not rash to say that there are some so in the House of God, which is said to be 'built on the rock,' and that which is called the 'holy dove,' the spouse 'without spot and wrinkle,' the 'enclosed garden,' the 'sealed fountain,'

the 'well of living water,' the 'paradise' where there is the fruit of apples: which house has also received the 'keys,' and the power of 'loosing and binding.' If anyone despised this house when it reprov'd and corrected him, 'Let him be to thee,' He said, 'as a heathen man and a publican.' (Matt. xviii. 17.)

. . . 45. This house consists in vessels of gold and silver, in precious stones and incorruptible wood. It is said to this house, 'Bear with one another in love, keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;' and again, 'the Temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.' It consists in the good, in the faithful, in the holy servants of God, spread abroad everywhere, joined together in a spiritual unity by the communion of the same sacraments, whether they know themselves by sight, or whether they do not. But it happens that others are so said to be in the house as not to belong to the structure of the house, and they are not in that society that is fruitful in peace and righteousness. They are the chaff amidst the good corn, and we cannot deny that they are in the house, since the apostle says that there are in the house not only vessels of gold and silver but vessels of wood and earth, some indeed to honour, and some to dishonour.

De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. iv. tom. vii. f. 105.

46. The entire Christ is the Head and the Body; the Head is the only-begotten Son of God, and the Body is His Church, the Bridegroom and the Bride are two in one flesh. All those of that Head who dissent from the Holy Scriptures, although they are found in every place in which the Church exists, are not in the Church. And again, all those of that Head who consent to the Holy Scriptures, and do not partake of the unity of the Church, are not in the Church, because they dissent from the body of Christ, which is the Church, by the testimony of Christ Himself.

Ibid. cap. xvi. tom. vii. ff. 111, 112.

47. Therefore, all such things being remote, let them show their church if they can, not in discourses and rumours of Africans, not in the councils of their bishops, not in the writings of certain disputers, not in signs and fallacious prodigies, because we are ready and careful to reject these things as contrary to the word of the Lord, but let them show their church in the ordinances of the law, in the predictions of the prophets, and the songs of the Psalms, in the words of the Shepherd Himself, in the labours and preaching of the evangelists, that is, in all canonical authorities of the sacred books. . . .

48. Let him not say this is true because I say it, or because my colleague says so, or these my colleagues, or these our bishops, or our clergy, or our laymen. . . . But to eternal salvation itself no man comes but he who has the Head Christ. But no one can have the Head Christ, unless he is in His Body, which is the Church, which Church, as the Head itself, we must know in the holy canonical Scriptures, and not seek it in various rumours and opinions, and facts and deeds, and visions of men. . . . Let all this rabble of them be chaff, nor

prejudge the wheat if they hold the Church. But if they themselves hold the Church, let them show it none otherwise than by the canonical books of the Holy Scriptures. Nor do we say that men ought to believe us because we are in the Church of Christ, because Optatus of Milevi hath commended that which we hold, or Ambrose of Milan, or innumerable other bishops of our communion, or because it is extolled by the councils of our colleagues, or because through the whole world, in the holy places which those of our communion frequent, such wonderful answers to prayers, or cures, happen. . . . Whatever things of this kind take place in the Catholic Church are therefore to be approved of, because they take place in the Catholic Church; but it is not proved to be the Catholic Church because these things happen in it. The Lord Jesus Himself, when He had risen from the dead, offered His Body to be seen by the eyes of the disciples, and to be touched with their hands, lest they should then think themselves to be deceived; He judged that they were to be more convinced by the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms, showing that those things were fulfilled concerning Him which had been so long before predicted. So also He commended His Church, saying that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name, through all nations, beginning from Jerusalem.' That this was written in the Law and Prophets, and Psalms, He Himself hath testified, we have this as commended by His own mouth. These are the proofs, these the foundations, these the supports of our cause. We read in the Acts of the Apostles of some who believed, that they searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so. What Scriptures but the canonical Scriptures of the Law and the Prophets? To these have been added the Gospels, the apostolical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse of John.

Enarratio in Psalmum xlv. 16, tom. viii. f. 87.

49. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons have been born to thee.' (Psalm xlv. 16.) It was the apostles beget thee: they were sent (*missi sunt*): they were the preachers: they are the 'Fathers.' But was it possible for them to be with us in the body for ever? Although one of them said, 'I desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better: to abide in the flesh is necessary for your sake.' It is true he said this, but how long was it possible for him to remain here? Could it be till this present time? Could it be to all futurity? Is the Church then left desolate by their departure? God forbid. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons have been born to thee.' What is that? 'Instead of thy fathers, sons have been born to thee?' The apostles were sent to thee as 'fathers;' instead of the apostles, sons have been born to thee; there have been appointed bishops. For in the present day, whence do the bishops, throughout all the world, derive their origin? The Church itself calls them Fathers; the Church itself brought them forth, and placed them on the seats of 'the Fathers.' Think not thyself abandoned then because thou seest not Peter, nor seest Paul, seest not those through whom thou wast born. Out of thine own offspring has a body of Fathers been raised up to thee.

Enarratio in Psalmum lxxxvi. tom. viii. f. 199.

50. 'Her foundations are upon the holy hills.' And, supposing persons who hear enquire of what city he speaks, he adds, 'the Lord loveth the gates of Zion.' (Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2.) Behold then a city whose foundations are upon the holy hills, a city called Zion, whose gates the Lord loveth, as he adds, 'above all the dwellings of Jacob.' But what doth this mean, 'her foundations are on the holy hills?' What are the holy hills upon which this city is built? Another citizen tells us this more explicitly, the Apostle Paul: of this was the prophet a citizen, of this the apostle a citizen: and they spoke to exhort the other citizens. But how are these, I mean the prophets and apostles, citizens? Perhaps in this sense that they are themselves the hills, upon which are the foundations of this city, whose gates the Lord loveth. Let then another citizen state this clearly, that I may not seem to guess. Speaking to the Gentiles, and telling them how they were returning, and being, as it were, framed together into the holy structure, 'built,' he says, 'upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets;' and because neither the apostles nor prophets, upon whom the foundations of that city rest, could stand by their own power, he adds, 'Jesus Christ Himself being the head cornerstone.'

51. Some one will say then that Christ rather rests upon the prophets and apostles, not they on Him, if they form the foundation, Himself the corner. But let him who so saith reflect that there is also a corner in the foundation; and not only where it appears, towering to the top, for it beginneth from the bottom. But that ye may know that Christ is at once the earliest and the highest foundation, the apostle saith, 'Other foundation can no man lay than is laid, which is Christ Jesus.' How, then, are the prophets and apostles foundations, and yet Christ so, than whom nothing can be higher? How, think you, save that, as He is openly styled Saint of saints (*sanctus sanctorum*), so, figuratively, Foundation of foundations? Thus, if thou art thinking of sacraments (*sacramenta*, symbols), Christ is the Saint of saints: if of a subject flock, the Shepherd of shepherds: if of a structure, the Pillar of pillars. . . . Why are the apostles and prophets foundations? Because their authority is the support of our weakness. Why are they gates? Because through them we enter the Kingdom of God: for they proclaim it to us: and while we enter by their means, we enter also through Christ Himself, who is the Gate. And twelve gates of Jerusalem are spoken of, and the one gate is Christ, and the twelve gates are Christ: for Christ dwells in the twelve gates; hence was twelve the number of the apostles. There is a great sacrament (*sacramentum magnum*) in this number of twelve.

Enarratio in Psalmum ciii. tom. viii. f. 244.

52. 'Thou deckest thyself with light as it were with a garment; and spreadest out the heavens like a skin' (*pellem*, Sep. *δῆρῶν*).—Ps. civ. 2. We find that God hath spread out heaven as a skin, so that we may understand by heaven Holy Scripture. This authority God first placed in His Church; thence He began to follow out the rest: for He set

the heaven, and spread it out like a skin, and not like a skin without a meaning. First, He hath spread out the report of His preachers as a skin. . . . We are now reading beneath the heaven, as it were beneath the skin of the Divine Scriptures, when it is spread. For afterwards, 'the heavens shall be rolled together as a book' (*liber*). It is not without meaning, brethren, in this passage said to be as a skin, in the other a book. Somewhat is here figured unto us. With respect to Holy Scripture, the discourse of the dead is spread: for this reason, then, it is spread out as a skin, and much more spread out since they are dead.

53. For after death the apostles and prophets became more known; they were not so well known while alive; Judæa only possessed the prophets when alive: all nations when they were dead. For while they lived, the skin was not as yet spread out; the heaven was not yet outspread, that it might cover the whole world. He, therefore, 'spread out the heaven like a skin.'

Enarratio Psalmum cviii. tom. viii. f. 261.

54. Everyone who faithfully readeth the Acts of the Apostles acknowledgeth that this Psalm containeth a prophecy of Christ; for it evidently appeareth that what is here written, 'let his days be few, and let another take his bishopric' (*episcopatum*)—Ps. cix. 8—is prophesied of Judas, the betrayer of Christ, alluding to the time when Matthias, being ordained into the place of Judas, was added a twelfth to the number of the apostles. But if we attempt to understand of this one man all that is here said of a wicked man, our exposition will hardly be consistent; whereas, if we take it in reference to all wicked men of this kind, by which I mean enemies of Christ and ungrateful Jews, everything seemeth to me to be capable of a clearer explanation. For as some things are said which seem peculiarly to apply to the Apostle Peter, and yet are not clear in their meaning, unless when referred to the Church, whom he is acknowledged to *have figuratively represented*, on account of the primacy (*primatum*) which he bore among the disciples; as it is written, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' and other passages of the like purport: so Judas doth represent those Jews who were enemies of Christ, who both then hated Christ and now, through succession (*per successionem*), this species of wickedness continuing, hate Him.

Enarratio in Psalmum cxlv. tom. viii. f. 348.

55. 'Put not your trust in princes.' (Ps. cxlvi. 3.) Therefore in Him is salvation, for salvation is the Lord's. For another Psalm saith, 'Salvation is the Lord's, and Thy blessing is upon Thy people.' And without cause do men claim to themselves to give salvation. Let them give it to themselves. Reply to the proud man, Thou boastest in that thou sayest that thou givest me salvation; give it to thyself; see whether thou hast it; consider well thy frailty, thou seest that thou hast it not yet. Therefore bid me not look for it from thee, but look

thou for it with me. 'Put not your trust in princes (*principes*), nor in the sons of men, in whom is no salvation.'

56. Behold, certain *princes* (*principes*, bishops) come forth I know not whence, and say, 'I baptise, and what I give is holy: if thou receive from another, thou hast received nothing; if thou receivest from me, thou hast received something.' O man, O *prince*, wishest thou to be among 'the sons of men,' and among the 'princes in whom is no salvation'? Have I therefore salvation because thou givest? Is what thou givest thine own? Or is it true that thou givest it? Or can we say that thou givest it? So the pipe may say that it giveth water; so too may the gutter say that it itself runs; so too may the usher say that he setteth free. In the water I regard the fountain; in the voice of the usher I recognise the judge. Verily, thou shalt not be the author of my salvation; He shall be on whom I can rely; of thee I am uncertain. If thou art not presumptuous, not only am I uncertain about thee, but thou also art about thyself. From Him, then, is my salvation, 'who is over all,' for 'salvation is the Lord's.' Thou art among the sons of men, amongst the princes; but I hear the Psalm saying, 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, from whom is no salvation.'

Expositionis in Evangelium Joannis tract. v. de cap. i. tom. ix.
col. 46, 47.

57. If the minister (*minister*) happens to be righteous, I reckon him with Paul, I reckon him with Peter: with these I reckon righteous ministers. For they that are indeed righteous ministers seek not their own glory: for they are ministers (*ministri*); they refuse to be accounted judges (*judicibus*); they are shocked at the thought of men placing their hope in them. Therefore I reckon a righteous minister with Paul. For what saith Paul? 'I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase: neither is he that planted anything, nor he that watereth, but God who giveth the increase.' The proud minister, on the other hand, is reckoned with the devil; howbeit, the gift of Christ is not contaminated. It flows through him pure, it passes through him liquid, and reaches the fertile soil. Suppose him to be of stone, one whom water cannot help to bear fruit; why, a stone conduit does transmit the water, the water does pass through it to the borders: in the stone conduit the water does not make anything grow, but to the garden it brings abundant produce. For the spiritual efficacy of the sacrament is as the light. It is both received pure by those who are to be enlightened and also, if it passes through the unclean, it is not polluted. Yes; let the ministers be righteous, and let them not seek their own glory, but His whose ministers they are. Let them not say, it is my baptism; for it is not theirs. . . .

58. But I put the question to thyself, be who thou may, Which is the better man, thou or John? Thou wilt not dare to say, I am better than John. Then let thine own friends baptise after thee, if they are better than thou. For if baptism was administered after John, blush that it is not administered after thee. Thou wilt say, but I have and

teach Christ's baptism. At length then acknowledge the judge (*judice*), and cease to be a proud herald (*præco*). Thou givest Christ's baptism : and this is why baptism is not administered after thee. After John baptism was administered, and the reason why was because he gave not Christ's baptism, but his own ; for he had in such wise received it that it was his own. It is not then that thou art better than John, but the baptism which is given through thy hands is better than John's. For that which thou givest is Christ's ; John's is his own. And that which Paul gave, and which Peter gave, is Christ's. And if any were given by Judas, that was Christ's. Judas baptised, yet no second baptism after Judas ; John baptised, and there was new baptism after John : because if baptism was given by Judas, the baptism was Christ's, whereas the baptism which John gave was his own. Not that we set Judas above John, but the baptism of Christ, even though administered by the hands of Judas, we rightly set above the baptism of John, even though administered by the hands of John. For it is said of the Lord, before He suffered, that He baptised more disciples than John ; and then it is added, 'Howbeit, Jesus Himself baptised not, but His disciples.' He, and yet not He ; He in the authority (*potestate*), they in the ministry (*ministerio*). They in the capacity of servants (*servitutum*) put their hand to the work of baptising : the authority (*potestas*) of baptising was in Christ, and there remained. So, then, His disciples baptised, and Judas was still there among His disciples. They, then, whom Judas baptised were not baptised again. And were those whom John baptised baptised again ? Clearly they were, but not with an iteration of the baptism they had had before. For those whom John baptised were baptised by John, but those whom Judas baptised were baptised by Christ. In like manner, therefore, they whom a drunkard hath baptised, or a homicide, or an adulterer, if the baptism was Christ's, it was Christ baptised them. I do not fear an adulterer, nor a drunkard, nor a murderer, for I hearken to the Dove, through whom it is said to me, 'This is He which baptiseth.'

Ibid. tract. xlvi. de cap. x. tom. ix. col. 340.

59. 'The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' chair ; what they say, do ye, but what they do, do not ye.' (Matt. xxiii. 2-3). What other hath He said but, through hirelings hear ye the voice of the Shepherd ? For as sitting in the chair of Moses, they teach God's law : therefore by them doth God teach. But if these men want to teach their own, hear it not, do it not.

Ibid. tract. l. de cap. xii. tom. ix. col. 368, 370, 371.

60. They answer : How shall I lay hold on one who is absent, how dart forth a hand into heaven to lay hold on him that sitteth there ? Dart forth thy faith, and thou hast laid hold. Thy fathers laid fleshly hold on Him ; do thou lay hold with the heart, for Christ being absent is also present. Were He not present, He could not even by us be holden. But since that is true which He saith, 'Behold I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20), He is gone,

and yet He is here ; is gone back, and yet quits us not : for His Body He hath taken with Him into heaven ; His Majesty He hath not taken away from the world. . . . But what is that which follows ? ‘ The poor ye will have with you always, but me ye will not always have.’ We understand, indeed, ‘ the poor ye will always have.’ What He hath said is true. When is the Church ever without poor ? ‘ But me ye will not always have.’ What can this mean ? How is it to be understood—‘ Me ye will not always have ?’ Fear not. To Judas this was spoken. Then why saith He, not *thou* wilt not have, but ‘ *ye* will not ?’ Because Judas is not one man. One bad man denotes the body of bad men, just as *Peter* denotes the body of the good, nay, rather *the body of the Church*, howbeit in the good. For if in Peter there were not a sacrament (*sacramentum*), the Lord would not have said to him, ‘ I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.’ If this was spoken only to Peter then the Church doeth not this. But if this thing is done in the Church also that what things are bound on earth are bound in heaven, and what things loosed on earth are loosed in heaven : because, when the Church excommunicates, the person excommunicated is bound in heaven ; when one is reconciled by the Church, the person reconciled is loosed in heaven. If, I say, this thing is done in the Church then *Peter*, what time he received the keys, denoted *the Holy Church*. If in the person of Peter were denoted the good men in the Church, in the person of Judas were denoted the bad men in the Church ; to them it is said, ‘ But me ye will not always have.’ For what is ‘ not always ’ ? and what is ‘ always ’ ?

61. If thou art a good man, thou belongest to *the body which Peter denotes* ; thou hast Christ both in the present and in the future ; in this present by faith, in the present by the sign, in the present by the sacrament of baptism, in the present by the meat and drink of the altar. Thou hast Christ in the present, but wilt have Him always ; because when thou shalt depart hence, thou wilt come to Him who said to the thief, ‘ To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.’ But if thou livest ill, thou seemest in the present to have Christ, because thou enterest into the Church, signest thyself with the sign of Christ, art baptised with the baptism of Christ, minglest among the members of Christ, comest up to the altar of Christ : in the present thou hast Christ, but by living an evil life thou wilt not always have Him.’

Ibid. tract. lvi. de cap. xiii. tom. ix. col. 394, 395.

62. ‘ He cometh therefore to Simon Peter’ (John xiii. 6), as meaning that He had already washed some, and after them came to their chief (*primum*) ; for who can deny that the chief of the apostles is the most blessed Peter ?

Ibid. tract. ci. de cap. xvi. tom. ix. col. 498.

63. But what He added, ‘ And again a little while, and ye shall see me,’ He promised to the whole Church ; as to the *whole* He promised,

'Lo! I am with you, even unto the consummation of the world.'
(Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Ibid. tract. cxviii. de cap. xix. tom. ix. col. 549.

64. And to Peter it is said, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' as if he alone received power of binding and loosing; whereas both in that confession he spake as one for them all, and this gift he received with them all as representative of unity itself; one for all, on the ground that unity is in all.

Ibid. tract. cxxi. de cap. xx. tom. ix. col. 557.

65. 'And when He had said that, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' (John xx. 22.) By breathing on them, He signified that the Holy Ghost is not the Father's only, but His. 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' The charity of the Church which by the Holy Ghost is shed abroad in our hearts remitteth the sins of them that hath part in it; but the sins of those who have not part in it, it retains.

Ibid. tract. cxxiv. de cap. xxi. tom. ix. col. 572.

66. Thus fares the Church by blessed hope in this troublesome life: of which Church the Apostle Peter, by reason of the primacy (*primatum*) of his apostleship, is by a *figurative generality the representative*. For, as it regards himself in his proper person, by nature he is one man, by grace one Christian, by more abundant grace one and withal the chief (*primus*) apostle; but when it was said to him, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' *he denoted the Universal Church*, which in this world, by divers temptations, like as by rains, floods, tempests, is shaken, and falleth not, because it is founded upon the rock ('*super petram*'), from which Peter had his name. For it is not '*a Petro petra*,' but '*Petrus a petra*;' not from Peter hath the rock its name, but Peter his from the Rock, just as 'Christ' is not so called from 'Christian,' but 'Christian' from 'Christ.' Since that the Lord said, 'Upon this rock will I build my Church' ('*Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam*'), was because Peter had said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the Living God.' 'Upon this,' then, saith He, 'upon this rock,' which thou hast confessed, 'will I build my Church. For the Rock was Christ, upon which foundation Peter himself also was built. 'For other foundation can no man lay save that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.'

67. The Church therefore, which is founded in Christ, did in Peter receive from him 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven:' that is, the power of binding and loosing sins. For that which in strictness of speech the Church is in Christ, *the same by significance is Peter in the Rock*: in which significance the Rock means Christ, *Peter the Church*.

De Pastoribus cap. xi. tom. ix. col. 1065.

68. He hath appointed the mountains of Israel, the authors of the Divine Scriptures; there feed ye, that ye may feed securely. Whatever ye hear from thence, let it savour well to you. Whatever is beside that, reject it, lest ye wander into clouds. Hear ye the voice of the Shepherd; gather yourselves to the mountains of the Holy Scripture. There let the pleasures of your heart be. Nothing venomous, nothing hurtful is there; come ye wise, feed ye on the mountains of Israel.

De Verbis Domini in Evang. secundum Matt. sermo xiii. tom. x. col. 58, 59.

69. The Gospel which has just been read touching the Lord Christ, who walked on the waters of the sea, and the Apostle Peter, who was walking, tottered through fear, and, sinking in distrust, rose again by confession, gives us to understand that the sea is the present world, and the Apostle Peter the type of the one Church. For Peter, in the order (*ordine*) of apostles first (*primus*), and in the love of Christ most forward, answers oftentimes alone for all the rest. Again, when the Lord Jesus Christ asked whom men said that He was, and when the disciples gave the various opinions of men, and the Lord asked again and said, 'But whom say ye that I am?' Peter answered, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.' One for many gave the answer, unity in many. Then said the Lord to him, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjonas: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.' Then He added, 'And I say unto thee;' as if He had said, 'Because thou hast said unto me, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God, I also say unto thee, "thou art Peter."' For before he was called Simon. Now this name of Peter was given him by the Lord, and that in a figure that *he should signify the Church*. For seeing that Christ is the Rock (*petra*), *Peter is the Christian people*. For the rock (*petra*) is the original name. Therefore Peter is so called from the rock (*petra*), not the rock (*petra*) from Peter; as Christ is not called Christ from Christian, but the Christian from Christ. 'Therefore,' He saith, 'thou art Peter; and upon this Rock' which thou hast confessed, upon this Rock (*petram*) which thou hast acknowledged, saying, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' will I build my Church, that is, upon myself, the Son of the Living God, 'will I build my Church.' I will build thee upon myself, not myself upon thee. For men who wished to be built upon men said, 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas; that is Peter himself.' But others who did not wish to be built upon Peter, but upon the Rock (*petram*), said, 'But I am of Christ.' And when the Apostle Paul ascertained that he was chosen, and Christ despised, he said, 'Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptised in the name of Paul?' And as not in the name of Paul so neither in the name of Peter, but in the name of Christ, that Peter might be built upon the rock (*petram*), not the rock (*petra*) upon Peter.

70. This same Peter therefore who had been by the Rock pronounced blessed, *bearing the figure of the Church*, holding the chief place in the apostleship (*apostolatus principatum*), &c. . . . Let us, looking at ourselves in him as members of the Church, distinguish what is of God, and what

of ourselves. For then we shall not totter, then shall we be founded on the Rock, shall be fixed and firm against the winds, and storms, and streams, the temptations, I mean, of this present world. Yet see this *Peter, who was then our figure*; now he trusts, and now he totters; now he confesses the undying One, and now he fears, lest He (Christ) should die.

71. Wherefore? Because the Church of Christ hath both strong and weak ones, and cannot be without either strong or weak; whence the Apostle Paul says, 'Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.' In that Peter said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' he represents the strong; but in that he totters, and would not that Christ should suffer, in fearing death for Him, and not acknowledging the Life, he represents the weak ones of the Church. In that one apostle then, that is, Peter, in the order of the apostles first and chief (*in ordine apostolorum primo et præcipuo*), in whom the Church was figured, both sorts were to be represented, that is, both the strong and weak, because the Church doth not exist without them both.

Ibid. sermo xvi. col. 70.

72. Thou hast begun to hold thy brother for a publican, 'thou bindest him on earth;' but see that thou bind him justly. For unjust bonds justice doth burst asunder. But when thou hast corrected and been 'reconciled to thy brother,' thou hast 'loosed him on earth.' And when 'thou shalt have loosed him on earth, he shall be loosed in heaven also.' Thus thou doest a great thing, not for thyself, but for him; for a great injury had he done, not to thee, but to himself.

Ibid. sermo xxiii. col. 98.

73. So then let us understand, dearly beloved, that this parable [that of ten virgins] relates to us all, that is, to the whole Church together; not only to the rulers (*præpositos*) of whom we spoke yesterday, nor to the laity only, but generally to all.

De Verbis Domini in Evang. Lucam, sermo xxiv. col. 104.

74. What our Lord Jesus Christ at that time spoke to His disciples was put in writing and prepared for us to hear. And so we have His words. For what profit would it be to us if He were seen and were not heard? And now it is no hurt that He is not seen and yet is heard. He saith then, 'He that despiseth you despiseth me.' (Luke x. 16.) If to the *apostles* only He said, 'He that despiseth you despiseth me,' do ye despise us. But if His word reach to us, and He hath called us and set us in their place, see that ye despise not us, lest the wrong ye shall do unto us reach to Him. For if ye fear not us, fear Him who said, 'He that despiseth you despiseth me.'

De Verbis Domini in Evang. Joan. sermo xxxix. col. 150.

75. Our Lord Jesus Christ both came to men, and went away from men, and is come to men. And yet He was here when He came, nor did He depart when He went away; and He is to come to them to whom He said, 'Lo! I am with you, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Ibid. sermo xlv. col. 171.

76. Nor to them (the disciples) only does what He said, 'Lo! I am with you, even unto the end of the world,' apply, but even to all Christians that should be after them, and succeed them, even unto the end of the world,

Hom. xxiii. col. 469.

77. The good Physician not only cured the sick then present but provided also for them who were to be hereafter. There were to be men in aftertimes who should say, 'It is I who forgive sins, I who justify, I who sanctify, I who cure whomsoever I baptise.' Of this number are they who say, 'Touch me not,' . . . So then in that they say, 'Touch me not, for I am clean,' they are like to that Pharisee who had invited the Lord, and who thought that He did not know the woman, simply because He did not hinder her from touching His feet. But in another respect the Pharisee was better, because, whereas he supposed Christ to be but a man, he did not believe that by a man sins could be forgiven. There was shown then a better understanding in Jews than heretics. What said the Jews? 'Who is this that forgiveth sins also? Does any man dare to usurp this to himself?' What, on the other hand, says the heretic? 'It is I who forgive, I cleanse, I sanctify.' Let not me, but Christ answer him. 'O man, when I was thought by the Jews to be but a man, I gave forgiveness of sins to faith.' (It is not I, but Christ, who answereth thee.) 'And thou, O heretic, mere man as thou art, dost say, "Come, O woman, I will make thee whole." Whereas, when I was thought to be but a man, I said, "Go, woman, thy faith hath made thee whole."' They answer, 'knowing not,' as the apostle saith, 'either what they speak or whereof they affirm;' they answer and say, 'If men do not forgive sins then that is false which Christ saith, "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven also."' But thou dost not know why this is said, and in what sense this is said. The Lord was about to give to men the Holy Spirit, and He wished it to be understood that sins are forgiven to His faithful by His Holy Spirit, and not by men's deserts. For what art thou, O man, but an invalid who hast need of healing? Wouldest thou make thyself my physician? Together with me, seek the Physician. For that the Lord might show this more plainly, that sins are forgiven by the Holy Spirit, which He hath given to His faithful ones, and not by men's deserts, after He had risen from the dead, He saith in a certain place, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost;' and when He had said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' He subjoined immediately, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them;' that is, the Spirit remits them, not ye. Now, the Spirit is God, God therefore remits, not ye. But what are ye in regard to the Spirit? 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' And again, 'Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God?' So then God dwelleth in His Holy Temple, that is, in His holy faithful ones, in His Church; by them doth He remit sins, because they are living temples. But He who remitteth by man can also remit even without man.

De Tempore sermo lxxiv. tom. x. col. 746, 747.

78. He chose, therefore, a humble name, to be called Paul, that is, the least. For Paul is 'the least.' Paul is nothing else but little. And now glorying in his name, and giving us a lesson of humility, he says, 'I am the least of the apostles.' Whence, then, whence was he but of the people of the Jews? Of them were the other apostles, of them was Paul, of them were they (five hundred brethren) whom the same Paul mentions as having seen the Lord after His Resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 6.)

Ibid. sermo cxxxiv. col. 1110.

79. And so the Lord, in reference to their pride, said immediately, 'Beware of the scribes who love to preside (*præsidere*) in the synagogues, and choose the first place (*primum locum*) at feasts.' Not because they hold them, but because they love them. For in these words He accused their heart. Now no one can accuse the heart but He who can inspect it. For meet it is that to the servant of God, who holds some post of honour in the Church, the first place should be assigned, because, if it were not given him, it were evil for him who refuses to give it; but yet it is no good to him to whom it is given. It is meet and right, then, that in a congregation (*congregatione*) of Christians the rulers of the people should sit in a more eminent place (*præpositi plebis eminentius sedent*), that by their very seat they may be distinguished, and that their office may be duly marked; yet not so that they should be puffed up for their seat, but that they should esteem it a burden, for which they are to render an account.

De Sanctis sermo xv. *De Cathedra Sancti Petri*, tom. x. col. 1196, 1197.

On the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter.

80. The appointment of this solemn day hath received from our ancestors the name of Cathedra (chair), because Peter, the chief (*primus*) of the apostles, is said to have received the chair of the episcopate (*episcopatus cathedram*). Therefore the churches rightly observe the origin of the seat which the apostle took for the safety of the churches, when our Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' And so the Lord named Peter the foundation of the Church, and so the Church worthily observes this foundation, upon which the height of the ecclesiastical building rises. Whence the Psalm which has been suitably read says, 'Let them exalt him in the church of the people, and let them praise him in the chair of the elders' (*cathedra seniorum*).—Psalm cvii. 32, Sep. ver.

Ibid. sermo xlii. *De Apostolis*, col. 1254.

81. 'Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest.' (Luke x. 2.) Then He added to His twelve disciples other seventy-two, whom He also named apostles, and sent them all, as appears from His words, to the harvest then ready.

Ibid. sermo li. *De Uno Confessore*, col. 1272, 1273.

82. My lords, my brethren, and fellow-bishops have deigned to visit us, and gladden us by their presence; but I know not why they are unwilling to assist me when wearied. I have said this to you, beloved, in their hearing, that you hearing may in a manner intercede for me with them, that, when I ask them, they also may preach unto you in their turn. Let them dispense what they have received, let them vouchsafe to work rather than excuse themselves. Be pleased, however, to hear from me, fatigued though I be, and have difficulty in speaking, a few words only. For we have besides a record of God's mercies vouchsafed through a holy martyr, which we must give willing audience to altogether. What is it then? What shall I say unto you? Ye have heard in the Gospel both the due recompense of the good servants and the punishment of the bad. And the whole wickedness of that servant who was reprobate and severely condemned was that he would not put out his money to use. He kept the entire sum he had received, but the Lord looked for profit from it. God is covetous with regard to our salvation. If he who did not put out to use is so condemned, what must they look for who lose what they have received? We then are the dispensers; we put out, ye receive. We look for profit; do ye live well. For this is the profit in our dealing with you. But do not think that this office of putting out to use does not belong to you also. Ye cannot execute it, indeed, from this elevated seat (*loco superiore*), but you can wherever you chance to be. Wherever Christ is attacked, defend Him; answer murmurs and rebuke blasphemies; from their fellowship keep yourselves apart. So do ye put to use if ye make gain of any. Act in our stead (*vicem nostram*) in your own houses. A bishop is called from hence, because he superintends, because he takes care and attends to others. To every man, then, if he is the head of his own house, ought the office of the bishopric to belong, to take care how his household believe, that none of them fall into heresy, neither wife, nor son, nor daughter, nor even his servant, because he has been bought at so great a price. The apostolic teaching has set the master over the servant, and put the servant under the master; nevertheless Christ gave the same price for both. Do not neglect, then, the least of those belonging to you; look after the salvation of all your household with all vigilance. This if ye do, ye put out to use; ye will not be slothful servants, ye will not have to fear so horrible a condemnation.

Ad Fratres in Fremo, sermo xxxvi. *To his presbyters, reproving their evil life*, tom. x. col. 1348, 1349, 1351.

83. Ye priests of the Most High God, to you it is said, 'Be ye clean who bear the vessels of the Lord.' For ye are they who ought to bear the vessels of the Lord, to whom it is given to know the mysteries of God. Ye are the salt of the earth, the light of the world, a burning light, a city set upon a hill, pillars of the temple, the tree of knowledge placed in the midst of Paradise, the patrons and rectors of the earth, citizens of angels and of Paradise, sons of the prophets, kindred of the

patriarchs, successors of the apostles (*apostolorum successores*). . . . 'For,' saith the apostle, 'a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre.' (Titus i. 7.) But not only ought I, as a bishop, to observe these things, but ye also, by God's assistance, ought to observe them together with me. As he enjoins that in all things a bishop should be blameless so he enjoins that a presbyter should be so too, that is, 'blameless' (Titus i. 5, 6), not to seek wives, or riches, or honours. . . . But we, brethren, who are always in conflict, although we are tempted to return to the world, to be uxorious, to traffic, to live delicately, also to ascend the chair, let us take heed lest we be condemned with the world. Ye are of the Most High God, in whose assembly the God of gods deigns to stand. Ye are in His place (*ejus vicarii*) because ye act in His stead. Ye are all sons of the Most High, to whom power is given of binding and loosing, also of opening heaven and closing hell.

Ibid. sermo xxxvii. *How priests ought to conduct themselves as ministers of God, &c.* tom. x. col. 1352, 1353.

84. Most beloved brethren, as the history of the Acts of the Apostles narrates, Judas having apostatised from the fellowship of the apostles, Divine Providence providing foundations for the structure of the Church, which, according to John, are the twelve names of the apostles, called the blessed Matthias to the apostleship; and as Matthias undertook the chief government, and stood up in the place of Judas, so also we have undertaken the chief government (*principatum*) in the Church of God, and by His grace He wishes to make us His ministers, and constitute us in His building (*palatio*), and hath chosen that we be a holy nation, a people of God, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, and angelic men without sin. We are also ministers and servants of God. . . . He does not enter by the door to the Church who enters by a laical (*laicalem*) gate. For spiritual gifts have not been delivered to the laity, but to those who are in the place of the Lord (*Domini vicariis*). They are in the place of the Lord who hold the place of the apostles. Let the laity manage their villages and houses, but let them attend diligently to, not meddle with, the good things of the Church of Hippo.

34.

CHRYSOSTOM, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Flourished about A.D. 398.

De Sacerdotio, lib. i. cap. vi. tom. i. p. 365.

1. Now the rumour was that we were about to be advanced to the priestly dignity (*εἰς τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἡμᾶς ἀξίωμα*). . . . But after a short time had elapsed, and he who was going to ordain us (*ἡμᾶς χειροτονήσειν*) had come, and I had hidden myself, he (Basil), who knew nothing of it, was led away as though for another purpose, and received the yoke.

Ibid. cap. viii. p. 368.

2. (Chrysostom.) Wherein, then, have I wronged you? For hence have I determined to embark on the sea of my defence. Is it that I have circumvented you and concealed my intention? Still it was for the profit of you who were deceived, and of those to whom I delivered you. . . . For deceit (*ἀπάτη*), when well-timed and practised with a right intention, is so profitable that many have often been punished because they have not circumvented. . . . We may find the use of deceit to be great and needful, . . . by the husband towards the wife, and by the wife towards her husband, and by the father towards the son, and by friend towards friend, and even by children towards a father.

Ibid. lib. ii. cap. i. pp. 371, 372.

3. It could be shown even yet more fully that it is possible to employ the influence of deceit for good, or rather, that in such a case we ought not to call it deceit, but a sort of management worthy of our admiration. But since what I have said is a sufficient demonstration, it would be burdensome and tedious to carry my discourse to an unnecessary length; and it remains for you to prove that I have not used this very thing to your advantage. (Basil.) Then said Basil: And what advantage has occurred to me from this management, or wisdom, or whatever you may please to call it, that I may be convinced I have not been deceived by you?

4. (Chrysostom.) What can exceed this advantage, said I, that you have been seen to perform what Christ himself declared to be the evidences of love to Christ? For, addressing the chief (*κορυφαῖον*) of the apostles, He said, 'Peter, lovest thou me?' and when he confessed that he did, He added, 'If thou lovest me, feed my sheep.' . . . When, therefore, the disciple said, 'Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee,' and appealed to the Beloved One Himself as the witness of his love, the Saviour did not stop at this, but added that which was the token of love. He did not wish to show then how much Peter loved him, because this already appeared in many ways, but how much He Himself loved His own Church; and He wished Peter and *all of us* to learn that *we also* should display great zeal for the same objects. Why did God not spare His only begotten Son, but gave him up although His only One? It was that He might reconcile those who had been His enemies, and make them a peculiar people. Why did He shed His blood? It was that He might purchase those sheep which He committed to Peter and to those who come after him (*καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνων*).

Ibid. cap. viii. p. 379.

5. For if not all, yet those to whom it is a pleasure to speak evil, would then have had many grounds to cherish suspicion, and to talk of me if I had been ordained and of those who elected me (*περὶ τε τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος ἐμοῦ περὶ τε τῶν ἐλομένων ἐκείνων*). Thus, that they regard wealth, that they admire splendour of rank, and that because they were flattered by me, they brought me to this honour; I cannot say whether anyone would have suspected even this—that they had

been persuaded by bribes. Moreover (they would have said), 'Christ called fishermen and tentmakers to this dignity; but these despise such as are supported by their daily labour, whereas, if anyone embraces external learning, and is supported in idleness, they accept and admire him. Why, forsooth, have they overlooked those who have endured abundant drudgery for the service of the Church, but all at once exalted to this honour one who never tasted labours of this sort, and wasted all his youth in the vain pursuit of external learning?'

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. ii. pp. 381, 382.

6. The fact that one of my age, who had recently abandoned worldly pursuits, should so suddenly be deemed worthy of admiration by all, as to be honoured in preference to such as have spent their whole time in these labours, and to receive more suffrages (*πλείονας ψήφους*) than they, would have persuaded all men to surmise something great and admirable concerning me, and would have caused me to be revered and respected. But now, excepting a few, the greater portion of the Church does not know me even by name; so that it is not plain to all that I have refused, but only to a few, nor do they, I fancy, know it certainly; and perhaps even of them many may think I have not been elected (*ἡρῆσθαι*) at all, or have been passed over, after election (*ἄφρασιον*), because I seemed to be unsuitable, and not that I have declined of my own accord.

Ibid. cap v. pp. 383, 384.

7. For if anyone consider what it is for him that is a man, and still composed of flesh and blood, to be able to approach that blessed and immortal nature, he will then see clearly what honour the grace of the Spirit has vouchsafed to priests (*ιερείς*); for by them these things are performed, and others not inferior to them, both as regards our dignity and our salvation. For those who dwell upon earth, and make their abode therein, have been commissioned to dispense things which are in heaven, and have received an authority such as God has not given either to angels or archangels. For it has not been said to them, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose shall be loosed.' (Matt. xviii. 18.) Those who rule upon earth, indeed, have authority to bind, but bodies only; whereas this bond takes hold of the soul itself, and reaches heaven; what priests execute below, God ratifies above, and the Master confirms the judgment of His servants. And what is this but that He has given them all heavenly authority? For He says, 'Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 23.) What authority can be greater than this? 'All judgment hath the Father committed to the Son.' (John v. 22.) But I see that they have been entrusted with all this by the Son, as if they had already been translated to heaven, and had got beyond human nature, and were released from our affections, to so great power have they been raised. Moreover, if a king should confer upon one of his subjects this honour, to cast into prison whom he would, and to release them again, the man would be envied and respected by all. But he who receives from God

an authority as much greater as heaven is more precious than earth, and souls than bodies, seems to some men to have received so small an honour that it is possible even to suppose that one of those entrusted therewith will despise the gift. Away with such madness! for it is transparent madness to despise so great a power, without which we can acquire neither salvation nor the good things which have been promised us. For if no one can enter the kingdom of heaven except he be regenerated by water and the Spirit (John iii. 5), and if he who does not eat the flesh of the Lord and drink His blood is excluded from eternal life (John vi. 53), and if all these things are accomplished only by those holy hands, the priest's I mean, how will anyone be able without them to escape the fire of Gehenna, or to obtain the crowns which are in store? . . . Wherefore, they would not only be more justly venerated by us than rulers and kings, but more honoured than our fathers, for the one begat us by blood and the will of the flesh (John i. 13), but the others are the authors of our nativity, which is from God, that blessed regeneration, true liberty, and adoption according to grace.

Ibid. cap. x. p. 388.

8. For that some have filled the churches with murders, and made cities desolate when contending for this position (that of a bishop), I now pass over, lest I should seem to say what is incredible to any.

Ibid. cap. xv. pp. 392, 393.

9. Do you wish me to show you another aspect of this conflict, and one fraught with ten thousand dangers? Go and contemplate the public festivals, at which especially it is the custom for elections (*ἀφ' ἑσείας*) to ecclesiastical offices to be made, and you will see the priest lying under as many accusations as is the number of those who are subject to him. For all who have influence upon the bestowment of the honour are divided into many parties; and you will not see the council of presbyters of one accord, either with each other or with him that has been chosen to the episcopate (*τὸν λαχόντα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν*); but everyone stands by himself, one selecting (*αἰρούμενος*) this man, and another that. Now, the reason is, they do not all look to the one thing to which alone they ought to look—excellence of spirit. But there are other considerations which favour an appointment to this honour. Thus one says, 'Let him be appointed, because he is of an excellent family;' and another, 'because he is possessed of great wealth, and would not need to be supported out of the revenues of the Church;' and another, 'because he has ventured among us from our enemies.' One is zealous to promote in honour, before others, the man that is intimately acquainted with him; another, him that is related to him by family ties; and another, the man that flatters him. Nobody will look out for the man that is qualified, nor make any trial of soul.

Ibid. lib. iv. cap. ii. pp. 405, 406.

10. Hear what the blessed Paul says to Timothy, his own and beloved son, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man, nor be partaker in other

men's sins.' (1 Tim. v. 22.) Do you see now from what blame and chastisement, I, for my part, have delivered those who were going to lead me into this position. It is not enough for their defence that such as have been elected (*αἵρεθεῖοι*) should say, 'I did not come forward of my own choice; I did not withdraw because I did not foreknow the event.' And, in like manner, what gain could it be to those who confer ordination (*χειροτονούντας*) if they should say they were unacquainted with him that was ordained (*χειροτονηθέντα*)? On this very account their blame is greater, because they have promoted him they knew not, and what they fancy to be an apology will increase their condemnation. For is it not inconsistent that, when they wish to buy a slave, they show him to doctors, and require sureties for the purchase, and make enquiry of the neighbours, and have no confidence after all this, but ask for a long time to make trial of him; and yet, when they are about to designate (*ἐγγράφειν*) anyone to so great a ministry, they come to a decision heedlessly and by chance, if it pleases somebody to give a certificate through partiality, or enmity towards others, and make no further enquiry? Who, then, shall be selected (*ἐξαίρησεται*) for us when they who should propose (*προστήναι*) themselves need proposing (*προστατῶν*)? Wherefore he that is intended to confer ordination (*χειροτονεῖν*) must make diligent investigation; and much more he that is to be ordained. For although this one has as partakers of chastisement for his sins those who elected (*ἐλομένους*) him, he will not be relieved from punishment himself, but will suffer even more than they; provided only that they who elected (*ἐλούμενοι*) him did not, from some human motive, act contrary to what seemed to them right. For if they were detected in this, and through some pretext promoted one whom they knew to be unworthy, equal punishment, and perhaps even greater, would be awarded to such as appointed (*καταστήσασσι*) the unsuitable person. For he that gives authority (*τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρασχών*) to one who is ready to injure the Church would be guilty of such a man's rash deeds. And if he were responsible for none of these things, and should say he was deceived by the judgment of the majority, not even then would he remain exculpated, but would suffer less punishment than the one who was ordained. Why so? Because it is probable that those who made the election (*ἐλομένους*) decided upon it through being deceived by an opinion which was false; but he that had been elected (*αἵρεθεὶς*) could no longer say, 'I did not know myself,' as the others could. As, therefore, he will be punished more severely than those who promoted (*παραγόντων*) him.

Ibid. cap. viii. p. 413.

11. And hear also what he adds to Titus, when discoursing upon the institution (*καταστάσεως*) of bishops. 'For,' says he, 'a bishop must hold fast the faithful word, which is according to doctrine, that he may be able to convince gainsayers.' (Tit. i. 9.) But he says these things are enjoined upon priests, and our discourse is now concerning priests. And when he speaks of the priests (*ιερέων*): 'Let the presbyters who rule well be counted worthy of double honour.' (1 Tim. v. 17.)

Ibid. lib. vi. cap. iv. p. 424.

12. If he has invoked the Holy Ghost, and performed that most awful sacrifice (τὴν φρικωδέστατην ἐπιτελεῖ θυσίαν), and constantly touched with his hands the common Lord of all, tell me where we shall rank him? What purity, and what piety, shall we demand of him? For consider what his hands ought to be which minister these things! What his tongue, which utters such words! And what should be so pure and holy as his soul, which receives so great a Spirit! Angels are then present with the priest, and the whole tribune (ἅπαν τὸ βῆμα, the part occupied by the bishop and presbyters) and space around the altar is filled with heavenly powers in honour of Him that is there. And this may be believed in consequence of what is then celebrated. I once heard somebody relate that an aged and excellent man, who was accustomed to witness revelations, told him he had been counted worthy of such a vision, and on that occasion had suddenly seen a multitude of angels (as far as it was possible for him to do so), clothed in glittering robes, surrounding the altar, and bowing down, as one might see soldiers who stand where the king is present; and I believe it. Another told me, not what he learned from somebody else, but was himself privileged both to see and hear, of those who were about to depart hence, that, if they partake of the sacraments with a pure conscience, when they are going to expire, angels keep guard over them, because of that which they have received, and take them away.

Ibid. lib. vi. cap. xii. pp. 443, 444.

13. That I may show you the measure of my fear and astonishment, let me again proceed to another picture. Let there be an armament, consisting of infantry, and cavalry, and marines; let a multitude of ships cover the sea; and let the phalanxes of infantry and cavalry cover many plains and the tops of the mountains; let their brazen weapons flash in the sun, and let the glittering of their helmets and spears be reflected by the beams which they emit; let the clashing of the spears, and the neighing of the horses, be borne to heaven itself; let neither land nor sea be visible, but brass and steel everywhere. Let enemies be arrayed against them, men wild and fierce, and let the hour of conflict be imminent. Then let some one seize at once a stripling from among those brought up in the country, and understanding nothing but the shepherds' pipe and crook, and let him be armed with brazen armour. Let him be led round all the host, and shown the battalions and their officers, the archers, the slingers, the captains, the generals, the infantry, the cavalry, the spearmen, the ships and their commanders, the marines thronging on board, and the multitude of warlike engines stored in the vessels. Let him see the whole battle-array of the enemy, and their dreadful aspect, the extraordinary supply and countless number of their weapons, the ravines and steep precipices, and the ruggedness of the mountains. Let him see, among the enemies, horses flying by some enchantment, and infantry carried through the air, and the power and form of every kind of sorcery. Let him reckon up the accidents of war, the clouds of arrows, the shower of darts, the great

mist and obscurity, the darkest night—which the multitude of missiles causes, hiding by their numbers the solar rays—the dust which blinds men's eyes, not less than darkness itself, the torrents of blood, the groans of the fallen, the shouts of the surviving, the heaps of the prostrate, wheels baptised with blood, horses with their riders thrown headlong down by the multitude of those who lie dead, the ground with everything in confusion—blood, bows, and darts, horses' hoofs and men's heads lying together, an arm and a wheel, a greave and a cloven breast, brains besmeared on swords, the point of a spear broken off, and with an eye transfixed upon it. Let him then enumerate the sufferings of the fleet—ships burning in the midst of the waters, and sinking with their soldiery, the roar of the waters, the clamour of the sailors, the shouting of the soldiers, the foam mixed up of waves and blood, and at the same time dashing into all the ships—the dead upon the decks, the drowning, the swimming, dashing upon the rocks, swallowed up by the waves, and obstructing the courses of the vessels. And when such a one has carefully learned all the horrors of war, let him add thereto the terrors of bondage and slavery, worse than any death. When he has been told all this, let him be bidden forthwith to mount his horse, and command all that armament. Think you the stripling could bear the lesson merely, and would not lose heart at once and at the first glance?

De Statuis ad Populum Antiochenum, hom. i. tom. ii. p. 3.

14. But the subject of enquiry is not merely that, being a holy man, he (Timothy) was sick, and sick so continually, but that he was at the same time entrusted with the public affairs of the world. For if he had been one of those who had lived secluded on the tops of mountains, who have fixed their cells in solitude, and who have chosen that life which is free from all business, the matter now enquired into were no such difficulty; but that one thrust forward in the throng, and in whose hands the care of so many churches was placed, and who superintended whole cities and nations, nay, the world at large, with so much alacrity and diligence, should be subjected to the straitening of infirmities But, moreover, one might especially wonder at the man for this, that being thus diseased, and struggling with such an infirmity, he did not become indifferent to God's business, but flew everywhere faster than those who have sound and vigorous constitutions; now to Ephesus, now to Corinth, often to Macédonia and Italy; appearing everywhere by land and by sea, with the teacher, sharing in everything his contentions and diversified dangers; while his magnanimity of soul stood the test of his bodily infirmity.

De Decem Millium Debitore, ser. i. tom. iii. p. 4.

15. Peter, the leader (*κορυφαῖος*) of the band of the apostles, the mouth of the disciples, the pillar (*στυλοῦς*) of the Church, the firmament (*στερέωμα*) of the faith, the foundation of the confession, the fisherman of the world.

In illud in Faciem Petro Restiti, tom. iii. p. 368.

16. . . . But Paul was not only the servant of Peter, the leader of all

saints, but also of all the apostles there when he excelled all men in labours; yet he did repute himself the last of all men, for 'I,' said he, 'am the least of the apostles, who am not meet to be called an apostle.' But not only of the apostles, but plainly also of all saints; 'for unto me,' said he, 'who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given.' Dost thou see his humble mind? Dost thou see that he sets himself the lowest, not only of apostles, but of all saints? Moreover, he who was thus affected towards all men knew how necessary it was that Peter should have the advantage of the presidency (*προεδρίας*), and he esteemed him above all other men, he was so worthy.

Expositio in Psalmum xlv. tom. v. p. 181.

17. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee; thou shalt make them rulers over all the earth.' (Psalm xlv. 16, Sep. ver.) The apostles traversed the whole world, became rulers more lordly than all rulers, than kings more mighty. For kings, indeed, exercise power whilst they live, but when they die their power lapses; but these, when dead, rule the more. The laws of kings have force within their own dominions, but the ordinances of the fishermen have been extended everywhere through the habitable earth. The emperor of the Romans cannot legislate for the Persians, nor can the king of the Persians for the Romans; but these men of Palestine have imposed their laws alike on Romans and Persians, Thracians and Scythians, Indians and Moors, nay, all over the world; not only while living have they thus been powerful, but also since they are dead; and of those by whom these laws have been received, there is not one who would not a thousand times rather lose his life than revolt against them.

Expositio in Psalmum xlviii. tom. v. p. 213.

18. 'Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands after their own names.' (Psalm xlix. 11.) How many kings have built cities, have formed harbours, and, having given them names, have died? They, however, have reaped no benefit, but are given to silence and oblivion. But Peter the fisherman, having done nothing of the kind, since he followed after virtue, shines, even after death, more bright than the sun.

De Verbis Esaiæ 'Vidi Dominum,' hom. iv. tom. vi. p. 124.

19. But Peter, the basis of the Church, that vehement lover of Christ, unlearned in discourse, yet surpassing all orators; he who, though illiterate, stopped the mouth of philosophers; he who destroyed the Greek wisdom as a spider's web; he who traversed the habitable globe; he who swept the seas and fished the world, had he not also a wife? Verily he had; and that he had, hear the evangelist; what does he say? 'Jesus was come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid.'

Opus Imperfectum in Matt. hom. xliii. tom. vi. p. clxxxiii.

20. What, therefore, doth he say concerning priests? 'The Scribes

and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.' (Matt. xxiii. 2.) That is, there are many priests, and few priests; many in name, few in works. See ye therefore how ye sit upon the chair; because the chair does not make the priest, but the priest the chair; the place does not make the man holy, but the man the place. Every priest is not holy, but every holy man is a priest. He who occupies the chair well, receives honour from it; he who does not occupy it well does injury to the chair.

Ibid. hom. xlvi. tom. vi. pp. excv. excvi.

21. 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee.' (Matt. xxiii. 37.) Understand here Jerusalem as the Church, which is called the city of peace, whose foundations are placed upon the mountains of the Scriptures. As therefore those Jews who were of the spiritual Jerusalem, having come in, have believed in Christ; but those who were of the literal Jerusalem remained in literal Judaism, persecuted the spiritual Jews, that is, the apostles, and the rest of the circumcision who believed: so also respecting this new Jerusalem, that is, the Church; they who were spiritual Christians, having forsaken the literal Church, which the infidels had seized with violence, went out from them; but rather 'they went out from us,' as John explains. For he does not seem to go out of the Church who goes out bodily, but he who spiritually deserts the fundamentals of ecclesiastical truth. We have gone out from them in body, but they from us in mind; we have gone out from them in respect of place, they from us in respect of the faith. We have left them the foundations of the walls, they have left us the foundations of the Scriptures. We have gone out from them according to human appearance, they from us according to the judgment of God.

Ibid. hom. xlix. tom. vi. p. cciv.

22. 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth let him understand) then let them which be in Judæa flee unto the mountains.' (Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.) That is, when ye shall see the impious heresy, which is the army of antichrist, standing in the holy places of the Church, let those who are at that time in Judæa flee to the mountains, that is, who are in Christianity betake themselves to the Scriptures. For as a true Jew is a Christian, according to the apostle, 'He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, but which is one inwardly,' so the true Judæa is Christianity, the name Judæa being, by interpretation, confession. The mountains are the Scriptures of the apostles and prophets, respecting which it is said, 'Thou dost wonderfully shine forth from the everlasting mountains.' (Psalm lxxvi. 4, Sep. ver.) And, again, concerning the Church, he says, 'His foundations are in the holy mountains.' (Psalm lxxxvii. 1.) And why does he bid all Christians at that time to betake themselves to the Scriptures? Because at that time, when heresy hath got possession of those churches, there can be no proof of true Christianity, nor any other refuge for Christians wishing to know the true faith but the

Divine Scriptures. For before it was shown in many ways which was the Church of Christ, and which heathenism; but now it is known in no way to those who wish to ascertain which is the true Church of Christ, but only through the Scriptures. Why? Because all those things which are properly Christ's in the truth, those heresies have also in their schism: churches alike, the Holy Scripture alike, bishops alike, and the other orders of clergy, baptism alike, the eucharist alike, and everything else; nay, even Christ Himself. Therefore, if anyone wishes to ascertain which is the true Church of Christ, whence can he ascertain it, in the confusion arising from so great a similitude, but only by the Scriptures?

23. Therefore the Lord, knowing that such a confusion of things would take place in the last days, commands, on that account, that the Christians who are in Christianity, and desirous of availing themselves of the strength of the true faith, should betake themselves to nothing else but the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they should look to other things, they shall stumble and perish, not understanding which is the true Church.

Expositio in Matt. hom. xxxii. tom. vii. p. 375.

24. Now Mark doth also put them (the twelve apostles) according to their dignity; for after the two leaders (*κορυφαίους*), he then numbers Andrew; but our evangelist not so, but without distinction; or rather he sets before himself even Thomas, who came far short of him. . . . For in the house and in the church the presiding minister (*προεστῶς*) gives peace. . . . For the presbyter sits, for the deacon stands. . . . But 'there is no comparison between the apostles and us.' I confess it too, and would never deny it. For I say not, to themselves, but not even to their shadows, are we comparable.

Ibid. hom. liv. tom. vii. pp. 546-548.

25. What, then, saith the mouth of the apostles, Peter, the ever fervent, the leader of the choir of the apostles (*ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος*)? When all are asked, he answers. . . . 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church' (Matt. xvi. 18); that is, on the faith of his confession. Hereby He signifies that many were now on the point of believing, and raises his spirit, and makes him a shepherd.

Ibid. hom. xc. tom. vii. p. 841.

26. After that, because He had enjoined on them great things, to raise their courage, He says, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Seest thou His own proper power again? Seest thou how those other things also were spoken for condescension? And not with those men only did He promise to be, but also with all that believe after them. For plainly the apostles were not to remain here unto 'the end of the world;' but He speaks to the believers as to one body.

Expositio in Joannem, hom. lxxv. tom. viii. pp. 440, 441.

27. 'At that day ye shall know that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you.' (John xiv. 20.) With regard to the Father, these words refer to essence; with regard to the disciples, to agreement of

mind and help from God. 'And how, tell me, is this reasonable?' saith some one. And how, pray, is the contrary reasonable? For great and altogether boundless is the interval between Christ and His disciples. And if the same words are employed, marvel not; for the Scripture is often wont to use in different senses the same words, when applied to God and to men. Thus we are called 'gods,' and 'sons of God,' yet the word hath not the same force when applied to us and to God. And the Son is called 'Image' and 'Glory;' so are we, but great is the interval between us. Again, 'Ye are Christ's,' and Christ is God's, but not in like manner as Christ is God's are we Christ's. But what is it that He saith? 'When I am risen,' He saith, ye shall know that I am not separated from the Father, but have the same power with Him, and that I am with you continually, when facts proclaim the aid which cometh to you from me, when your enemies are kept down, and you speak boldly, when dangers are removed from your path, when the preaching of the Gospel flourisheth day by day, when all yield and give ground to the word of true religion. 'As the Father hath sent me so send I you.' (John xx. 21.) Seest thou here also the word hath not the same force? For if we take it as though it had, the apostles will differ in nothing from Christ.

Ibid. hom. lxxxii. tom. viii. p. 483.

28. 'As thou hast sent me into the world even so have I also sent them into the world.' (John xvii. 18.) As Paul also saith, 'Having put in us the word of reconciliation.' For the same end for which Christ came, for the same did these take possession of the world. In this place again the 'as' is not put to signify resemblance in the case of himself and the apostles; for how was it possible for men to be sent otherwise?

Ibid. hom. lxxxvi. tom. viii. p. 518.

29. 'As my Father hath sent me so send I you.' (John xx. 21.) Ye have no difficulty, owing to what hath already come to pass, and to the dignity of me who send you. Here he lifteth up their souls, and showeth them their great cause of confidence, if so be that they were about to undertake His work. And no longer is an appeal made to the Father, but with authority He giveth to them the power. For, 'He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (Vs. 22, 23.) As a king sending forth governors (*ἀρχοντας*), gives power to cast into prison and to deliver from it, so, in sending these forth, Christ invested them with the same power. But how saith He, 'If I go not away, He will not come,' and yet giveth them the Spirit? Some say that He gave not the Spirit, but rendered them fit to receive it, by breathing on them. For if Daniel, when he saw an angel, was afraid, what would not they have suffered when they received that unspeakable gift, unless He had first made them learners? Wherefore He said not 'Ye have received the Holy Ghost,' but, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' Yet one will not be wrong in asserting that they then also received some spiritual power and grace;

not so as to raise the dead, or to work miracles, but so as to remit sins. For the gifts of the Spirit are of different kinds; wherefore He added, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them,' showing what kind of power He was giving. But in the other case, after forty days, they received the power of working miracles. Wherefore He saith, 'Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa.' (Acts i. 8.) And witnesses they became by means of miracles, for unspeakable is the grace of the Spirit, and multiform the gift.

30. But this comes to pass that thou mayest learn that the gift and the power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one. For things which appear to be peculiar to the Father, these are seen also to belong to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. 'How then,' saith some one, 'doth none come to the Son, "except the Father draw Him?"' Why, this very thing is shown to belong to the Son also: 'I,' He saith, 'am the Way; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' And observe that it belongeth to the Spirit also; for, 'No man can call Jesus Christ Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' Again, we see the apostles were given to the Church at one time by the Father, at another by the Son, at another by the Holy Ghost, and that the diversities of gifts belong to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let us then do all we can to have the Holy Spirit with ourselves, and let us treat with much honour those into whose hands its operation hath been committed. For great is the dignity of the priests (*ιερέων*). 'Whosoever sins,' it saith, 'ye remit, they are remitted unto them;' wherefore also Paul saith, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.' And hold them very exceedingly in honour; for thou indeed carest about thine own affairs, and if thou orderest them well, thou givest no account for others; but the priest, even if he rightly order his own life, if he have not an anxious care for thine, yea and that of all those around him, will depart with the wicked into hell; and often, when not betrayed by his own conduct, he perishes by yours, if he have not rightly performed all his part. Knowing, therefore, the greatness of the danger, give them a large share of your goodwill; which Paul also implied when he said, 'For they watch for your souls,' and not simply so, but 'as they that shall give account.' They ought, therefore, to receive great attention from you; but if you join with the rest in trampling upon them then neither shall your affairs be in a good condition. For while the steersman (*κυβερνήτης*) continues in good courage, the crew also will be in safety; but if he be tired out by their reviling him and showing ill-will against him, he cannot watch equally well, or retain his skill, and, without intending it, throws them into ten thousand mischiefs. And so too the priest, if he enjoy honour from you, will be able well to order your affairs; but if ye throw them into despondency, ye weaken their hands, and render them, as well as yourselves, an easy prey to the waves, although they be very courageous. Consider what Christ saith concerning the Jews.

31. 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' chair; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you to do, do ye.' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.) Now

we have not to say, 'The priests (*ιερεῖς*) sit on Moses' chair,' but, 'on that of Christ;' for they have successively received His doctrine. Wherefore also Paul saith, 'We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us.' See ye not that in the case of Gentile rulers (*ἀρχόντων*) all bow to them, and oftentimes even persons superior in family, in life, in intelligence, to those who judge them? Yet still, because of Him who hath given them, they consider none of these things, but respect the decision of their governor, whosoever he be that receives the rule over them. Is there then such a fear when man ordains (*χειροτονήσῃ*), but when God ordains, do we despise him who is ordained, and abuse him, and besmirch him with ten thousand reproaches, and, though forbidden to judge our brethren, do we sharpen our tongue against our priests? And how can this deserve excuse when we see not the beam in our own eye, but are bitterly over-curious about the mote in another's? Knowest thou not that by so judging thou makest thine own judgment the harder? And this I say not as approving of those who exercise their priesthood unworthily, but as greatly pitying and weeping for them; yet do I not on this account allow that it is right that they should be judged by those who are ruled (*τῶν ἀρχομένων*), and although their life be very much spoken against, thou, if thou take heed to thyself, wilt not be harmed at all in respect of the things committed to them by God. For if He caused a voice to be uttered by an ass, and bestowed spiritual blessings by a diviner, working by the foolish mouth and impure tongue of Balaam, in behalf of the offending Jews, much more for the sake of you, the right-minded, will He, though the priests be exceedingly vile, work all the things that are His, and will send the Holy Ghost. For neither doth the pure draw down that Spirit by his own purity, but it is grace that worketh all. 'For all,' it saith, 'is for your sake, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas.' For the things which are placed in the hands of the priests, it is with God alone to give; and however far human wisdom may reach, it will appear inferior to that grace. And this I say, not in order that we may order our own life carelessly, but that, when some of those set over (*τῶν προεστώτων*) you are careless livers, you, the ruled, may not often heap up evil for yourselves. But why speak I of priests? Neither angel nor archangel can do anything with regard to what is given from God; but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost dispenseth all, while the priest lends his tongue and affords his hand. For neither would it be just that, through the wickedness of another, those who come in faith to the symbols of their salvation should be harmed. Knowing all these things, let us fear God, and hold His priests in honour, paying them all reverence; that both for our own good deeds, and the attention shown to them, we may receive a great return from God, through the grace and loving kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory, dominion, and honour, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

Ibid. hom. lxxxviii. tom. viii. pp. 523, 527.

32. 'He saith unto him, feed my sheep.' (John xxi. 16.) And why,

having passed by the others, doth He speak with Peter on these matters? He was the chosen one (ἐκκριτος) of the apostles, the mouth of the disciples, and the leader (κορυφή) of the band. . . . Jesus putteth into his hands the presidency (προσρασίαν) of the brethren; and He bringeth not forth the denial, nor reproacheth him with what had taken place, but saith, 'If thou lovest me, preside over (ποιίστασο) thy brethren.' . . . And if any should say, 'How then did James receive the chair at Jerusalem?' I would make this reply, that He appointed Peter teacher, not of the chair, but of the world:

Sermo in Sanctos Duodecim Apostolos, tom. viii. pp. 11, 12.

33. Ye (twelve apostles) are the steady pillars of orthodoxy, the rock of the Church, the sceptres of the kingdom, the vigilant rulers (προστάται) especially of the flock, &c. But now I turn in the discourse to the leaders (κορυφαίοις) of the apostles, I am reminded of that prophecy: 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' Let Peter now take the lead of the discourse since he was hired earlier into the vineyard of the Lord. Peter was the first-born sheep of the flock of the good Shepherd. From the lake he ascended to heaven; having dismissed the sailors, he became worthy of the society of angels. Relinquishing the ship, he took the steerage of the Church. He who hath been called the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven received the power of binding and loosing on earth, &c.

34. But after him (Peter) let Paul come into the midst, the wisest orator of the whole world, who of a wolf was made a lamb, of thorns a branch, of tares wheat, of an enemy a friend, who of the Hebrews remained a Hebrew, who among them as Saul breathed threatening and slaughter, but amongst us as Paul called of Jesus Christ an apostle; became of a blasphemers a theologian, of a persecutor a preacher of the Gospel, of a pirate a captain, and of a traitor a soldier.

Expositio Acta Apost. hom. iii. tom. ix. p. 26.

35. Again, consider the moderation of James; he it was who received the bishopric of Jerusalem, and here he says nothing. Mark also the great moderation of the other apostles, how they concede the throne (θρόνοι) to him (Peter). . . . Here is forethought for providing a teacher; here was the first who appointed (κατέστησε) a teacher. He did not say we are sufficient. So far was he beyond all vainglory, and he looked to one thing alone. And yet he had the right of appointing, equal to all. But well might these things be done in this fashion through the noble spirit of the man, and in regard that government (ἐπιστοασία) was not an affair of dignity, but of provident care for the governed (τῶν ἀρχομένων). This neither made the elected (αἰρουμένους) to become elated, for it was to dangers that they were called, nor those not elected to make a grievance of it, as if they were disgraced. But things are not done in this fashion now, nay, quite the contrary.

Ibid. hom. xiv. tom. ix. p. 114.

36. And they do not now put it to the lot; they were indeed them-

selves able to elect (ἐκλέξαι) as moved by the Spirit: but nevertheless, they desire the testimony of the people. The fixing the number, and to ordain (χειροτονῆσαι) them, and for this kind of business, rested with them; but they permit the men to elect for them (ἐλέσθαι), that they might not seem to act from favour, just as God also leaves it to Moses to elect (ἐλέσθαι) as presbyters those whom he knew. . . . 'Whom they set before the apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.' (Acts vi. 6.) They separated them from the multitude (πλήθους), and it is the people that draw them, not the apostles that lead them. Observe how he avoids all that is superfluous; he does not tell in what way it was done, but that they were ordained (ἐχειροτονήθησαν) with prayer: for that is the meaning of ordination (χειροτονία), i.e. putting forth the hand; the hand of the man is laid upon the person, but the whole work is of God, and it is His hand which toucheth the head of the one ordained, if he be duly ordained.

Expositio in Epist. ad Rom. hom. xxxi. tom. ix. p. 747.

37. 'Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me.' (Rom. xvi. 7.) And, indeed, to be apostles at all is a great thing. But to be even among these of note, just consider what a great encomium this is! But they were of note owing to their works, to their achievements. Oh, how great is the devotion of this woman (*Junia*), that she should be even counted worthy of the appellation of apostle!

Expositio in Epist. ad Corinthios II. hom. iii. tom. x. pp. 448, 454.

38. And what is 'hath anointed' and 'sealed?' Hath given the Spirit, by whom he hath done both these things, making at once prophets, and priests, and kings, for in old times these three sorts were anointed. But we have not now one of these dignities, but all three pre-eminently. For we are both to enjoy a kingdom and are made priests by offering our bodies for a sacrifice (for, saith he, 'present your members a living sacrifice acceptable unto God'); and withal we are constituted prophets too, for what things 'eye hath not seen nor ear heard,' these have been revealed unto us. . . . So also art thou thyself made king and priest and prophet in the laver: a king, having dashed to earth all the deeds of wickedness, and slain thy sins; a priest, in that thou offerest thyself to God, and having sacrificed thy body, and being thyself slain also, 'for if we died with Him,' saith he, 'we shall also live with Him;' a prophet, knowing what shall be, and being inspired of God, and sealed.

Ibid. hom. xviii. tom. x. pp. 567-569.

39. 'The apostles of the churches.' (2 Cor. viii. 23.) That is, sent by the churches. Certain it is, at least, that the prayer of the churches loosed Peter from his chains, opened the mouth of Paul; their voice, also, in no slight degree, accoutres those that arrive unto spiritual rule. Therefore indeed it is that both he who is going to ordain (χειροτονεῖν) called at that time for their prayers also and that they add their votes

and assent by acclamations, which the initiated know: for it is not lawful before the uninitiated to unbare all things.

40. But there are occasions in which there is no difference at all between the priest and those under him; for instance, when we are to partake of the awful mysteries (*φρικτῶν μυστηρίων*), for we are all alike counted worthy of the same things; not as under the Old Testament, when the priest ate some things, and those under him others, and it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things whereof the priest partook. But not so now, but before all one body is set, and one cup. And in the prayers, also, one may observe the people contributing much. For in behalf of the possessed, in behalf of those under penance, the prayers are made in common, both by the priest and by them, and all say one prayer, that prayer replete with pity. Again, when we have excluded from the holy precincts those who are unable to partake of the holy table, it behoveth that another prayer be offered, and we all alike fall upon the ground, and all alike rise up. Again, when it behoveth to receive and give peace, we all alike salute each other. Again, in the most awful mysteries themselves, the priest prays for the people, and the people also pray for the priest, for the words 'with thy spirit,' are nothing else than this. The offering of thanksgiving, again, is common; for neither doth he give thanks alone, but also all the people. For having first taken their voices, next when they assent that it is 'meet and right so to do,' then he begins the thanksgiving. And why marvellest thou that the people anywhere utter aught with the priest, when indeed with even the very cherubim, and the powers above, they send up in common those sacred hymns? Now I have said all this, in order that each one of the laity also may keep their attention awake, that we may understand that we are all one body, having such difference amongst ourselves as members with members; and may not throw the whole upon the priests, but ourselves also so care for the whole Church as for a body common to us. For this course will provide for our greater safety and for your greater growth unto virtue. Hear, at least, in the case of the apostles, how frequently they admitted the laity to share in their decisions. For when they ordained the seven, they first communicated with the people, and when Peter ordained Matthias, with all that were then present, both men and women. For here is no pride of rulers (*ἀρχόντων*), nor slavishness in the ruled, but a spiritual rule, in this particular taking advantage of (*πλεονεκτούσα*) most things, in taking on itself the greater share of the labour, and of that care which is on your behalf, not in seeking larger honours.

Expositio in Epist. ad Gal. tom. x. p. 670.

41. 'But though I, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.' (Gal. i. 8.) See the apostle's wisdom; to obviate the objection that he was prompted by vainglory to applaud his own doctrine, he includes himself in his anathema, and as they referred to authority, that of James and John, he mentions angels, saying, 'Tell me not of James and John; if

one of the most exalted angels of heaven corrupt the Gospel, let him be anathema.' . . . And he says not, if they preach a contrary Gospel, or subvert the whole of the true one, let them be anathema, but if they even slightly vary, or incidently disturb, my doctrine.

Ibid. tom. x. pp. 684, 685.

42. 'For He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles.' (Gal. ii. 8.) He calls the Gentiles the uncircumcision, and the Jews the circumcision, and declares his own rank to be equal to that of the apostles, and, by comparing himself with their leader (*κορυφαίω*), not with the others, he shows that the dignity of each was the same.

Expositio in Epist. ad Phil. hom. i. tom. xi. pp. 194, 195.

43. 'To the fellow-bishops and deacons.' (Phil. i. 1.) What is this? Were there several bishops of one city? Certainly not; but he called the presbyters so. For they then still interchanged the titles, and the bishop was called a deacon. For this cause, in writing to Timothy, he said, 'Fulfil thy ministry' (*διακονίαν*), when he was a bishop. For that he was a bishop appears by his saying to him, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man;' and again, 'Which was given thee with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' Yet presbyters would not have laid hands on a bishop. And again, in writing to Titus, he says, 'For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders (presbyters) in every city, as I had appointed thee. If any be blameless, the husband of one wife,' which he says of the bishop. And after saying this, he adds immediately, 'For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, not self-willed.' So then, as I said, both the presbyters were of old called bishops and deacons of Christ, and the bishops presbyters; and hence even now many bishops write, 'To my fellow-presbyter,' and 'To my fellow-deacon.' But otherwise the specific name is distinctly appropriated to each, the bishop and the priest. 'To the fellow-bishops,' he says, 'and deacons.'

Expositio in I. Epist. ad Tim. hom. x. tom. xi. p. 601.

44. For it was necessary to appoint one to preside (*προηγούμενον*) in every city, as he writes to Titus, 'That thou shouldest ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.'

Ibid. hom. xi. tom. xi. p. 604.

45. Discoursing of bishops, and having described their character and the qualities which they ought to possess, and having passed over the order of presbyters, he proceeds to that of deacons. The reason of this omission was that between presbyters and bishops there was no great difference. Both had undertaken the office of teachers and presidents (*προσείσαν*) in the Church, and what he has said concerning bishops is applicable to presbyters. *For in the power of ordination only have they gone above [them], and in that thing only seem to take the advantage of the presbyters.* (*τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ [αὐτῶν] ἀναβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτω*

μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.) 'Sola quippe ordinatione superiores illi sunt: atque hoc tantum, plus quam presbyteri habere videntur.'—*Latin Translation.*

'Only in laying on of hands, bishops go beyond them.'—*Bishop Hall.*

'For bishops are superior to them only in the power of ordination, and have that one thing more than they.'—*Bingham.*

'There being scarce any act of the episcopal office which may not be exercised by presbyters, except imposition of hands.'—*Archbishop Potter.*

'For they are only superior in having the power of ordination, and seem to have no other advantage over presbyters.'—*Rev. James Tweed, M.A., 'Library of the Fathers.'*

'Whom bishops seem not to excel in anything but only in the power of ordination.'—*Hooker.*

Ibid. hom. xiii. tom. xi. p. 618.

46. 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophecy.' (1 Tim. iv. 14.) Here he calls teaching prophecy. 'With the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' He speaks not here of presbyters, but of bishops. For presbyters cannot be supposed to have ordained a bishop.

Expositio in Epist. ad Tim. II. hom. i. tom. xi. p. 661.

47. 'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift (grace) of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.' (2 Tim. i. 6.) It is because I know that thou hast unfeigned faith that I put thee in remembrance. For it requires much zeal to stir up the gift of God. As fire requires fuel, so grace requires our alacrity, that it may be ever fervent. 'I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee by the putting on of my hands,' that is, the grace of the Spirit, which thou hast received for presiding over (*προσρασίαν*) the Church, for the working of miracles, and for every service. For this grace it is in our power to kindle or to extinguish; wherefore he elsewhere says, 'Quench not the Spirit.'

Ibid. hom. ii. tom. xi. pp. 668, 669, 671.

48. 'The Scribes and Pharisees,' He says, 'sit in Moses' seat; all therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not ye after their works.' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.) Knowest thou not what a priest is? He is an angel (messenger) of the Lord. Are they his own words which he speaks? If thou despisest him, thou despisest not him, but God that ordained (*χειροτονήσαντος*) him. But how does it appear, thou askest, that he is ordained of God? Nay, if thou suppose it otherwise, thy hope is rendered vain. For if God worketh nothing through his means, thou neither hast any laver (baptism) nor art partaker of the mysteries, nor of the benefit of blessings; thou art, therefore, not a Christian. What then, you say; does God ordain all,

even the unworthy? God, indeed, doth not ordain all, but He worketh through all, though they be themselves unworthy, that the people may be saved. For if He spoke, for the sake of the people, by an ass, and by Balaam, a most wicked man, much more will He speak by the mouth of the priest. What, indeed, will not God do or say for our salvation? By whom doth He not act? For if He wrought through Judas and those other that prophesied, to whom He will say, 'I never knew you; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity;' and if others, 'cast out devils;' will He not much more work through the priests? Since, if we were to make inquisition into the lives of our rulers, we should then become the ordainers (*χειροτονηταί*) of our own teachers, and all would be confusion; the feet would be uppermost, the head below. . . . Let each attend to his own department. For if he teach perverted doctrine, though he be an angel, obey him not; but if he teach the truth, take heed not to his life, but to his words. . . . Say not, he is wicked. What of that? He that is not wicked, doth he of himself bestow upon thee these great benefits? By no means. Everything worketh according to thy faith. Not even the righteous man can benefit thee if thou art unfaithful, nor the unrighteous harm thee if thou art faithful. God, when he would save His people, wrought for the ark by oxen. Is it the good life or virtue of the priest that confers so much on thee? The gifts which God bestows are not such as to be effects of the virtue of the priest. All is of grace. His part is but to open his mouth, while God worketh all; the priest only performs a symbol (*σύμβολον*). Consider how wide was the distance between John and Jesus. Hear John saying, 'I have need to be baptised of thee,' and, 'Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.' Yet notwithstanding this difference, the Spirit descended. Which John had not. For, 'of His fulness,' it is said, 'we all have received.' Yet, nevertheless it descended not till he was baptised. But neither was it John who caused it to descend. Why then is this done? That thou mayest learn that the priest performs a symbol. No man differs so widely from another man as John from Jesus, and yet with him the Spirit descended, that we may learn that it is God who worketh all, that all is God's doing.

49. I am about to say what may appear strange, but be not astonished nor startled at it. The Offering (sacrament of the Lord's Supper) is the same, whether a common man (*ὁ τυχών*), or Paul, or Peter, offer it. It is the same which Christ gave to His disciples, and which the priests now minister. This is no wise inferior to that, because it is not men that sanctify even this, but the same who sanctified the one sanctifies the other also. For as the words which God spake are the same which the priest now utters so is the offering the same, and the baptism that which He gave. Thus the whole is of faith. The Spirit immediately fell upon Cornelius, because he had previously fulfilled his part, and contributed his faith. And this is His body as well as that. And he who thinks the one inferior to the other knows not that Christ even now is present, even now operates.

In Epist. ad Titum, hom. i. tom. xi. pp. 729, 733.

50. Titus was an approved one of the companions of Paul; otherwise he would not have committed to him the charge of that whole island, nor would he have commanded him to supply what was deficient, as he says, 'That thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting.' He would not have given him jurisdiction (*κρίσιν*) over so many bishops if he had not placed great confidence in him.

51. 'To Titus my own son after the common faith.' (Titus i. 4.) What is 'after the common faith?' After he had called him his own son, and assumed the dignity of a father, hear how it is that he lessens and lowers that honour. He adds, 'after the common faith;' that is, with respect to the faith I have no advantage over thee; for it is common, and both thou and I were born by it.

Ibid. hom. ii. tom. xi. p. 737.

52. 'And ordain presbyters in every city;' here he is speaking of bishops, as we have before said, 'as I had appointed thee, if any is blameless.' 'In every city,' he says, for he did not wish the whole island to be entrusted to one, but that each should have his own charge and care, for thus he would have less labour himself, and those under his rule would receive greater attention, if the teacher had not to go about to the presidency of many churches, but was left to be occupied with one only, and to bring that into order.

Expositio in Epist. ad Hebræos, hom. xxxiv. tom. xii. p. 311.

53. 'Obey them that have the rule over you.' (Heb. xiii. 17.) It is an evil where there is no ruler (*ἀναρχία*), and it is the occasion of many misfortunes, and it is the commencement of confusion and troubles. But especially in the Church is it by so much the more pernicious as its government is greater and sublimer. For if thou shouldest take away the leader of the band the choir would be no longer harmonious and well-ordered. . . . Those, therefore, of whom Paul says, 'Obey them that have the rule over you,' after he had said before, 'Whose faith follow, considering the end of their behaviour,' then he added, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.' What, doth some one say therefore, must we obey an evil man? If indeed he is so in the matter of the faith, flee from him, avoid him, not only if he were a man, but even an angel coming down from heaven. But if on account of his life, do not be too curious. And I speak this not of myself, but from Holy Scripture. For I hear Christ saying, 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat,' and first declaring many evil things of them, then He said, 'they sit upon the chair of Moses.' 'All things,' He said, 'which they bid you, do ye, but what they do, do not ye do; they have,' said He, 'their honour,' although their lives are impure, but attend ye not to their life, but their words.

35.

VICTOR, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH.

Flourished about A.D. 401.

In Caput IX. Evangelii Marci. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. iv. p. 314.

‘Jesus taketh with him Peter, and James, and John.’ (Mark ix. 2.)
 These three, as the leaders, obtained the primacy among the apostles.

36.

GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

Flourished about A.D. 402.

De Promissione Paracletæ: Tractatus, Ordine 14. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. iv. p. 824.

1. ‘Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.’ (Matt. xxviii. 20.) ‘Even to the end of the world,’ said He, ‘I am with you.’ Not only with the apostles, but with the disciples, therefore with all believers.

Sermo xvi. tom. iv. pp. 826, 827.

2. I entreat our common father, Ambrose, that, after the little dew of my sermon, he will water your hearts by the mysteries of Divine learning; for he speaks by the Holy Spirit, of which he is full, and rivers of living water flow from his belly, and as a *successor* of Peter the apostle, he shall be the mouth of all the priests who are present. For when the Lord Jesus asked the apostles, ‘Whom do ye say that I am?’ Peter alone responded by the mouth of all who believed, ‘Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God.’ What a gift this confession forthwith received! that is to say, the blessedness and most glorious power of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, when Peter alone speaks, in no wise is the faith of the rest who believed excluded; but proper order being observed, whilst the first place of speaking is by right conferred on the prince of the apostles, lest the tumult, if all should have answered eagerly and equally, should seem to be more than the answer. Perhaps some one may say that, as those three faithful youths in the furnace confessed with one voice, so in this company all the apostles ought to have done the same; but it should be considered that Judas Iscariot had not believed with his heart, was not able to confess with his mouth; and neither was he deserving of the blessedness he did not believe, nor could he be prejudged by the sentence of a just judge before the perpetration of the wicked deed had been committed; but afterwards, Judas being condemned for the wickedness he had committed, all the apostles, when Christ was risen, receive the keys in Peter; yea, rather they receive with Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the Lord

Himself, when He said to them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose-soever sins ye remit, they are remitted;' and again, 'Go ye,' said He, 'and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' for the gate of the kingdom of heaven is not opened except by this key of the spiritual sacraments.

37.

CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

Flourished about A.D. 412.

Comment. in Evang. Joan. lib. ii. cap. xii. tom. i. col. 72, 73.

1. 'Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, a stone (or Peter).' (John i. 42.) He predicted that his name which was now Simon should be Peter, by that word signifying that on him, as on a rock and most sure stone, His Church should be built.

Ibid. lib. iii. cap. xx. col. 161.

2. The multitude had miraculously received a sufficiency from the five loaves and two fishes; wherefore the old and new commands of Scripture, we understand to be suitable to the faithful by the apostles, the fulness of whose ministry, the choir of the disciples, and after them those who preside over the holy Churches of God (*τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ χορὸς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οἱ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ προεστῶτες ἐκκλησιῶν*), shall possess.

Ibid. lib. vii. cap. xv. tom. i. col. 373.

3. 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' (John xi. 9.) Here, indeed, the Lord calls Himself the day, who is the Day of day, Light of light; and who elsewhere says of Himself, 'I am the Light of the world,' and that He might show Himself to be the Day, he chose twelve apostles, of whom now He says, 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' as if he would say, 'Ye who are the hours of the day, wherefore do ye wish thus to give counsel.' The hours follow the day, and, ruled by the day, are perfected. But perhaps some person may say, 'Judas was one of the twelve, and was not he an hour of the day who betrayed the Day Himself to death?' But when our Lord said this, He did not allude to Judas himself, but to Matthias chosen in his place.

Ibid. lib. x. cap. xxiii. tom. i. col. 513.

4. But, certainly, the evangelical discipline is older than the legal; for it consisted in faith and the friendship of God, which was figured in Abraham in ancient times; by a figure he came to the truth. In the disciples it was first consummated, who became the origin of a 'peculiar people,' which people Scripture is accustomed to call 'a holy nation, a royal priesthood,' on which account it is said in the words of the Psalmist to the mother of the Jews, that is, to the congregation: 'Instead of thy fathers, sons have been born to thee.' (Psalm xlv. 16.)

For although the disciples were sons of the Jews, and given to the Mosaic law, yet, they were made fathers, and obtained the place of Abraham, and were constituted the origin of the spiritual Jews, and princes of the whole world, being ordained preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

Ibid. lib. xi. cap. xxv. tom. i. col. 558.

5. 'As thou hast sent me into the world even so have I also sent them into the world.' (John xvii. 18.) But He says that He sent them into the world in imitation of His own mission. For an apostle is one that is *sent*, and Jesus, according to Paul, was made the High-Priest of our profession.' The disciples therefore being appointed to the apostleship, He said that the work was that they might be sanctified by the Father's sending the Holy Spirit through the Son. For truly the apostles could never have come to that degree of splendour that they should become the luminaries of the whole world; nor could they have conquered so many and so great temptations of the devil unless they should arm their mind by a participation of the Spirit, by whom they were consecrated to the commission which exceeded human nature, being strengthened to understand the Scriptures rightly, and the teaching of the Church.

Ibid. lib. xii. cap. lv. tom. i. col. 613, 614.

6. 'Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me even so send I you.' (John xx. 21.) He ordained by these words the teachers of the world, and the ministers of Divine mysteries, whom he sent as luminaries for the enlightenment, not only of the region of the Jews, which, according to the measure of legal appointment, as it is written, extended from Dan to Beersheba, but commanded them to enlighten the whole world. It is true Paul says that 'no man taketh this honour to himself but he that is called of God.' For our Lord Jesus Christ called His disciples to this glorious apostleship, who made firm the movable world, and were made its supports, whence he speaks by the Psalmist of the earth and the apostles: 'I have made firm its pillars.' (Sep. ver. Psalm lxxv. 3.) For the disciples are the pillars and the strength of truth, whom He says that He so sent as He Himself was sent by the Father; that He might also show the dignity of the apostleship, and might open the magnitude of their power, and at the same time what way it behoved them to follow in their inclinations and their life. For if they are so sent even as Christ was sent by the Father, how necessary it is to consider to what the Father sent the Son. For thus, and not otherwise, can they imitate him. But when, explaining to us the office of the apostleship, in various ways, He said, 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;' in another way, 'they that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick;' and also He said, 'I came down from Heaven that I might not do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me;' and again, 'God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved;' all which things He signified by these very few words, saying, that He sent them as He Himself was sent by the Father, that hence

they might understand that they were to call sinners to repentance, that they should care for the body and soul of those that were sick, and in the dispensation of things should not do their own will, but the will of Him who sent them, and should save the world by preaching and the doctrine of faith; all which things with how great labour they performed, thou mayest learn from the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul.

Ibid. cap. lvi. col. 616, 617.

7. When Christ said He would send the Spirit to all, and afterwards He ascended to the Father, He gave the first fruits of the promise, and as it were the earnest to us, in the disciples for many righteous reasons, as we have now said. The disciples, therefore, received the Holy Ghost when He breathed, and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost:' for He who cannot deceive, never would have said that He would give the Spirit unless He intended to do so. . . . For we find it written a little below that Thomas, who was called Didymus, was not with the disciples when Jesus came. How, therefore (some one will say), if then he was absent when Christ, breathing, said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' was he made a partaker of the Spirit? We answer, then, that the virtue of the Spirit, from the intention of Christ's giving, passed into all the disciples: for He gave not to some, but to all the disciples. Wherefore, by this liberality of giving, not only the apostles present, but all the apostles who were absent, received the Holy Ghost. That this reason is not rash, but safe and true, we shall show from the authority of Holy Scripture. God commanded Moses to elect seventy elders of the Jews. But He said that He would take of the Spirit which was on Moses, and put it upon them. But two of the number of the seventy had remained in the camp, Eldad and Medad, and the Spirit had been imparted to all the seventy; and these who were with Moses prophesied, but those two who were absent prophesied also. Joshua, not knowing the nature of the mystery, and thinking that they acted after the manner of Dathan and Abiram, asked Moses to forbid Eldad and Medad from prophesying. Then that Divine man, understanding the operations of the Spirit, answered, 'Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them.' (Num. xi. 29.) Thou seest how Moses rejected the act of Joshua. For he said, 'Would that the Spirit were given to all the people.' But that related to the future when Christ, breathing on the disciples, as on the first fruits of them which should believe, said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' Therefore, although Thomas was absent, the Spirit descended by participation, since he was of the number of them to whom the Spirit was due, being graced with the honour of the apostleship. The Holy Ghost being given to the disciples, He said, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' It is the prerogative of the true God only that it is possible to absolve men from sin. For to what other person is it allowed to free violaters of the law from sin, except the Author of the law Himself? For so also we see it comes to pass in human things, as no one sets aside the laws of kings with impunity, except

kings themselves, in whom the crime of violating has no place. For it is wisely said that he is impious who says to a king, 'Thou doest wickedly.' (Prov. xvi. 12.) [Not found in any of the ancient versions.] With what reason, therefore, has the Saviour bestowed the honour and power of the Divine nature on His disciples? Because it certainly is not absurd that sins can be remitted by them who have the Spirit in themselves. For when they remit or retain, the Spirit, which dwells in them, by them remits and retains. But this will be, as I think, by them in two ways, first in baptism, secondly by repentance. For either they bring believing men, and approved in holiness of life, to baptism, and diligently repel the unworthy, or to accuse the erring sons of the Church, but to regard with favour those who repent; as Paul formerly delivered a fornicator among the Corinthians for the destruction of the flesh, to save the Spirit, and received him again, lest he should be swallowed up of overmuch sorrow.

Ibid. cap. lxiv. col. 626.

8. Peter, as *prince* and *head* of the rest, first exclaimed, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God.'

Comment. in Leviticum, lib. vi. tom. i. col. 680-682, 684-686.

9. Leviticus viii. 1-9. With attentive ears, and watchful heart, hear ye the consecration of the high-priest or priests: because ye also, according to the promises of God, are also priests of the Lord: for ye are also a holy nation of priests. Moses, according to the command of the Lord, took Aaron and his sons, and first washed them, and afterwards robed them. Consider ye diligently the order of the words; he first washes, he afterwards robes. For he cannot be robed who is not washed before. 'Therefore be ye washed, and be ye clean, put away your iniquities from your minds.' (Is. i. 16.) For unless thou art washed in this manner, thou art not able to put on the Lord Jesus Christ, according to which the apostle says, 'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lust thereof.' (Rom. xiii. 14.) Let therefore Moses wash thee, he himself wash thee, and he himself robe thee. How Moses can wash thee, thou hast frequently heard. For we have often said that Moses, in the Holy Scriptures, is placed for the law; as it is said in the Gospel, 'They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them.' The law, therefore, is of God, which washes thee. It washes off thy filth; it, if thou dost hear it, wipes off the spots of thy sins. Moses himself, that is, the law, which consecrates priests: nor can he be a priest whom the law has not constituted a priest. There are many priests whom the law has not washed, nor the Word of God made clean, nor the Divine discourse washed from the filth of their sins. But ye also who have desired to receive holy baptism, and to have conferred the grace of the Spirit, ought to be purged by the law before; ye ought before, by hearing the Word of God, to cut off your carnal vices, and put an end to your barbarous and ferocious customs; that with gentleness and humility ye may be able also to receive the grace of the Holy Spirit. For so the

Lord said by His prophet, 'To whom will I have respect but to the humble and meek, and the men that trembleth at my words?' If thou art not humble and meek the grace of the Holy Spirit cannot dwell within thee; nor can the Spirit of the Lord rest upon thee if thou dost not with trembling receive the Divine words. For the Holy Spirit departs from a proud, contumacious, and fickle mind. Thou oughtest, therefore, previously to meditate on the law of God, that, if perhaps thy acts are intemperate, and thy manners disorderly, the law may amend and correct thee. Thou wishest to see that Moses is always with Jesus, that is, the law with the Gospel; let the Gospel teach thee. For when Jesus was transfigured in glory, Moses and Elias also appeared with him in glory. And thou knowest that the law and the prophets, and the Gospel, always come into one, and remain in one glory. Finally Peter also, when he wished to make three tabernacles for Him, was censured for his ignorance, as one, who knew not what he said. For to the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel, there are not three tabernacles, but one, which is the Church of the Lord.

10. Moses first washes the priest of God, and when he had washed him, and made him clean from the defilement of his vices, after that he robed him. But we should consider what these vestments are with which Moses robed his brother Aaron as the first high-priest: if perhaps it be possible to robe thee with the same vestments, and that thou be a high-priest. There is one great High-Priest, our Lord Jesus Christ; but He is not a High-Priest of priests, but a High-Priest of high-priests; nor is He Prince of priests, but Prince of princes of priests. As He is not called King of the people, but King of kings, and not Lord of servants, but Lord of lords. . . . We see, therefore, with what order the high-priest was constituted. 'Moses,' it is said, 'convoked the assembly, and said to them, this is the word which the Lord hath commanded.' (Sep. ver. Lev. viii. 4, 5.) Although the Lord had chosen the high-priest, and pre-arranged concerning his appointment, yet the assembly is also convoked. For the presence of the people is required in the ordaining of a priest, that all may know and be certified that he is more excellent than all the people. He who is more learned, more holy, more eminent in all virtue, is chosen to the priesthood; the people are present, lest afterwards there be an objection to anyone, lest any scruples should remain. But this is that which the apostles commanded in the ordination of a priest, saying, 'He must have a good report of them which are without.' (1 Tim. iii. 7.)

11. 'And Moses brought the sons of Aaron near, and put on them coats, and girded them with girdles, and put on them bonnets, as the Lord commanded Moses.' (Lev. viii. 13, Sep. ver.) It must be noticed what was the difference between the less and the greater priests. Not the double vestments delivered to them, nor the ephod, nor the breastplate, nor the ornament of the head, but only the bonnet and the girdles which girded the coat. And these, therefore, receive the grace of the priesthood, and these perform its office: but not as he who is both adorned with the ephod and the breastplate, who shines in manifestation and truth, who is decorated with the ornament of the golden

plate. Whence, as I think, it is one thing to perform the office, and another thing to be qualified and adorned in all things. For anyone is able to perform the solemn ministry to the people, but few, who adorned with morals, instructed in doctrine, erudite in wisdom, are fit to manifest the truth of things, and to bring forth the knowledge of faith not without the ornament of the senses, and the glittering of affirmations, which the golden plate placed on the head denotes. . . . These are the two works of the high-priest, to learn of God by reading and often meditating on the Divine Scriptures, and to teach the people; but to teach those things which he himself has been taught of God, and not of his own heart, or human sense, but those things which the Spirit teaches.

Ibid. lib. ix. col. 714.

12. 'And the Lord said to Moses, Speak to Aaron thy brother, and let him not come in at all times into the holy place within the vail before the propitiatory, which is upon the ark of the testimony, and he shall not die.' (Lev. xvi. 2.) From which it is shown that he who enters at all times into the holy place unprepared, not robed with the pontifical vestments, nor with suitable offerings which have been appointed, nor before God has been propitiated, shall die, and justly indeed, as he who has not done the things which it was suitable to have done before he approached to the altar of God. This discourse concerns every one of us; that which the law declares pertains to all. For it commands, as we know, how we ought to approach the altar of God. For it is upon that altar that we offer our prayers to God, that we know how we ought to offer, that is to say, to lay aside our unclean vestments, which is the impurity of the flesh, the depravity of morals, the defilement of the passions. Art thou also ignorant that that priesthood has been given to the Church of God, to the people of the faithful? Hear how Peter speaks of the faithful: 'A chosen generation,' said he, 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation.' (1 Peter ii. 9.) Thou hast therefore a priesthood, because thou art a priestly nation, and therefore oughtest to offer to God the sacrifice of praise, of prayer, of compassion, of modesty, of righteousness, of holiness.

Dialog. de Trinitate, lib. iv. tom. ii. col. 289.

13. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) By 'the rock,' in reference to which He gives the name, He means, I consider, nothing else than the immovable and steadfast faith of that disciple, on which faith the Church of Christ is established and founded, so that it cannot fall, abiding for ever unsubdued even by the gates of hell.

Comment. in Hesaiam, lib. i. ora. i. tom. v. col. 24.

14. The blessed David spoke in the spirit in reference to Jerusalem itself. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) That is, in the place of fathers, children are begotten for thee; inasmuch as the Divine disciples were Jews, were of the Jews, and were sons of that synagogue which then was. They were fathers of the faithful. I

heard Paul saying, 'For in Christ Jesus, by the Gospel I have begotten you.' And again, 'My little children of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.'

Ibid. lib. ii. col. 152, 153.

15. 'And draw ye water with joy out of the fountains of salvation.' (Is. xii. 3, Sep. ver.) He names the vivifying Word of God water, but the holy apostles and evangelists fountains. . . . 'From the fountains of salvation,' that is, Christ. For He Himself appointed the holy apostles, of whom also the blessed David sings: 'The fountains of water appeared, and the foundations of the world were exposed.' (Ps. xviii. 15.) The fountains of water are the Divine disciples, who rain discourses from on high, by the Spirit, on the whole world. They are also foundations of the world. For Christ is the chosen Stone, which, being placed by God and the Father, is called 'for a foundation of Zion,' that is, of the Church; for we ourselves are initiated, and by faith built up a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, for a building of God, in the Spirit. They who preach Him through all the earth, according to Him, can both be, and be called, stones or foundations of the habitable world, and that by the best right. For the things they have written sustain us, and by their firmness and constancy of faith and truth support us.

Ibid. lib. iv. ora. i. tom. v. col. 386.

16. God therefore made these promises, that He would lead them to the end, that He would not forsake them; that is, that He would always be with them, according to that promise. 'Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Ibid. lib. iv. ora. iv. col. 475, 476.

17. We say that the walls of Zion signify the holy apostles and evangelists, that they are placed in this position by God, and approved by His sanction, which never ceases or fails. For their names are written in heaven, and they are placed in the book of the living, . . . of whom David, that Divine man, makes beautiful mention, singing to Christ the Saviour of all, 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth, and they shall make mention of Thy name for ever and ever.' (Ps. xlv. 16, 17.)

38.

SOCRATES, A CHURCH HISTORIAN.

Flourished about A.D. 420.

Historia Ecclesiastica. Of the Synod which was held at Nice, lib. i. cap. viii. p. 20.

1. Many of the laity were also present, who were practised in the art of reasoning, and each prepared to advocate the cause of his own party. Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, as was before said, supported the

opinion of Arius, together with Theogius, Bishop of Nice, and Maris, Bishop of Chalcedon, in Bithynia. These were powerfully opposed by Athanasius, a deacon of the Church of the Alexandrians, who was highly esteemed by Alexander, his bishop, and on that account was much envied, as will be seen hereafter.

Of the election of a successor to Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople,
lib. ii. cap. vi. pp. 83, 84.

2. Alexander, who had presided (προεστώς) over the churches in that city for twenty-three years, and had strenuously opposed Arius, departed this life at the age of ninety-eight, without having ordained (χειροτονήσας) anyone to succeed him. But he had enjoined those who had the right to elect (ἐλέσθαι) one of the two whom he named; telling them that, if they desired one who was competent to teach and of eminent piety, they must take (μαρτυρούμενον) Paul, whom he had himself ordained presbyter, a man young indeed in years, but of advanced intelligence and prudence; but if they would be content with one possessed of a venerable aspect, and an external show only of sanctity, they might elect (αἵρεσθαι) the aged Macedonius, who had long been a deacon among them. Hence there arose a great contest respecting the ordination (χειροτονίας) of a bishop which troubled the Church, the people being divided into two parties, one of which favoured the tenets of Arius, while the other adhered to the decrees of the Nicene synod. Those who held the doctrine of consubstantiality always had the advantage during the life of Alexander, the Arians disagreeing among themselves and perpetually conflicting in opinion. But after he was dead the issue of the struggle became doubtful; the defenders of the orthodox faith would promote (προχειρίζονται) Paul to the episcopate, but all the Arian party made every effort for Macedonius.

Of the election of Ambrose, lib. iv. cap. xxx. pp. 247, 248.

3. On the death of Auxentius, who had been ordained (κεχειροτόνητο) bishop of that Church by the Arians, again there was a tumult in Milan respecting the election (ἐπιλογῆς) of a bishop; for as some proposed one person, and others favoured another, the city was full of contention and uproar. In this state of things, Ambrose, the governor of the province, who was also of consular dignity, dreading some catastrophe from the popular excitement, ran into the church in order to quell the disturbance. When his presence had checked the fury that prevailed, and the irrational fury of the multitude was repressed by a long and appropriate hortatory address, all present suddenly came to an unanimous agreement, crying out that Ambrose was worthy of the episcopate, and demanded that he might be ordained, for by that means only, it was alleged, would the peace of the Church be secured, and all be reunited in the same faith. The bishops then present, believing that such unanimity among the people proceeded from some Divine appointment, not hesitating, they seized Ambrose, and having baptised him, he being then but a catechumen, they were about to promote (προχειρίζεσθαι) him to the priesthood (ἱερωσύνην) of the episcopate. But although Ambrose

willingly received baptism, he much deprecated the priesthood; upon which the bishops referred the matter to the Emperor Valentinian. The prince, regarding the universal consent of the people as the work of God, declared to the bishops that they ought to obey God, who had commanded him to be ordained, for that he was elected (*εἶναι τὴν ψῆφον*) by the suffrage of God, rather than by men. Ambrose, after this manner, was appointed (*καταστάντος*).

Of the Ordination of Nectarius, lib. v. cap. viii. p. 265.

4. The bishops of the other party (orthodox) remaining at Constantinople entered into a consultation about the ordination (*χειροτονίας*) of a bishop; for Gregory, as we have before said, had renounced that see, and was preparing to return to Nazianzen. Now there was a person named Nectarius, of a senatorial family, mild and gentle in his manners, and admirable in his whole course of life, although he at that time bore the office of a prætor. This man was seized upon by the people and elected (*προεβλήθη*) to the episcopate, and he was ordained (*χειροτονησάντων*) accordingly by the hundred and fifty bishops then present. Then also a decree was promulgated by them assigning the next prerogative of honour after the bishop of Rome to the bishop of Constantinople, because that city was new Rome.

Consecration of John (Chrysostom), lib. vi. cap. ii. pp. 300, 301.

5. A short time after Nectarius also, Bishop of Constantinople, died, on September 27, under the consulate of Cæsarius and Atticus. A contest thereupon immediately arose respecting the ordination (*χειροτονίας*) of a bishop, some requiring (*ἐπιζητούντων*) one person and some another. When a consultation had been held several times about this matter, it was at last concluded that John, a presbyter of the Antiochian church, should be sent for from Antioch, who was very celebrated for his learning and eloquence. Within some small space of time, therefore, the Emperor Arcadius, with the common suffrage (*ψηφίσματι κοινῷ*) of all persons, I mean the clergy as well as laity, sends for him. And to render the ordination more authoritative and imposing, several other bishops were requested to be present, among whom also was Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria. This person did everything he could to detract from John's reputation, being desirous to promote to that episcopate Isidore, a presbyter of his own church, to whom he was greatly attached, on account of a very delicate and perilous affair which Isidore had undertaken to serve his interests.

Of the Election of Sisinnius, lib. vii. cap. xxvi. pp. 367, 368.

6. After the decease of Atticus, there arose a strong contest about the ordination (or election, *χειροτονίας*) of a bishop, some proposing one person and some another. One party was urgent in favour of a presbyter named Philip, another wished to promote Proclus, who was also a presbyter, but the general desire of all the people was that it should be Sisinnius. He had no ecclesiastical office within the city, but had been chosen by lot (*ἐκεκλήρωτο*) to the priesthood at Elæa, a village in the

suburbs of Constantinople. . . . His eminent piety, and above all his untiring efforts to promote the comforts of the poor, even beyond his power, endeared him so much to the laity that he was ordained. . . . The presbyter Philip was so chagrined that another was chosen (προεκρίθη) in preference to himself that he even introduced into his 'Christian History' some very censorious remarks on this ordination. But as I cannot by any means approve of the temerity with which he has reflected on not only the ordination itself, but those also who ordained (χειροτονησάτας) him, and more especially the laity.

39.

THEODORET, BISHOP OF CYPRUS.

Flourished about A.D. 420.

Quæst. in Num. cap. xxvii. interr. xlvi. tom. i. p. 253.

1. Why did the Lord God command Moses to lay his hands on Joshua when he himself had testified that he had the Spirit of God in him? (Num. xxvii. 18-20.) That very thing happened to Cornelius. For after the Holy Ghost was received, they were baptised. Since also the Lord Christ, when He had received all the gifts of the Holy Ghost before He was born, submitted to be baptised by John, and commanded him to lay his hand upon His head; and it is shown that the Holy Ghost came upon Him in the form of a dove. The apostles having obtained the Holy Ghost by the Lord breathing on them, received grace coming from heaven. For this also occurred to Joshua the son of Nun. For he had the grace of the Spirit. But that the people might believe that he received from God the ordination to the office of a leader (χειροτονίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας), the hands of a legislator were laid upon him; and Moses did this by the command of God; for He said, 'Thou shalt lay thy hands upon him; and thou shalt set him before Eleazar the priest, and thou shalt give him a charge before all the congregation, and thou shalt give a charge concerning him before them, and thou shalt put of thy glory upon him, that the children of Israel may hearken to him, and he shall stand before Eleazar the priest.' (Sep. ver. Num. xxvii. 18-21.) But from this we learn how those who, having received ordination from the chief priests (παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν), participate in spiritual grace.

Quæst. in Josuam, interr. ii. tom. i. p. 301.

2. Joshua i. 3. But the Divine apostles not only obtained those places which they had trodden but also those places in which their all-wise writings have been read; and that which was formerly a desert, they have restored to a Divine Paradise.

Quæst. in I. Regum, interr. vii. tom. i. pp. 360, 361.

3. 'And I will raise up to myself a faithful priest, who shall do all that is in my heart and in my soul; and I will build him a sure house,

and he shall walk before my Christ (another reading *Christs*) for ever.' (Sep. ver. 1 Sam. ii. 35.) But these things do not apply to any man, but only to our Lord Jesus Christ, who as to His humanity was named our High-Priest. 'Seeing then we have a great High-Priest, &c.' (Heb. iv. 14-15.) The term 'for ever' does not apply to mortal men who live for a short time. But He calls the Holy apostles themselves Christs, and those who have succeeded to their doctrine (*διαδεξαμένους διδασκαλίαν*).

Interpret. in Psalm. xlv. tom. i. pp. 893-896.

4. 'The rich of the people shall supplicate thy face.' (Sep. ver. Ps. xlv. 12.) The face of the Church is properly the Lord Himself: for He is the Head of the Body; for it is said, 'Gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church.' (Eph. i. 22.) Thence also the priestly order (*ιερατικὸν τάγμα*) is, as it were, the face of the Church, as it has obtained more spiritual honour. . . .

5. 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee; thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) The Jews may say they shall have sons who may govern the world; but they cannot show this, for they neither have governed nor do they govern it, but they endure an extreme servitude. However, the Divine apostles—regarding the fathers as the patriarchs—being constituted as prefects and generals by Christ the King after their death, governed both land and sea, and those after them whom He who will not err has called sons of the Church, triumphant witnesses, I say, have been ordered to preside over the same government, and now have all obedient, performing this with a voluntary love towards some, and compelling others with fear.

Interpret. in Psalm. xlv. tom. i. pp. 900, 901.

6. 'The Most High has sanctified His tabernacle.' (Sep. ver. Ps. xlv. 4.) What he called a city, he here names a tabernacle, for, said he, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them: and I will be their God, and they shall be my people,' saith the Lord Omnipotent. These same persons he says shall be watered and sanctified by the God of the Universe. 'God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved.' (Vs. 5.) This also the Lord promised in the Holy Gospels: 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Interpret. in Psalm. lxxxvi. tom. i. pp. 1216, 1217.

7. 'His foundations are in the Holy mountains.' (Ps. lxxxvii. 1, Sep. ver.) The Divine precepts are the foundations of piety: but the holy mountains upon whom He hath laid these foundations are the apostles of our Saviour. For of these the blessed Paul speaks, 'and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone.' (Eph. ii. 20.) And again, 'Peter and James and John who seemed to be pillars.' (Gal. ii. 9.) And the Lord spoke to Peter after that true and Divine confession, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) And again, 'Ye are the light of

the world ; a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' (Matt. v. 14.) Upon these holy mountains the Lord Christ laid the foundations of piety.

Interpret. in Psalm. cix. tom. i. pp. 1396, 1397.

8. 'Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.' (Ps. cx. 4.) Moreover, Melchizedek was not a priest of the Jews, but of the Gentiles. And so the Lord Christ offered Himself to God not only for the Jews but for all men. His priesthood began on that night after which He was crucified when He had taken the bread, and had given thanks, He brake, and said, Take ye, and eat ye of it ; this is my body. Likewise also, when He had mingled the cup, He gave it to His disciples, saying, drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins. (Matt. xxvi. 26-28.) But we find that Melchizedek was both priest and king (for he was a figure of the true priest and king), that he did not offer sacrifices to God without reason, but bread and wine. For these he offered for Abraham, when the pattern of that priesthood he might see in the loins of the patriarch by the Spirit. If therefore Christ sprang of David according to the flesh, and David of Juda, and he received the chief priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek, he therefore caused the Levitical priesthood to cease, and the blessing of the greater priesthood passed over into the tribe of Juda. But now Christ is a priest, sprung of Juda according to the flesh, not He Himself offering anything, He being engaged as head of those who offer.

9. For He calls the Church His body, and by this Church the priesthood is discharged as a man, but He receives those things which are offered as God. The Church offers the symbols (*σύμβολα*) of His Body and Blood, the whole being sanctified by the first fruits.

Interpret. in Esaiaë cap. xi. tom. ii. p. 252.

10. 'Nor shall they be able to destroy anyone in my holy mountain.' (Sep. ver. Isaiah xi. 9.) This is like the evangelical voice of the Lord. Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. He calls the sublimity, the strength, and the immobility, of His Divine doctrine 'the holy mountain.' And it is promised that those who continue therein shall be unconquerable.

Interpret. in Esaiaë cap. lxi. tom. ii. pp. 383, 384.

11. 'And they shall renew the desert cities.' (Sep. ver. Isaiah lxi. 4.) He reveals to us these acts of the Jews. We show cities, which impiety had laid waste, restored by the holy apostles and pious men who have succeeded to their preaching (*κήρυγμα διαδεξαμένων*). 'And strangers shall come and feed thy flocks, &c.' (Vs. 5.) For of strange nations teachers of the Church have arisen, whom He calls shepherds, ploughmen, and vine-dressers. 'But ye shall be called priests of the Lord.' (Vs. 6.) They indeed were thrice blessed who had that distinguished name of apostle. For although many have succeeded to their work (*διεδέξαντο ἔργον*) yet no one dares to arrogate to himself their title. . . . 'And their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their

offspring in the midst of peoples.' (Vs. 9.) He calls them the seed and offspring of the holy apostles who have succeeded to their preaching (*κήρυγμα διαδεξαμένους*). For the tree is known by its fruit, according to the teaching of Christ: of which let the servants of our Saviour be distinctive marks, the things themselves testifying.

Interpret. in Esaiaë cap. lxxv. tom. ii. pp. 397, 398.

12. 'Before they call, I will hearken to them.' (Sep. ver. Isaiah lxxv. 24.) To Paul, when he was in prison at Jerusalem, the Lord appeared, saying, 'Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem so must thou bear witness also at Rome.' (Acts xxiii. 11.) So He brings out the leader of the apostles (*κορυφαῖον ἀποστόλων*) from prison, and thus the whole choir of the apostles is delivered from chains.

Interpret. in Ezechielis cap. xliiii. tom. ii. p. 1031.

13. 'And Ariel said the altar shall be of the length of twelve cubits.' (Ezek. xliiii. 16.) Ariel, in the language of the Hebrews, signifies the mountain of God, or, according to another interpretation, the light of God, but as I think he calls it the pedestal of the altar. And this number of cubits agrees with the holy apostles, who have been the pedestals and foundations of Divine grace, and both the foundation of the Church and its pedestal. 'For thou art Peter,' He said, 'and upon this rock I will build my Church.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) And again, 'Ye are the light of the world.'

Comment. in Nahumi cap. ii. tom. ii. pp. 1524, 1525.

14. 'He ascendeth, breathing in thy face, delivering thee from tribulation.' (Sep. ver. Nahum ii. 1.) For as when He breathed into Adam the breath of life, and he became a living soul, so He gives to thee salvation by the inspiration of life. Christ also, after His resurrection, gave this to the holy apostles. For Adam destroyed the image which he had received by inspiration; the Lord Christ meritoriously renewing this, restored it to the holy apostles, and, through them, to all believers. For He breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' (John xx. 22.)

Interpret. Epist. I. ad Corinthios, tom. iii. pp. 181, 182.

15. 'According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master builder, I have laid the foundation.' (1 Cor. iii. 10.) When he had showed before the Divine grace, he then called himself a wise master builder. I first, said he, laid among you the foundations of piety. 'And another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' (Vs. 10, 11.) It is necessary to build on the foundations, not to lay them. For he who wishes to build wisely cannot lay any other foundation. And the blessed Peter laid this foundation, or rather the Master Himself. For Peter having said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' the Lord

said, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church.' Do not name yourselves after men, for Christ is the foundation.

Ibid. p. 249.

16. 'And God hath set some in the Church first apostles.' (1 Cor. xii. 28.) He not only calls the twelve apostles, but also the seventy, and those who afterwards received the same grace. For afterwards even he himself, having been called, had received the same ordination, and the blessed Barnabas and myriads (*μύριοι*) of others after them; and Epaphroditus he calls the apostle of the Philippians, for he says, 'Your apostle and my companion in labour . . . to my wants.'

Ibid. p. 266.

17. Then of all the apostles.' (1 Cor. xv. 7.) Again he does not call the eleven apostles only, for he had already made mention of these, but all those who had received the same ordination.

Interpret. Epist. ad Galatas, tom. iii. p. 363.

18. Gal. i. 10. From this place he narrates how he had been called by Divine grace, and how he had made an agreement concerning preaching with the leaders of the apostles (*κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστόλων*), James and John.

Ibid. p. 365.

19. 'Then after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter.' (Gal. i. 18.) In this again he shows the virtue of his mind, for when he did not need doctrine from man, as he had received it from the God of the Universe, he rendered all suitable honour to the leader (*κορυφαίω*).

Interpret. Epist. ad Ephesios, tom. iii. p. 415.

20. 'And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' (Eph. ii. 20.) Here he speaks of prophets, not prophets of the New Testament, but prophets of the Old. He has placed apostles first, because we have received through them the Divine preachings.

Interpret. Epist. ad Philippenses, tom. iii. pp. 445, 446.

21. 'Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' (Phil. i. 1.) He writes to all at once, as well to those who have been thought worthy of the priesthood as to those who were ruled by them. For those who had been worthy of baptism, he calls saints; but he calls presbyters bishops: for both at that time had the name. The history of the Acts teaches us that thing. For when the blessed Luke had said that the Divine apostle had sent for the presbyters of Ephesus to Miletus, he also explains what had been said to them, 'Take heed, therefore,' says he, 'unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the Church of Christ (*χριστοῦ*).' (Acts xx. 28.) And he named the same persons both presbyters and bishops. So also in the epistle to the blessed Titus, 'For this cause I left thee in Crete . . . that thou shouldest

ordain presbyters in every city, as I had appointed thee.' (Titus i. 5.) And when he had described what kind of persons those ought to be who should be ordained, he subjoins, 'For a bishop must be blameless as a steward of God.' (Vs. 7.)

22. And also in this passage (Phil. i. 1), he makes the thing plain; for he joins bishops with deacons, and makes no mention of presbyters. Certainly there could not be many bishops as the pastors of one city, so that it is manifest he named the presbyters bishops.

23. Moreover, in this very epistle he called the blessed Epaphroditus their apostle; 'your apostle,' he said, 'and companion in labour . . . to my wants.' (ii. 25.) He plainly taught, therefore, that he was entrusted with the episcopal office, he having the appellation of an apostle.

Ibid. p. 459.

24. Phil. ii. 25. He spoke many excellent things of Epaphroditus, whom he not only called brother, but also companion and fellow-soldier, and also called him 'their apostle,' as having been entrusted with the care of them, as it is clear that they who in the beginning of this epistle were called bishops were doing service under him, that is to say, fulfilling the rank of the presbyter.

Interpret. Epist. ad Hebræos, tom. iii. pp. 594, 595.

25. Heb. viii. 4, 5. Moreover, he said that it would have been superfluous to call Christ a priest while He were on earth, if those who are priests of the law discharge the legal worship. If, therefore, both that priesthood, which is of the law, hath received an end and the priest, who is according to the order of Melchizedek, has offered his sacrifice, and has made other sacrifices to be needless, why do the priests of the New Testament perform the mystical service?

26. It is plain to those who have been instructed in Divine things that we do not offer any other sacrifice, but we make the commemoration of that one saving sacrifice. For the Lord Himself commanded us, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And this we do, in order that by contemplation we may call to mind the figure of the sufferings which He underwent for us, and may stir up our love toward our Benefactor, and await the fruition of good things to come.

Interpret. Epist. I. ad Timotheum, tom. iii. p. 652.

27. 'If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.' (1 Tim. iii. 1.) But here he calls a presbyter a bishop, as we have shown in our interpretation of the epistle to the Philippians. But this can also be easily understood from this place, for after the episcopal rules, he describes those things which apply to deacons, having passed over the presbyters; but, as I have said, the same persons were formerly called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops they called apostles. But as time passed on, the name of apostleship was left to those who were apostles indeed, and they put the appellation of the episcopate on those who were of old called

apostles. Thus Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, for he said, 'Your apostle and my companion in labour . . . to my wants.'

28. So Titus and Timothy were apostles, the former of the Cretians, and the latter of the Asiatics. So the apostles and presbyters wrote from Jerusalem to those who were at Antioch (Acts xv. 22, 23). But although the Divine apostle applies these laws to presbyters yet they who are bishops should be the first to observe them, who have been chosen to a greater dignity.

Ibid. p. 662.

29. 'Neglect not the gift (*χαρίσματος*) that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' (1 Tim. iv. 14.) Here he called the doctrine a gift (*χάρισμα τὴν διδασκαλίαν*); but in this place he calls those a presbytery who had received apostolical grace. So also the Divine Scripture called the honoured men in Israel a presbytery (*γερονσίαν*).

Interpret. Epist. ad Titum, tom. iii. p. 700.

30. 'For a bishop must be blameless as a steward of God.' (Titus i. 7.) Here also it is manifest that presbyters he names bishops. For when he had said, 'That thou ordain presbyters in every city,' he subjoined, 'For a bishop must be blameless.' But in each city it is the custom that there be many presbyters, but not many bishops.

Historia Ecclesiastica. General Council of Nice, lib. i. cap. vi. tom. iii. pp. 754, 755.

31. The emperor, therefore, proceeded to summon the celebrated Council of Nice, and commanded that the bishops and those connected with them should be mounted on the asses, mules, and horses belonging to the public, in order to repair thither. When all those who were capable of enduring the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nice, he went thither himself, as much from the wish of seeing the chief-priests (*ἀρχιερέων*) as from the desire of preserving unanimity amongst them. . . . Three hundred and eighteen chief-priests were assembled. The (chief-priest) of Rome, on account of his very advanced age, was necessarily absent, but he sent two presbyters to the council for the purpose of taking part in all the transactions. . . .

32. The great Eustathius received by lot the presidency (*προεδρία*, the privilege of sitting on the first seat), of Antioch, who, upon the death of Philogonius, already referred to, had been appointed to rule (*ποιμαίνειν*) that church by the unanimous suffrage (*ψήφῳ κοινῇ*) of the chief-priests (*ἀρχιερεῖς*), priests (*ιερεῖς*), and the entire Christ-loving people, was the first to speak.

Ibid. The Election of Ambrose, lib. iv. cap. vi. pp. 954, 955.

33. When the emperor had ceased speaking, the synod signified to him that such reliance was placed on his wisdom and piety that it was desired that he should himself elect (*ψηφίσασθαι*) a bishop to the vacant office. But he replied, 'This undertaking is beyond my ability. You, who are filled with Divine grace, and who have received Divine light,

are better able to elect (*ψηφιεῖσθε*) than I am.' The bishops, therefore, left the palace, and held a conference together. The citizens, in the meantime, assembled tumultuously, some contending that this person should be proposed, others that that person should be proposed. Those who had received the opinions of Auxentius would elect (*ἐψηφίσαντο*) a person of their own sentiments, while those who had adhered to sound doctrines desired a pastor of the same faith as themselves. Ambrose, who was then governor of the province, hearing of the dissensions, and fearing that a sedition would ensue, hastened to the church. At his appearance all disputes ceased, and the contending parties declared with one voice that they proposed (*προβλησθῆναι*) Ambrose as their pastor. He had not been baptised.

34. The emperor, on being informed of this, ordered that he should be immediately baptised and ordained; for he was acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his sentiments, and he regarded the unanimous consent of the opposite faction as a proof of the Divine will. After Ambrose had received the holy rite of baptism, and had been invested with the chief-priesthood (*ἀρχιερατικὴν*), the excellent emperor, who was present during the ceremony, returned thanks to the Lord.

Hæreticarum Fabularum Compendium, lib. ii. *De Nazaræis*, tom. iv. p. 329.

35. Against whom (Nazarenes) Justin the philosopher and martyr wrote, and Irenæus, a successor of the apostles (*ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχος*), and Origen.

40.

VINCENT, A MONK, AND PRESBYTER OF LERINS.

Flourished about A.D. 430.

Pro Catholicæ Fidei Antiquitate et Universitate adversus Profanas Omnium Hæreticorum Novitates, cap. x. *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. v. pt. ii. p. 238.

1. Again, within the Catholic Church itself, we are greatly to consider that we hold that which hath been believed *everywhere, always, and of all men*; for this is truly and properly *catholic* (as the very force and nature of the word doth declare, which comprehendeth all things in general after an universal manner). And that shall we do if we follow *universality, antiquity, consent*. Universality shall we follow thus: if we profess that one faith to be true which the whole Church throughout the world acknowledgeth and confesseth. Antiquity shall we follow if we part not any whit from those senses which it is plain that our holy elders and fathers generally held. Consent shall we likewise follow if in this very antiquity itself we hold the definitions and opinions of all, or at any rate almost all, the priests and doctors together.

Ibid. cap. x. xi. p. 239.

2. To conclude, what force had the Council or Decree of Africa? By God's Providence none, but all was abolished, disannulled, abrogated,

as dreams, as fables, as superfluous. And, oh, strange change of the world! the authors of that opinion are judged to be catholics, but the followers of the same heretics; the masters discharged, the disciples condemned; the writers of those books shall be the children of the kingdom, but hell shall receive their maintainers. For who is so mad as to doubt that that light of all saints, bishops, and martyrs, the most blessed Cyprian, with the rest of his companions, shall reign with Christ for ever? And, contrarywise, who is so profane as to deny that the Donatists, and such other pests, which vaunt that they do practise re-baptisation by the authority of that Council, shall burn for ever with the devil?

41.

SEDULIUS, PRESBYTER, A NATIVE OF SCOTLAND.

Flourished about A.D. 434.

In Omnes S. Pauli Epistolas; et Primum in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, collectaneum. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. i. p. 438.

1. 'Called an apostle.' (Rom. i. 1.) Now he was called to be an apostle by Divine foreknowledge. Again, he was called an apostle in the blessings of Benjamin, and in the way to Damascus, as it is written, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' The term called is of general import, and belongs to all who believe in Christ. 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' Judas was called, but was not chosen, because those who are chosen cannot be separated from God. *Apostle*, in Greek, and Hebrew, in Latin is interpreted *sent*. For as the term angels in Greek is in Latin called messengers so the Greek term apostle is in Latin interpreted *sent*. For Christ sent them to preach the Gospel throughout the whole world.

In Epist. Pauli ad Corinthios I. p. 479.

2. 'Paul, called an apostle.' (1 Cor. i. 1.) He places his title at the head of his epistles, to make known his authority, as kings of old did when they wrote to those who were under their power, that, as they sent their epistles to inferiors, they placed their names at the commencement of them. 'Called.' In the way, in Benjamin, by the foreknowledge of God. But of whom was he sent? By Jesus Christ; for so it appears to me, as if he should have said, 'Præfect of the prætorium of Augustus Cæsar.' 'Master of the army of Tiberius Cæsar.' For as judges of this world seem to be more noble from the kings whom they serve, and from the honour with which the titles they choose elevate them, so also an apostle, setting forth his great honour among Christians, notified that he by title was an apostle of Christ, to awe by the authority of his name those who should read his epistles, considering that all who believed in Christ should be subject to him.

In Epist. Pauli ad Galatas, p. 498.

3. 'Paul, an apostle not by men.' (Gal. i. 1.) That is, not by human

presumption, as they say. Paul makes this declaration against those who say that he suddenly assumed the apostleship, or that he was ordained by seniors. Therefore, 'not by men,' or by other apostles. Not by man, as Aaron by Moses. There are four kinds of apostles: one which is 'neither of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father,' as Isaiah and other prophets, and Paul himself. Another kind which are of God, but by man, as Joshua the son of Nun was of God, but by Moses. A third kind, which are of men, and not of God, when some one is ordained by the favour of men, as we now see that there are many who are chosen into the priesthood, not by the judgment (of God), but by the purchased favour of the common people. A fourth kind, which are neither of God, nor of men, nor by man, but of themselves, as all false apostles and prophets.

'But by Jesus Christ,' who chose Peter and the rest of the apostles.

In Epist. Pauli ad Ephesios, p. 504.

4. 'Upon the foundation of the apostles.' (Eph. ii. 20.) The apostles are the foundation, or Christ is the foundation of the apostles. Christ is the foundation, who also is the chief cornerstone, joining and containing the two walls. Christ is here the foundation and the chief stone, because the Church has its foundation, and is consummated in him. He is the chief cornerstone, because he contains both peoples.

In Epist. Pauli ad Timotheum I. p. 516.

5. 'Likewise the deacons.' (1 Tim. iii. 8.) That is, they must likewise be blameless, to be chosen after the manner of bishops. But it is asked why he makes no mention of presbyters, but he also comprehends them under the name of bishops.

In Epist. Pauli ad Timotheum II. p. 518.

6. 'That thou stir up the gift of God.' (2 Tim. i. 6.) That is, that thou renew day by day the study of preaching.

7. 'By the putting on of my hands.' That is, according to thine ordination to the episcopate.

In Epist. Pauli ad Titum, p. 519.

8. 'For this cause I left thee in Crete.' (Titus i. 5.) After he had softened the hard hearts of the Cretians, both by miracles and discourse, and had laid the foundation of the faith, that is, Christ, he left Titus the disciple at Crete, that he might confirm the first principles of the rising Church, he himself going forward to other nations. But he said, 'that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting.' He shows that, whilst they had not come to the full knowledge of the truth, although they had been set in order by the apostle, yet then amendment was still needed. 'Thou shouldst set in order.' But it is, in Greek, thou shouldst further set in order. 'For a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God.' (Vs. 7.) He calls him a bishop whom before he called a presbyter, and before dissensions were introduced into religion by the instigation of the devil, and it was said among the peoples, 'I am

of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas,' churches were governed by a common council of presbyters. Afterwards, when everyone thought that those whom he had baptised were his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schisms might be plucked up. In the Acts of the Apostles it is written that, when the Apostle Paul had come to Miletus, he sent to Ephesus, and called the presbyters of the Church of the same place, to whom afterwards, among other things, he thus spoke: 'Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to feed the Church of the Lord (*Domini*), which he hath purchased with his own blood.' (Acts xx. 17, 28.) And here let it be diligently observed how, calling the presbyters of one city, Ephesus, he afterwards called them bishops. Therefore, as we have shown, among the ancients, presbyters were the same as bishops; but by degrees, that the plants of dissension might be rooted up, all responsibility was transferred to one person.

42.

SOZOMEN, A CHURCH HISTORIAN.

Flourished about A.D. 440.

Historia Ecclesiastica. Of the Council at Nice, lib. i. cap. xvii.
pp. 429-431.

1. Constantine convened a synod at Nice, in Bithynia, and wrote to the presidents (*προεστῶσι*) of the churches in every country, directing them to be there on an appointed day. . . . Julius, Bishop of the Romans, was unable to attend on account of extreme old age; but his place was supplied by Vito and Vicentius, presbyters of that church. . . . About 320 bishops were present, accompanied by a multitude of presbyters and deacons. There were, likewise, men present who were skilled in the art of disputation, and ready to assist in the discussions. . . . Those who accuse (said the emperor) and the accused are priests (*ιερέων*). . . . Athanasius, who was then a deacon of Alexandria, and had accompanied the Bishop Alexander, greatly distinguished himself at this juncture.

Of the Election of Ambrose, lib. vi. cap. xxiv. p. 669.

2. After the death of Auxentius, the multitude was in a state of sedition, they not having elected (*αἰρούμενοι*) a like person to oversee the church of the Milanese, and the city seemed in danger of a general insurrection. . . . Ambrose, who was then the governor of the province, being fearful lest further tumult should arise, went to the church, and exhorted the people to cease from contention, to re-establish peace and concord, and to respect the laws.

3. Before he had ceased speaking, all his auditors suppressed the

angry feelings by which they had been mutually agitated against each other, conferred the episcopate on him by common suffrage ($\psi\eta\phi\omicron\nu$) who was thus exhorting them to concord, and they besought that he might be baptised, for he was not yet initiated, and implored that he might receive the priesthood ($\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu$). After Ambrose had repeatedly refused the proffered dignity, and even quitted the place, that it might not be forced upon him, the people still persisted in their choice, and declared that the disputes would never be appeased unless he would accede to their wishes; and at length intelligence of these transactions was conveyed to court. It is said that the Emperor Valentinian prayed, and returned thanks to God that the very man whom he had appointed governor had been chosen to fill a priestly office. When he was informed of the earnest desires of the people, and the refusal of Ambrose, he inferred that events had been so ordered by God, for the purpose of restoring peace to the church of Milan, and commanded that Ambrose should be ordained as quickly as possible. He was baptised and ordained at the same time.

Election and Ordination of Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, lib. vii. cap. viii. pp. 713, 714.

4. Diodorus was fully intent upon the election of a bishop, which was the subject then engrossing universal attention. He had no sooner seen Nectarius than, struck by the dignity of his appearance, and the suavity of his manners, he judged him to be worthy of the episcopate, and secretly desired that he might be elected to it. . . . Some time after the emperor commanded the bishops to draw up a list of the names of those whom they thought worthy to be ordained, reserving to himself the right of nominating anyone of those whose names were thus submitted to him. . . .

5. The ruler ($\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$) of the church of the Antiochians wrote down the names of those whom he proposed as candidates for the episcopate, and at the end of his list, from consideration for Diodorus, he inserted the name of Nectarius. The emperor read the list, stopped at the name of Nectarius, on which he placed his finger, and seemed for some time lost in reflection; then he again read the list, and finally nominated Nectarius. This nomination excited great astonishment, and all the people were anxious to ascertain whence Nectarius came, and who and what he was. When they heard that he had not been baptised, their amazement was increased at the decision of the emperor. . . . For when the emperor was informed that Nectarius had not been baptised, he did not alter his decision, although strongly opposed by the bishops. When at last consent was given to the imperial mandate, Nectarius was baptised, and while yet clad in his white robes was proclaimed bishop of Constantinople by the common suffrage ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta\psi\eta\phi\omicron$) of the synod.

Customs in Different Churches, cap. xix. p. 734.

6. We have now described the various usages that prevailed in the celebration of the Passover. It appears to me that Victor, Bishop of

Rome, and Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, came to a very wise decision on the controversy that had arisen among them; for as the priests of the West considered it right to adhere to the tradition handed down to them by Peter and Paul, and as, on the other hand, those of Asia persisted in following the rules laid down by John the Evangelist, they unanimously agreed to continue in the observance of the festival according to their respective customs, without abstaining from communion with each other. They very justly reflected that it would be absurd to render a mere point of discipline a ground of schism between those who were bound to each other by the profession of the same faith. Different customs prevail in many churches where the same doctrines are received. There are, for instance, many cities in Syria which possess but one bishop between them; whereas in other nations a bishop is appointed even over a village, as I myself observed in Arabia, and in Cyprus, and among the Novatians and Montanists of Phrygia. Again, there are but seven deacons at Rome, answering precisely to the number ordained by the apostles, of whom Stephen was the first martyr; whereas, in other churches, the number of deacons is unlimited. . . . In this city the people are not taught by the bishop, nor by anyone in the church. At Alexandria, the bishop alone teaches the people.

The Consecration of John Chrysostom, lib. viii. cap. ii. pp. 757, 758.

7. Nectarius died about this time, and there was a consultation about what person it was necessary to ordain. Some, indeed, voted (*ἐψηφίζοντο*) for one person and some for another; nor could one person please all; and the time wore away. There was, however, at Antioch, on the Orontes, a certain presbyter named John: a man of noble birth, and of exemplary life, and possessed of such wonderful powers of eloquence and persuasion that he was declared, by Libanius the Syrian, to surpass all the orators of the age. . . . By the same eloquence John attracted the admiration of the people, while he strenuously expatiated against sin, and testified the same indignation against all acts of injustice, as if they had been perpetrated against himself. This boldness pleased the people, but grieved the wealthy and the powerful, who were guilty of most of the vices which he denounced. Being, then, held in such high estimation by those who knew him personally, and by those who were acquainted with him through the reports of others, John was adjudged worthy, in word and deed, by all the subjects of the Roman empire, to oversee the church at Constantinople. The clergy and people were unanimous in electing (*ψηφισαμένων*) him, their choice was approved by the emperor; messengers were despatched for John; and, to confer a greater solemnity on his ordination, a council was convened.

43.

EUCHERIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS.

Flourished about A.D. 440.

De Quæstionibus Veteris Testamenti. In Psal. Libro. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. i. p. 761.

What is to be understood from that which is written, 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee'? (Ps. xlv. 16.) That is, in the succession of times, apostles or evangelists will be put in the place of patriarchs or fathers.

44.

LEO I. POPE OF ROME.

Flourished about A.D. 440.

Sermo iii. *In Anniversario Die ejusdem Assumptionis. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. ii. p. 793.*

1. Out of the whole world one Peter was chosen, who also, for the calling of all nations, was placed both before all apostles and all fathers of the Church; that, although there were many priests among the people of God, and many pastors, yet Peter may properly rule all those whom Christ principally rules. Divine favour attributed the great and wonderful fellowship of its power to this most beloved man; and if it wished anything to be common to the other princes with him, it never gave, except through him, anything not denied to others. Finally the Lord asks all the disciples what men think of Him; and so long as the discourse of those who answer is common so long the doubtfulness of human knowledge is discovered. But where the judgment of the disciples respecting anything is demanded, he is first in the confession of the Lord who is first in the apostolic honour, who, when he had said, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God,' Jesus answers him, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.' That is, for that reason thou art blessed, because my Father hath taught thee, nor has any earthly opinion deceived thee, but a heavenly inspiration hath instructed thee, and not flesh and blood, but He who showed me to thee whose Only Begotten Son I am. 'And I,' said He, 'say to thee: ' that is, as my Father manifested my divinity to thee so also I make thy excellence a mark to thee; 'that thou art Peter;' that is, since I am the invisible rock, I the cornerstone, I who make both one, I the foundation, beside which none other can be laid, yet thou art also a rock, because thou art firm by my virtue, so that those things which are proper to my power may be common to thee by participation with me. 'And upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Upon this firmness, said He, I will construct an eternal temple, and the height of my Church, reaching up to

heaven, shall rise on the firmness of this faith. The gates of hell shall not master this confession; the chains of death shall not bind it. For this word is the word of life. And as it promotes its confessors to heaven so it sinks its deniers to hell. For which reason it is said to the most blessed Peter, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Indeed, the right of this power passed also to the other apostles, and what this decree decided became common to all the princes of the Church: yet not without reason is that entrusted to one which was conveyed to all. For this, therefore, is committed to Peter individually, because Peter is the common type of all the rulers of the Church. The privilege of Peter then remains wherever sentence is passed with his equity; nor is there either too much severity or laxity where nothing is bound, nothing is loosed, except that which the blessed Peter shall either loose or bind.

Sermo vii. *In Solennitate Nativitatis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*,
cap. iv. v. tom. v. pt. ii. p. 808.

2. From such institutions proceeds this impiety that the rising sun is worshipped from the hills by some of the weaker sort of people; which some Christians also hold to be so very religious an observance amongst them that, before they come to the basilica of the blessed Apostle Peter, dedicated to the One Living and True God, having passed the steps to the ascent of the upper court, they turn themselves back towards the rising sun, and bow down their heads in honour of that splendid orb. Which we perceive to be owing partly to ignorance, partly to a spirit of paganism, and that to our no small grief and affliction: because, although some perhaps may rather worship the Creator of this fair luminary than light itself, which is a creature, yet ought we to abstain from the very appearance of this sort of devotion towards it: which, when one of our heathen converts shall observe amongst us, will he not retain as probable that part of his old opinion which he sees to be common both to Christians and infidels? Far, therefore, be so blameable a perverseness (*damnanda perversitas*) from the practice of the faithful.

Ibid. sermo x. cap. v. p. 811.

3. Conqueror of death, He ascended above the heights of heaven, and does not leave the universal Church, 'even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Sermo xiv. *De Passione Domini*, cap. iii. p. 842.

4. There is no doubt, most beloved . . . but Christ in all His saints is one and the same; and as Head of the members, so they cannot be divided from the Head. For though it is not of this life, but of eternal life, that 'God is all in all,' yet even now He is an undivided indweller in His temple, which is His Church, according to what He Himself promised, saying, 'I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.)

Sermo ii. *De Resurrectione Domini*, cap. iii. p. 849.

5. But as they know that He possesses the hearts of the faithful, whence they are strengthened to be raised from the despicable desires of the world to wisdom above, the Lord assures His presence to us, saying, 'Lo! I am with you, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For the Holy Spirit hath not spoken in vain by Isaiah, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel, which is, interpreted, God with us.' Therefore, Jesus fulfils the nature of His name, and He who ascended into heaven does not desert His adopted: He who sits at the right hand of the Father, the same is an indweller in the whole body: and He Himself from above strengthens to endurance those whom He invites upwards to glory.

Sermo ii. *De Pentecoste*, cap. v. p. 853.

6. All therefore, most beloved, who had believed in the Lord Jesus, had the Holy Spirit infused in them, and then the apostles had received the power of remitting sins, when the Lord, after His Resurrection, breathed, and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 22, 23.) But to that perfection which was to be bestowed upon the disciples, a greater grace and more abundant inspiration was granted: through which they might receive what they had not yet accepted, and what they had received, they might possess more excellently.

Epistola Decretalis lxxxiv. cap. xi. tom. v. pt. ii. pp. 922, 923.

7. 'For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.' (Rom. xii. 4, 5.) This connection makes the one safety, the one beauty, of the whole body. And this connection requireth the unanimity of the whole body, but it chiefly exacts the concord of priests; among whom, although there is a common honour, yet order is general: since even among the blessed apostles in likeness of honour, there was a certain discretion of power, and when the election of each was equal yet to one it was given to be over the rest. Out of which form the distinction also of bishops, and with great order it was provided that all should not claim all things for themselves, but that in every province there should be one among his brethren whose opinion might be esteemed first; and again in great cities, some being constituted to take upon them greater responsibility, through whom the charge of the universal Church should flow to the one see of Peter, and there should be no discord with their own head. He, therefore, who knows that he is set over certain persons does not conduct himself discontentedly, that anyone is placed over him, but the obedience which he exacts, on that he himself also depends.

Ibid. epist. lxxxix. cap. i. pp. 926, 927.

8. As the truth which was before contained in the preaching of the Law and the Prophets, through the apostolic trumpet might go out for

the salvation of all, as it is written, 'Their sound hath gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.' (Ps. xix.) But the Lord wished the sacrament of this gift so to belong to the office of all the apostles that he might place it principally in the most blessed Peter, the chief of all the apostles, that from him, as from a certain head, He might diffuse His gifts in the whole body, that it might be understood that he would be without any share of the Divine mystery who should dare to depart from the firmness of Peter: for that he had been taken into the fellowship of the undivided unity (*in consortium individuae unitatis assumptum*), He wished him to be named that which He Himself was, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,' that the building of the eternal temple, by the wonderful gift of the grace of God, might stand in the firmness of Peter, strengthening His Church by this firmness, that neither human temerity might be able to assault nor the gates of hell prevail against it.

Ibid. cap. vii. p. 928.

9. Whence, because our intention seems far otherwise (for we desire that the state of all the Churches and concord of the priests should be kept), exhorting you to unity in the bond of charity, we both beseech and with suitable affection advise that those things which have been decreed by us, God and the most blessed Apostle Peter inspiring us, &c. (*a nobis, Deo inspirante, et beatissimo Petro apostolo*).

45.

ARNOBIUS.

Flourished about A.D. 460.

Comment. in Psalm. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. iii. p. 252.

Ps. xlv. 16. Where, instead of twelve patriarchs born to God, there are twelve other sons, whom Jesus appointed princes over all the earth—memorials of His name in every nation—when He said to them, 'Baptise ye all nations.'

46.

REMIGIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.

Flourished about A.D. 471.

Explanatio in Epist. ad Rom. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 809, 810.

1. 'An apostle.' (Rom. i. 1.) This is a Greek term; in Latin it is interpreted 'sent.' He heard of the Lord, 'I will send thee far off to the Gentiles.' But of apostles there are four kinds: the first is that which is not made of men, neither by man, but of God only, of the number of whom were Moses, Isaiah, and many others of the prophets, and the twelve

apostles, because, although they were sent by the man Christ, yet He was both man and true God. Therefore it was said to Moses, 'I will send thee to Pharaoh;' also to Isaiah, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, here am I, send me.' Go, said He to this people. A second kind which is of God, but by man; of the number of whom is Joshua, who by the command and will of God was sent by Moses. Very many others also have been chosen for the merits of their life by the election of the people and the will of God. For the will of the people is for the most part the will of God. A third kind, which is of man only, and not of God. When anyone is chosen by the favour of men, not for their good conduct, nor for the cause of religion, but for the kindred of the nobility, or is chosen to the honour of a priest for a reward, of the number of whom are such as those described by the blessed Ambrose, who says, 'O bishop! unless thou hadst given a hundred golden coins, thou wouldest not have been a bishop to-day.' (30. 14.) Of the number of these are those also of whom it is said in the Book of Kings, who lived in the times of Jeroboam, 'They filled their hands (were consecrated) that they might become the priests of idols.' Of these and such like the Lord says by the prophet, 'They have reigned, but not by me; they have been princes, and I knew not.' (Hosea viii. 4, Lat. Vul.) There is also a fourth kind of apostles, which is neither of God nor by man, but is constituted of itself only, as are false prophets and false apostles, saying, 'The Lord saith, whereas the Lord hath not sent them.' . . .

2. 'By whom we have received grace and apostleship.' (Vs. 5.) All the apostles before the Passion of our Lord were called by Himself, but Paul after His Resurrection. Grace is said to be given, and here we ought to understand grace to be faith, and the remission of sins, or patience of all labours; for which we shall be rewarded in futurity, all which things, without any preceding merits, have been freely given to all the faithful. As a distinguished preacher, he says, 'By grace are ye saved.' But we ought to understand by the term apostleship the mission (*legationem*) of preaching (*predicationis*), which the apostles only and their followers (*sequaces*) received, who likewise, after him, held the office of preaching.

Ibid. pp. 861, 862.

3. 'Who are of note among the apostles.' (Rom. xvi. 7.) That is, among the twelve apostles. But it also may be understood of them, because perhaps they were of the seventy-two apostles, and that they themselves were of note.

Explanatio in Epist. II. ad Corinth. tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 901, 902.

4. 'Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth.' (2 Cor. i. 2.) Perhaps they had not as yet a prelate, a bishop, so he addresses the whole Church.

5. 'Now He which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God.' (Vs. 21.) That is, He hath joined the two peoples in the faith of Christ by the One Cornerstone. 'And hath anointed us' with the

grace of the Holy Spirit; that is, who hath given us remission of sins, through the grace of the Holy Spirit. In the Old Testament, priests and kings were anointed with oil. But in the New Testament all the faithful are anointed, not so much with visible oil as invisible grace; that is to say, with the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the imposition of hands; and they become kings of souls, and priests of peoples, to sanctify those, according to which Peter says, 'Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood,' 'who also hath sealed us,' that is, because He hath marked us for Himself by giving His sign to us. For whilst Christ said, 'As my father hath sent me even so send I you,' He put upon them His sign, and hath given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.

Explanatio in Epist. I. ad Tim. tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 938, 939.

6. 'Likewise the deacons.' (1 Tim. iii. 8.) Why is he silent concerning presbyters? Because presbyters are comprehended in the order of bishops. For every bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop.

7. 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' (iv. 14.) Here he calls faith, and wisdom, and remission of sins, and the grace of the episcopate 'grace,' given to him by prophecy, because revealed by the spirit of prophecy, or the blessed Paul knew that Timothy was worthy of the episcopal honour.

Explanatio in Epist. ad Galat. tom. v. pt. iii. p. 947.

8. Why is it that in this epistle he makes no mention of bishops, presbyters, or deacons, as in the others? Because as yet they had no bishops ordained, nor other teachers, and therefore could be the more easily seduced.

Explanatio in Epist. ad Ephesios, tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 967, 968.

9. 'And gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, some pastors and teachers.' (Eph. iv. 11.) 'Some apostles,' as the twelve and seventy-two were. 'Some prophets,' as Agabus and seven others of Antioch, and the four daughters of Philip. 'Some evangelists,' as were Mark and Luke, John also and Matthew, who were also apostles. 'And some pastors and teachers for the perfecting of the saints,' that those who were predestinated to eternal glory by their preaching might also be perfected by their examples. Evangelists were in the first order of faith; prophets, also pastors and teachers, are now in the Church. Whosoever proclaims good things is an evangelist. Whosoever announces to his hearers the joys of the elect and the punishment of the reprobate is a prophet. But the blessed Augustine, being asked by Paulinus concerning the names of pastors and teachers, answers 'that a pastor and a teacher are one. For he cannot be a pastor unless he has teaching, with which he feeds the flock committed to him. Because, if teaching is wanting, he may have the name of a pastor, but wants the office.' Pastors and teachers of the Church are one; they are bishops, presbyters, and other teachers, and ministers of the Church.

Explanatio in Epist. ad Philip. tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 974, 978.

10. 'With the bishops.' (Phil. i. 1.) That is, with the presbyters, for one city could not have many bishops.

11. 'But your messenger (apostle).' (Phil. ii. 25.) Either because he was *sent* to you by me or whom ye elected of yourselves for an apostle by *sending* him to me.

Explanatio in Epist. ad Hebræos, tom. v. pt. iii. p. 1036.

12. 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.' (Heb. xiii. 17.) Prelates and preachers must, by all means, be obeyed, inasmuch as their doctrine and morals are holy, and they are pious; but if they should depart from the path of rectitude, as the scribes and Pharisees did, we are not to do such things as they do; but if they stand opposed to the faith, we are not only to avoid, but even to flee from them; but if they teach well, we should not scrutinise their morals, but listen to Christ saying to such, in the persons of the scribes and Pharisees. (Matt. xxiii. 2.) All prelates and rulers (*prælati et præpositi*) must be obeyed, except they err from the truth of the faith; but especially those who thoroughly watch, that is, watch without intermission, by preaching, and by good example, are solicitous for the care of strangers, so as to render an account for them.

47.

ANDREAS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Flourished about A.D. 490.

Comment. in Apocalypsin. p. 5.

1. 'Who hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father.' (Rev. i. 5, 6.) 'And to Him who hath made us a royal priesthood.' For in the place of irrational animals we offer 'a living sacrifice . . . a reasonable service' to the Father. (Rom. xii. 1.)

Ibid. p. 19.

2. 'And round about the throne were four-and-twenty thrones, and upon the thrones I saw four-and-twenty presbyters.' (Rev. iv. 4.) But by the other twelve presbyters are denoted the illustrious ones of the New Testament. For also of these (Jews, or Jewish presbyters) there were twelve chiefs; and of those in the New Testament there were twelve apostles, who took the lead, and the Lord promised to them that they should sit on twelve thrones.

Ibid. pp. 23, 24.

3. 'And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four living creatures saying, Come and see.' (Rev. vi. 1.) Here is signified the good order (*εὐταξία*)

of those who are in heaven coming down from the first orders (*πρώτων τάξεων*) to the second (*τὰ δεύτερα*). Therefore, by the first face of the four formed living creatures, that is to say, a lion, he (John the Evangelist) heard the first sound which was made, calling out 'come,' by the angel who impressed the vision by an enigma. But the first living creature, a lion, seems to show to me the royal conduct of the apostles against the arrogance of demons, concerning whom it is said, . . . 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.)

4. 'And when He had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say, Come and see.' (Rev. vi. 3.) I think the second living creature is called a calf. It characterises the holy sacrifices of the holy martyrs, as the first living creature characterises the apostolic power (*ἀποστολικὴν ἐξουσίαν*), as was shown a little before.

'And there went out another horse that was red; and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another. (Rev. vi. 4.) We consider that this second (*δευτέραν*) succession from the apostles is denoted, which was completed by the martyrs and teachers.

Ibid. p. 31.

5. 'Twelve thousand.' (Rev. vii. 8.) The number is suitably chosen for these, as it is said both on account of the twelve chiefs of the Hebrews of old and on account of them, as it is written, 'Instead' of them the inspired apostles are 'made princes over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) By whom, also, the Jews dispersed throughout the whole world shall be saved.

Ibid. pp. 101, 102.

6. 'And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.' (Rev. xxi. 12.) The wall of the Church, great and high, is Christ, and He is the keeper of those in the holy city. In which wall there are twelve gates; these are the holy apostles, by whom we have introduction and entrance to the Father. These are united together by the twelve angels who have the precedency and are nearer to God, according to title which is in holiness. For if we have entrusted an angel to each of the faithful to be guard over them, how much more ought we to believe that they who are the founders of the Church and the sowers of the Gospel word, holding the first place, should have helpers in the angels in the preaching of the Gospel.

Ibid. pp. 103, 104.

7. 'And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones, &c.' (Rev. xxi. 19.) The twelve foundations are the twelve precious stones, eight of which were anciently inserted in the breast-plate of the high-priest, but four have been changed, and hence appears the agreement of the New with the Old Testament, and at the same time the excellency of those is discovered who are illustrious in the New Testament. The apostles, adorned with every kind of virtue, are denoted by the precious stones. 'The first founda-

tion, jasper,' probably denotes Peter, the leader (κορυφαῖον) of the apostles; 'the second, sapphire,' Paul; 'the third, a calcedony,' Andrew; 'the fourth, an emerald,' John; 'the fifth, sardonyx,' James; 'the sixth, sardius,' Philip; 'the seventh, chrysolite,' Bartholomew; 'the eighth, beryl,' Thomas; 'the ninth, a topaz,' Matthew; 'the tenth, a chrysoprasus,' Thaddeus; 'the eleventh, a jacinth,' Simon Zelotes; 'the twelfth, an amethyst,' Matthias.

48.

PASCHASIUS, DEACON OF ROME.

Flourished about A.D. 490.

De Spiritu Sancto, contra Macedonium, lib. i. cap. i. *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. v. pt. iii. p. 734.

But thou dost oppose and say that still the Godhead cannot be shown in this phrase, by which we say, I believe also in the Holy Ghost, because it follows, I believe in the Holy Catholic Church. First, I know not how Macedonius dare to name the Catholic Church, who, a stranger to salvation, has been excluded the Catholic Church, has been made of the number of those of whom it is said, 'The wicked walk on every side.' (Ps. xii. 8.) Therefore thou sayest, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' because, in supplying the little syllable in, dost thou attempt to produce great darkness? We believe the Catholic Church as the mother of regeneration; we do not believe in the Church as in the Author of salvation. For when the universal Church confesses this of the Holy Ghost, can she also believe in herself? . . . He who believes in the Church believes in man. For man is not of the Church, but the Church began to be from man. Desist therefore from this blasphemous persuasion (*ex hac blasphemice persuasione*), to think that thou oughtest to believe in any human creature: since thou must not in anywise believe in an angel or an archangel. . . . We believe the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, everlasting life. . . . The unskilfulness of some have drawn and taken the preposition 'in' from the sentence going next before, and put it to that which follows, imprudently adding thereto more than needed.

[Of Paschasius and his book, Gregory the Great says: 'For while I was yet a youth, and constituted in laic habit, I have heard of older men, and those who knew, that Paschasius, a deacon of this apostolic see, whose very good and excellent books on the Holy Spirit are extant amongst us, was a man of extraordinary sanctity, &c.'—*Dialog.* lib. iv. cap. xl. tom. i. col. 1399.]

49.

FULGENTIUS, BISHOP OF RUSPA.

Flourished about A.D. 507.

Ad Transimundum, &c. De immensitate Divinitatis Filii Dei, lib. ii. cap. xvii. *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. vi. pt. i. p. 51.

Showing the infinity of His divinity, He says to His disciples, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) How did He ascend into heaven, except He was very man contained in a place? Or how is He present *with the faithful*, except that He is infinite and true God?

50.

ARETHAS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Flourished about A.D. 540.

Comment. in Apocalypsin. cap. iii. *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. vi. pt. i. p. 522.

1. 'The mystery of the seven stars.' (Rev. i. 20.) He calls the pre-fects of the churches (*ecclesiis præfectos*) stars, angels.

Ibid. cap. lxvii. pp. 562, 563.

2. 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations.' (Rev. xxi. 14.) He now declares the twelve apostles in proper order. For here he intended to show the twelve apostles, whom he called gates and foundations, because they lie as the foundations of the Christian faith; and they are gates because by them, that is, by their preaching, is found that which leads to the Christian faith.

'And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones, &c.' (Vs. 19, 20.) He compares the virtue of the apostles of God to precious stones, whom he calls the foundations of the city; of the twelve stones which were in the breast-plate of the high-priest, he appoints eight for the foundations, but he changes four, that from them the agreement of the Old Testament with the New might appear. 'The first foundation was jasper,' probably designating Peter, the leader; 'the second, sapphire,' the blessed Paul; 'the third, a chalcedony,' Andrew; 'the fourth, an emerald,' John the Evangelist; 'the fifth, sardonyx,' James, the son of Zebedee; 'the sixth, sardius,' Philip; 'the seventh, chrysolite,' Bartholomew; 'the eighth, beryl,' Thomas; 'the ninth, a topaz,' Matthew; 'the tenth, a chrysoprasus,' Thaddeus; 'the eleventh, a jacinth,' Simon Zelotes; 'the twelfth, an amethyst,' Matthias.

51.

PRIMACIUS, BISHOP OF ADRUMETUM.

Flourished about A.D. 550.

Comment. in Epist. ad Galatas. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 78.

1. 'Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father.' (Gal. i. 1.) Not an apostle by human presumption, nor by apostles, as Aaron by Moses, but by God Himself, and the Lord, as Moses and apostles, and some prophets, were. Many were ordained by men, by the favour of the people, who were not worthy, contemning the patience of the Lord.

Comment. in Epist. ad Ephesios, p. 88.

2. 'And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Himself being the chief cornerstone.' (Eph. ii. 20.) Christ is the foundation of apostles and prophets, who is also called the chief cornerstone: as it is written, 'the stone which the builders rejected,' containing and joining the two walls. But He is also the foundation and summit, because the Church is founded and consummated in Him. Built upon the foundation of the prophets, of the New, not of the Old Testament: otherwise he ought to have named prophets first.

Comment. in Epist. ad Philippenses, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 92.

3. 'With the bishops and deacons.' (Phil. i. 1.) We understand bishops here not only to be high-priests, but also presbyters. For in one city there are not many bishops; this also is found in the Acts of the Apostles.

Comment. in Epist. ad Timotheum I. pp. 105, 106.

4. 'Likewise the deacons.' (1 Tim. iii. 8.) It is asked why he makes no mention of presbyters; but he comprehends in bishops presbyters also, because they are of the second and almost the same degree, as is proved by many testimonies of Scripture.

5. 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' (iv. 14.) He neglects the gift who does not exercise it as a talent received. He had the gift of prophecy or teaching with the ordination of the episcopate; or he had received the gift with the ordination, either of teaching or understanding.

Comment. in Epist. ad Timotheum II. p. 108.

6. 'Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.' (2 Tim. i. 6.) That thou, as it were, stir up the gift dormant by tribulations, which had been given to thee before by the infusion of faith. 'By the putting on of my hands.' The blessing which he had received in the episcopate by the putting on of the hands of the apostle.

Comment. in Epist. ad Hebræos, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 148.

7. 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.' (Heb. xiii. 17.) All prelates and teachers should be obeyed and imitated, inasmuch as they preach good things, and perform good works; but in so far as they do not preach rightly, or they live ill, they are neither to be heard nor to be imitated. By the grace of the word, he who by preaching rightly lives well, he must be both heard and imitated; but if he does neither, he is neither to be imitated nor to be heard. But if indeed he preaches rightly, although he lives ill, he is not to be despised, so as not to be heard, since the Lord says, 'What they say, do ye; but what they do, be ye unwilling to do.' (Matt. xxiii. 3.) Therefore, as these Hebrews had had good rulers, that is to say, holy apostles and their successors, he exhorts them to be mindful of them, and to consider the end of their conversation, and to imitate their perseverance even to the end in the right faith, and in good works.

Comment. in Apocalypsin. lib. i. p. 153.

8. 'The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches.' (Rev. i. 20.) It must not be thought that in this place angels are deputed to men individually, because by others it is considered unsuitable, but rather the angels of the churches must be understood to be the rectors (*rectores*) of the people, who, presiding in the several churches (*qui singulis ecclesiis præsidentes*), announce the Word of Life to all. For the name of angel, when interpreted, is called messenger.

Ibid. lib. v. p. 194.

9. 'And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' (Rev. xxi. 14.) He omits the mention of patriarchs; he speaks of an apostle. Since we know that the Church has only one foundation, that is, Christ, we ought not to move that Church which he here says the twelve have. For the apostles in Christ have deserved to be the foundations of the Church, of which the apostle says, 'other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' (1 Cor. iii. 11.) Also in Him the apostles are called the light, when He said to them, 'Ye are the light of the world,' since Christ is the sun, the true light, which lighteth every man coming into the world. . . . The Psalm sang, saying, 'I will lift mine eyes to the mountains, whence cometh my help.' He denotes by mountains the apostles and prophets, whom Christ, the sun of righteousness, principally irradiates. And lest he should think it scarcely safe to trust in names, he subjoins, 'My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.' As also here we ought to know that the apostles were called the twelve foundations, but on the one foundation, Jesus Christ. It belongs to this point to notice also that he is not silent respecting the name of the Lamb. 'And in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.' And Christ only has the right to be called the foundation without the apostles, but the apostles without Christ by no means can be called the foundations of the Church. . . . But the city itself, which Christ affirms in the Gospel, was built upon a

mountain, that is, founded upon Himself. He refers to this also when to Peter, who bore the figure of the whole Church, He said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church;' as if He had said, 'I will build thee upon me.' For Christ was the Rock, so therefore Peter was of the Rock (*a petra Petrus*) as Christian is from Christ.

52.

EVAGRIUS, A CHURCH HISTORIAN.

Flourished about A.D. 550.

Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. ii. cap. iv. pp. 292–295.

But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the *most holy and religious* Archbishop of great Rome; since, moreover, on the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great synod, he refused to appear, though once, twice, and thrice canonically summoned by the bishops, pricked no doubt by his own conscience; and since he has unlawfully given reception to those who had been duly deposed by different synods: he has thus, by variously trampling upon the laws of the Church, given his own verdict against himself. Wherefore Leo, the most blessed and holy archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency of ourselves and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all-honoured Peter, who is the rock and basis of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith, deprived him of his episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. . . . It was also determined that the see of New Rome (Constantinople), while ranking to that of Old Rome, should take precedence of all others.

53.

GILDAS, A BRITISH PRESBYTER.

Flourished about A.D. 560.

De Excidio et Conquestu Britannię. Acris Correptio in ordinem Nobilitatis, &c. Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr. tom. v. pt. iii. pp. 678–681.

1. Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but they are wicked, often robbers, extorting money from the innocent, but vindicating and protecting the guilty and thieves. . . . Saint Habakkuk, Saint Amos, Saint Micah, Saint Haggai, Saint Malachi.

In Ecclesiasticum Ordinem, Acris Correptio, pp. 682, 683.

Britain has priests, but some foolish; very many ministers, but many shameless ones; clergy, but the same are robbers, deceivers; pastors,

as they are called, but wolves prepared for the slaying of souls. For they provide not suitable things for the people, but seek to fill their own belly; they esteem the buildings of the Church, but they enter them for the sake of filthy lucre; they teach the people, but at the same time they exhibit the worst examples, vices, and evil morals; they rarely sacrifice, and rarely stand between the altars with a pure heart; not correcting the people for their sins, but rather committing the same sins; despising the precepts of Christ, and taking care to fulfil their own lust with all their vows; they usurp the seat of the Apostle Peter with unwashed feet, but by the reward of covetousness sit still in the pestilential chair of Judas. . . .

2. After the priestly seat of the bishopric, or presbytership. (*Post sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem.*) The office of the bishopric or presbytership. (*Episcopatus officium vel presbyterii.*) All bishops or presbyters. . . . O enemies of God, and not priests! O tolerators of evil men, and not high-priests! O traitors, and not successors of the holy apostles! O fighters against, and not ministers of, Christ!

54.

GREGORY THE GREAT, POPE OF ROME.

Flourished about A.D. 590.

Expositio Moralis, lib. i. cap. vi. tom. i. col. 23.

1. 'And there were born to him seven sons.' (Job i. 2.) Namely, the apostles manfully issuing forth to preach, who, in putting in practice the precepts of perfection, as it were, maintained in their manner of life the courage of the superior sex. For hence it is that twelve of them were chosen, who should be replenished with the perfection of the sevenfold grace of the Spirit, as from the number seven we rise to twelve; for seven multiplied in its component parts is extended to twelve; for whether four be taken by three, or three by four, seven is changed into twelve, and hence, forasmuch as the holy apostles were sent to proclaim the Holy Trinity in the four quarters of the globe, they were chosen twelve in number, that by their very number they might set forth that perfection which they proclaimed both by their lips and in their lives.

2. 'And three daughters.' (Vs. 2.) What do we understand by the daughters but the weaker multitudes of the faithful, who, though they never adhere with a virtuous resolution to perfection of life, yet cleave with constancy to the belief of the Trinity which has been taught them. Thus by 'the seven sons' is represented the order of the preachers, and by 'the three daughters,' the multitude of the hearers. By 'the three daughters' may also be signified the three orders of the faithful, for, after mention of the sons, the daughters are named, in that succeeding next to the distinguished courage of the apostles came three divisions of the faithful, in the state of life in the Church, viz. of pastors, of those following continence, and of the married.

Ibid. cap. vii. col. 27.

3. 'And sent and called for their three sisters to eat and to drink with them.' (Vs. 4.) The sons call their sisters to the feast, in that the holy apostles proclaim to hearers that are weak the joys of the refreshment above, and inasmuch as they see their souls to be starved of the food of truth, they feed them with the feast of God's Word.

Ibid. lib. x. cap. iv. col. 353.

4. The law, in Paul, both meekly bore the violence of persecutors and yet in the matter of circumcision boldly rebuked the notion of one by great inequality his superior (*longe se imparis prioris*).

Ibid. lib. xvii. cap. xiv. col. 563, 564.

5. 'He bindeth up the waters in His thick clouds.' (Job xxvi. 8.) But by the name of 'clouds,' what else is denoted in this passage but the holy preachers, i. e. the apostles, who, being despatched in every direction through the regions of the world, both knew how to shower in words and to flash forth in miracles?

Ibid. lib. xviii. cap. xx. col. 598.

6. 'The sons of the merchants have not trodden it.' (Job xxviii. 8, Lat. Vul.) Who in this place are called 'merchants' but the holy prophets, who busied themselves by prophesying to instruct the ways of the synagogue unto faith? 'Sons' of whom, assuredly, the holy apostles are styled, who, that they should believe the God-man, were begotten to the same faith by the preaching of those, concerning whom it is said to the Church by the Psalmist, 'Instead of thy fathers are born to thee sons, whom thou mayest make princes over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) But because the apostles, being thrust off, went out from the borders of the synagogue, it is rightly said now, 'The sons of the merchants have not trodden it,' since the 'sons of the merchants' would have 'trodden it' if the holy preachers (the apostles) had borne down the badness of the synagogue with the heel of goodness. But if those same 'merchants' we take for the preachers of Holy Church, then the 'sons' of the merchants, nothing hinders us taking for the shepherds and teachers (*pastores et doctores*) who followed the way of the apostles.

Ibid. lib. xix. cap. xi. col. 633.

7. 'And the rock poured me out rivers of oil.' (Job xxix. 6.) That by the title of a rock Christ is denoted, the great preacher avouches, saying, 'And that rock was Christ.' Which very 'rock' doth now 'pour out rivers of oil' for the use of Holy Church, because the Lord, speaking therein, gives out the preachings of the interior anointing. From this Rock that river of oil issued forth, the Book of Matthew, the Book of Mark, the Book of Luke, and the Book of John. In the several regions of this world, for all the preachings she put forth, this 'Rock' poured out as many rivers of oil by the mouths of the apostles.

Ibid. lib. xxvi. cap. xix. col. 845.

8. Peter then, though holding the chief power (*principatum*) in the Church by Divine authority, refused to be revered unduly by Cornelius.

Ibid. cap. xxviii. col. 858.

9. 'Lay down thy greatness without sorrow, and all the mighty in strength.' (Job xxxvi. 19, Lat. Vul.) As if they said in open reproaches, 'Be not confident that thou possessest greatness, for, since the old fathers have been taken away, thou hast no longer any in whose life thou canst boast.' They say these things in truth, as not knowing that Almighty God does not leave His Church without proper government (*administratione*). For when He summons the strong to their reward, He strengthens, in their place, the weak for the contest; when He rewards the one by bearing them away, He supplies to the others strength for their labours, for Him to recompense. Of whom it is said to the same Holy Church, 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee; thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' (Ps. xlv. 16.) For those who are afterwards substituted are the prelates (*prælati sunt subrogantur*), in virtue of the old fathers, because also, when aged trees are felled, tender shoots grow up in the place of their strength. But the haughty men believe not that they are strong whom they knew at one time to be weak; and they disdain to reverence those, when changed, whom they remember to have been contemptible.

Ibid. lib. xxvii. cap. vi. col. 871, 872.

10. 'For by these things judgeth He the people, and giveth food to many mortals.' (Job xxxvi. 31, Lat. Vul.) By these words of preachers, that is, drops of the clouds (apostles), by these lightnings of miracles, God doubtless judges the peoples; because He invites their terrified hearts to repentance. For when they hear heavenly things, when they attend to marvellous works, they soon return into their own hearts, and, afflicting themselves for their former wickednesses, dread eternal torments. But food is given too by these same clouds by which terror is inflicted: since mighty is the trust committed to preachers to know how so to afflict the minds of the haughty as yet to be skilful in cherishing them when afflicted, with words of consolation; so as to alarm sinners with eternal punishments, and support penitents with the joys of the kingdom of heaven. Whence the very course of this dispensation is well observed, so that Elihu said, in proper order, that God first judges the people by these clouds, and afterwards gives them food. Because, in truth, Almighty God first reproves and rouses us from our evil deeds, by means of His preachers, and afterwards cherishes and consoles us by hope. For if the Divine dispensation did not act the part of a judge by these clouds, He never would have said to these same clouds, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 22, 23.) And again, if He did not feed by them our famished hearts, the Lord would never say to His disciples, of the

hungering people, 'Give ye them to eat.' But we believe that that was then done thus by their hands that we may see that this is daily taking place, without ceasing, by their words. For what does Peter effect, when he speaks by his epistles, unless it be that our miserable hungry hearts may be fed with the food of the Word? What are Paul and John labouring at, when speaking by their epistles, except that our minds may enjoy heavenly food, and overcome that loathing of hunger with which they were dying? Let it be said then, 'When He will spread out the clouds as His tent, and lighten with His light from above, He will cover also the ends of the sea; for by these things He judgeth the people, and giveth food to many mortals.' As if He were plainly saying, If He sends forth His saints (apostles) for the ministry of preaching, and aids their words by miracles, He summons the boundaries of all the world to the faith; and by these means He first judges the proud, and afterwards cherishes with hope, and strengthens the humble by the word of consolation.

Ibid. lib. xxviii. cap. ix. col. 921, 922.

11. 'And I set a bar and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, and thou shalt not proceed further, and here shalt thou break thy swelling waves.' (Job xxxviii. 10, 11, Lat. Vul.) What is designated by 'doors' but holy preachers, and what by the 'bar' except the Lord Incarnate. For he has in truth opposed these doors as a firmer barrier against the force of the swelling sea the more He has strengthened them by barring them Himself. For because these doors of Holy Church are strengthened by this bar being placed against them, they could be battered indeed by the waves, but they could not be broken through: so that, though the wave of persecution might dash on them from without, yet it could not penetrate to the centre of their heart. And because holy preachers open themselves by their preaching to their followers, but close themselves by their authority against those who oppose them, they are, not improperly, called 'doors,' that is, open to the conversation of the humble, and closed to the terrors of the proud. They are, not improperly, called 'doors,' because they both open an entrance to the faithful, and again oppose themselves to the entrance of the unbelieving.

12. Let us consider what a door of the Church was Peter, who admitted Cornelius, when enquiring into the faith, and rejected Simon, when seeking miraculous powers for a price: saying to the one, 'I have found in truth that God is no respecter of persons,' he graciously opened the secrets of the kingdom; declaring to the other, 'Thy money perish with thee,' he closes the entrance of the heavenly court by a sentence of strict condemnation.

13. What are all the apostles but doors of Holy Church, when they hear by the voice of the Redeemer, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained' (John xx. 22, 23). As if it were plainly said to them, By you, those to whom ye open yourselves shall come in to me; and those to whom ye close yourselves shall be rejected.

Ibid. lib. xxx. cap. iii. col. 966, 967.

14. 'Who hath placed wisdom in the inward parts of a man? or who hath given the cock understanding?' (Job xxxviii. 36, Lat. Vul.) Who else are designated in this place by the name of the cock but these same holy preachers (apostles), mentioned again another way, who strive amid the darkness of this present life to announce by their preaching, as if by their notes, the approaching light? For they say, 'The night is far spent, but the day is at hand;' who by their voices arouse the sleep of our sluggishness, exclaiming, 'It is now the hour for us to arise from sleep;' and again, 'Awake, ye righteous, and sin not.'

15. Of this cock it is written again: 'There be three things that go well, and a fourth which goeth prosperously: a lion, the strongest of beasts, will not be afraid at the onset of any; a cock girt in the loins; and a ram, whom there is no king who can resist.' (Prov. xxx. 29-31, Lat. Vul.) For He is in this place mentioned as a lion, of whom it is written, 'The lion of the tribe of Judea hath prevailed,' who is called the strongest of beasts, because in Him the weakness of God is stronger than men; who is not afraid at the onset of anyone, for He says, 'The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me.' The cock girt in the loins, that is, holy preachers announcing the true morn, amid the darkness of this night; who are girt in the loins, because they keep away from their members the looseness of lust, for it is in the loins in truth that there is lust. Whence it is said to the same persons by the Lord, 'Let your loins be girt about.' And a ram, whom there is no king can resist, whom else in this place do we understand by a ram but the first order of priests within the Church (*primum intra ecclesiam ordinem sacerdotum*)? Of whom it is written, 'Bring to the Lord the offering of rams' (Ps. xxix. 1, Lat. Vul.); who lead the people which is walking after their examples like a flock of sheep following them, and whom, if they live spiritually and rightly, no king is at all able to resist; because, whatever persecutor may stand in their way, he is not able to hinder their intention, for they know both how to run anxiously to Him whom they long for and to come to Him by dying.

16. The lion is therefore placed first, the cock second, the ram last. For Christ appeared, next the holy preachers, the apostles, and then at length the spiritual fathers, the rulers of the churches, the leaders, namely, of the flocks, because they are the teachers of the peoples who follow them (*spiritales ecclesiarum præpositi, videlicet duces gregum, quia doctores sequentium populorum*).

Homilia in Evangelia, hom. xxvi. tom. ii. col. 391-393.

17. 'Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me even so send I you.' (John xx. 21.) That is, as God the Father sent me God, I, man, also send you men. The Father sent the Son, who appointed that He should be incarnate for the redemption of the human race, that is to say, whom He wished to come into the world to suffer, but for all that He loved His Son whom He sent to suffer. So the Lord sent not His chosen apostles to the joys of the world, but as He Himself had been sent, to the sufferings in the world. Because, therefore,

the Son was also loved by the Father, but nevertheless is sent to suffer, so also the disciples are loved by the Lord who nevertheless were sent into the world to suffer. Therefore it is properly said, 'As my Father hath sent me even so send I you,' that is, I love you with that love, when I send you into the midst of the trials of persecution, with which the Father loved me, whom He appointed to come to bear sufferings.

18. 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 23.) It is well to notice these disciples, being called to so great burdens of humility, should be led to so great a height of glory. Behold, they are not only saved on their own behalf but also receive power of another kind, of binding and loosing; and they obtain the government of the judgment above, as in the place of God for any for whom they retain sins, and for any for whom they remit them. So suitable was it that they should be elevated who had consented to be humbled so much for God. Behold, they who fear the strict judgment of God become judges of souls, and condemn or free others who feared that they should be condemned. Doubtless bishops now in the Church hold the place of these. They who obtain the degree of government (*gradum regiminis*) receive the authority of binding and loosing. . . . It should be seen what fault had gone before, or what is the penitence following after the fault, that those whom Almighty God visits through the grace of contrition, the sentence of the pastor may absolve. For then the absolution of him who presides (*presidentis*) is true, since the approval of the eternal judge follows, which that restoration to life after four days' death well illustrates, that is to say, demonstrates; because the Lord called and gave life to the dead previously, saying, 'Lazarus, come forth!' And afterwards he who had come forth alive is loosed by the disciples, as it is written, 'and when he had come forth who had been bound with grave clothes,' then He said to the disciples, 'Loose him, and let him go.' For if the disciples should have loosed Lazarus while he was dead, they would have discovered a rank smell rather than a virtue.

Explanatio in Septem Psalmos Pœnitentiales, tom. ii. col. 524.

19. For it is also spoken of the apostles, 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth.' (Ps. xxxiii. 6.) For who are designated by the name of the heavens but the holy apostles? Who doubtless drench the earth of our heart by the showers of their words; having come as judges, they sound less by their terrors than they shine by their miracles, and the holiness of their works.

Epistolæ ex Registro, lib. ii. indic. xi. *Gregorius Mauricio Augusto* (the Emperor), cap. iii. epist. lxi. tom. ii. col. 685.

20. Your late constitution hath given me, I ingenuously own it to my lords [Mauricius and his son Theodosius], the greatest uneasiness, seeing the way to heaven is thereby shut up to many, and what hath hitherto been lawful is thereby made henceforth unlawful. . . . But what am I who thus address my lords? I am but dust, I am but a worm. . . .

Power was given to my lords over all men (*potestas super omnes homines*), that such as desire to live well might be helped and encouraged; that the way to heaven might be widened, and the earthly kingdom might be made subservient to the kingdom of heaven. . . . Harken not to me, but to Christ, who speaketh by the least of His servants, and yours: You were a notary, but I raised you to the post of captain of the guards; I preferred you to the dignity of Cæsar; I placed you on the imperial throne, and not only made you emperor but the father of emperors. I committed my priests to your hand (*sacerdotes meos tuæ manui commisi*). . . . I, indeed, who am subject to command (*Ego quidem jussioni subjectus*) have caused the said law to be transmitted into different parts of the world.

Ibid. *Gregorius Theodoro*, cap. ciii. epist. lxiv. col. 688.

21. My tongue cannot well express the many benefits which I have received of the Almighty, and of my most serene lord the emperor; and in what other manner can I acknowledge them but loving the very ground he treadeth? . . . It seemeth very unreasonable to me that the emperor should forbid his soldiers to serve Him of whom he hath received the power of ruling not only over the soldiers but also over the priests (*qui dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit*).

Ibid. lib. iii. indic. xii. *Gregorius Januario Episcopo Caralitano*, cap. xxvi. epist. xxvi. col. 704.

22. It hath come to me that some have been offended because I have prohibited presbyters from touching those on the forehead with chrism who were baptised. And I indeed did this according to the ancient usage of our Church; but if some are very discouraged respecting this thing, where bishops are absent, I concede that presbyters ought also to touch with chrism the foreheads of those they are baptising. [That is, confirm as well as baptise.]

Ibid. lib. iv. indic. xiii. *Gregorius Mauricio Augusto* (the Emperor) cap. lxxvi. epist. xxxii. col. 733, 734.

23. It is plain to all those who know the Gospel that by the Lord's Word the care of the whole Church was committed to the holy Apostle Peter, prince of all the apostles (*omnium apostolorum Petro principi apostolo*). For it is said to him, 'Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' (John xxi. 16.) It is said to him, 'Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.' (Luke xxii. 31, 32.) It is said to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' (Matt. xvi. 18, 19.)

24. The care of the whole Church and its chief government are committed to him (*Cura ei totius ecclesie, et principatus committitur*),

nevertheless, he is not called universal apostle; but John, that most holy man, my fellow-priest, attempts to be called universal bishop. I am compelled to exclaim and say O times, O customs! Behold, all things in the parts of Europe have been delivered to the right of barbarians. Cities are destroyed, camps overturned, provinces depopulated, the earth left without a worshipper; worshippers of idols rage and daily bear rule in the destruction of the faithful; but, nevertheless, priests, who ought to lie weeping on the pavement and in ashes, covet names of vanity for themselves, and glory in new and profane titles. Do I not in this thing, most pious lord, defend a proper cause? Do I not avenge a special injury? and not more for the sake of Almighty God than of the universal Church. Who is he who presumes to usurp a new name to himself contrary to the evangelical statutes; contrary to the decrees of the councils? . . . But let this name of blasphemy be far from the hearts of Christians, in which the honour of all priests is taken away, whilst by one it is madly arrogated to himself. Certainly, for the honour of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, the name was offered by the venerated Council of Chalcedon to the Roman pontifex; but no one of them ever assumed this term of singularity.

Ibid. *Gregorius Constantiæ Augustæ*, cap. lxxvii. epist. xxxiv. col. 737.

25. Nevertheless, it is very sad that the name is borne patiently, although despised of all, previously called brother, and my fellow-bishop he alone attempts to be called the bishop. But in this his pride, what else is it to be designated but the times of antichrist which are now at hand? Because he imitates him who, despising the equality of joy among legions of angels, attempting to break up to the top of singularity, saying, 'I shall exalt my throne above the stars of heaven, I will sit on the mountain of the covenant in the sides of the north, and I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the Most High.' (Isaiah xiv. 13, 14, Lat. Vul.) . . . Though Gregory is guilty of many great sins, for which he well deserves thus to be punished, Peter is himself guilty of no sins, nor ought he to suffer for mine. I therefore again and again beg, entreat, and conjure you, by the Almighty, not to forsake the virtuous steps of your ancestors, but, treading in them, to court and secure to yourself the protection and favour of that apostle, who is not to be robbed of the honour that is due to his merit, for the sins of one who hath no merit, and who so unworthily serves him.

Ibid. *Gregory Joanni Episcopo Constantinopolitano*, cap. lxxxii. epist. xxxviii. col. 744, 745.

26. As Paul, indeed, had heard that some said, 'I am of Paul,' and others, 'I am of Apollos,' and others, 'I am of Cephas,' and exclaimed with the strongest indignation, because he saw how by this separation of the body of Christ other heads were sought, 'Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptised in the name of Paul?' If, then, he would not suffer the members of the Lord's body to subject themselves to any other head than Christ, not even to an apostle, what wilt thou say to

Christ, the head of the universal Church, at the last judgment? Thou who hast sought by the title of universal bishop to subject all His members to thyself. . . . Peter, indeed, is the first member of the holy and universal Church. Paul, Andrew, John, what else but heads of particular peoples? Yet all of them are members of the Church under the One Head? And as I would bind all with a brief girdle of speech, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under grace, all these made the body of the Lord, were constituted among the members of the Church, and no one ever wished to call himself universal.

Ibid. *Gregorius Aniano Diacono Constantinopolitano*, cap. lxxxiii. col. 748.

27. It is very hard that, after we have parted with our silver, our gold, our slaves, and even our garments, for the public welfare, we should be obliged to part with our faith too; for to agree to that impious title (*scelesto vocabulo*) is parting with our faith.

Ibid. lib. vi. indic. xv. *Gregory Mauricio Augusto*, cap. cxciv. epist. xxx. col. 828.

28. I speak confidently, for whosoever calls himself universal priest (*universalem sacerdotem*), or desires to be so called, is in his loftiness the precursor of antichrist, because in his pride he sets himself before others.

Ibid. lib. xi. indic. vi. *Gregory Leontia Augustæ*, cap. xlv. epist. xlv. col. 1079, 1080.

29. What tongue can utter, what mind can conceive, the thanks we owe to God, who has placed you on the throne to ease us of the yoke with which we have been hitherto so cruelly galled? Let the angels give glory to God in heaven; let men return thanks to God upon earth; for the republic is relieved, and our sorrows are all banished. May the Almighty, who in his mercy hath made you emperors, make you likewise zealous defenders of the catholic faith! May he endow your minds with zeal and mercy: with zeal to punish what is committed against God, with mercy to bear and forgive what may be committed against yourselves! . . . May he grant to you, and to our most pious lord, a long reign, that the comforts and blessings we enjoy in it may be long! I should perhaps have entreated you to take under your particular protection the hitherto most grievously afflicted Church of the blessed Apostle Peter. But as I know you love God, I need not ask you to do what I am sure you are ready to do of your own accord. For the more you fear God the more you must love his apostle, to whom it was said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatever thou shalt bind upon earth shall also be bound in heaven; and whatever thou shalt loose upon earth shall also be loosed in heaven.' (Matt. xvi.) I do not, therefore, doubt but you take care to oblige and bind him to you, by whom you desire to be loosened from your sins. May he therefore be

the guardian of your empire, may he be your protector on earth, may he be your advocate in heaven, that, after a long course of years, you may enjoy, in the kingdom of heaven, the reward that is due to you there, for relieving your subjects from the burdens they groaned under, and rendering them happy upon earth.

Expositio in I. Regum, lib. i. tom. ii. col. 1181.

30. 'That he (the poor man) may sit with princes, and hold the throne of glory.' (1 Sam. ii. 8.) But who are designated princes in this place but the holy apostles? Of which princes it is doubtless said by God through the Psalmist, 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth, they shall remember thy name, O Lord.' (Ps. xlv. 16, 17, Lat. Vul.) What is that 'The poor man sits with princes' unless because the order of preachers, chosen out of the Gentiles, obtains in the Holy Church the height of apostolic authority? For he sits with princes: because he proclaims the doctrine of salvation from the throne of the heavenly mastership (*magisterii*). And he holds the throne of glory: because he scatters the odour of a good fame to those he excels in honour. Or, certainly, he holds the throne of glory, and sits with princes: because he beams both with the honour of sublimity and is resplendent with miracles. But he who is raised to so sublime an honour ought to use it after the manner here subjoined, 'For the poles of the earth are the Lord's, and upon them He hath set the world.' (1 Sam. ii. 8.) The poles of the earth are the ends of the earth. But by the names of poles he wishes that preachers themselves, chosen out of the Gentiles, should be designated.

Ibid. lib. iv. col. 1389.

31. 'Timothy, my helper, saluteth you, and Lucius, and Jason.' (Rom. xvi. 21.) For He called His disciples helpers (*adjutores*) because they were less in order (*quia ordine minores erant*).

55.

BEDE, PRESBYTER.

Flourished about A.D. 700.

Expositio in Matt. lib. ii. tom. v. col. 32.

1. 'These twelve Jesus sent forth.' (Matt. x. 5.) We ought not only to call these twelve apostles disciples but all who believe His teaching (*magisterio ejus*), out of whom He chose twelve, whom He named apostles, as Luke states. The Lord Jesus sent these twelve to preach, because by many signs they had been denoted beforehand to dispense Divine mysteries. These are the twelve sons of Jacob, these are the twelve fountains in Elim, these the twelve spies who were sent by Moses, these the twelve stones taken out of Jordan, these the twelve little lions under the throne of Solomon, and other similes beside these.

Ibid. lib. iii. col. 52.

2. 'And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' (Matt. xvi. 18.) It is said to him metaphorically, 'Upon this rock,' that is, the Saviour, whom thou hast confessed, the Church is built, who grants to every faithful confessor a participation of His name.

'And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' That is, the power and knowledge of discerning, by which thou oughtest to receive into the kingdom the worthy, and to exclude the unworthy.

'And whatever thou shalt bind, &c.' This power, without doubt, is given to all the apostles to whom, by Him, after the Resurrection, it is said generally, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost, &c.' This same office is committed also to bishops and presbyters, and to every church; although some of them, not rightly understanding their office, think that they can condemn the innocent and absolve the guilty, which they never can do: but making the attempt, they deprive themselves of the power conceded.

Ibid. lib. iv. col. 90.

3. 'Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) For He, God and man, was received into heaven and sits by His humanity, which He had taken from earth: He remains with His saints in divinity on earth, by which He equally fills earth and heaven.

Expositio in Lucam, lib. iii. tom. v. col. 328.

4. 'After these things the Lord appointed other seventy-two also.' (Luke x. 1.) There is no one who doubts that, as the twelve apostles exhibit and foreshadow the form of bishops, so also we know that these seventy-two showed the form of the presbyters, that is, the second order of priests. Nevertheless, in the primitive times of the Church, as the apostolical Scripture is witness, both were called presbyters, both were called bishops, the former title denoting ripeness of wisdom, the latter diligence in the pastoral care.

Expositio in Joannem, col. 519, 520.

5. 'For the Holy Spirit was not yet given: because that Jesus was not yet glorified.' (John vii. 39.) But after His Resurrection first, when He appeared to His disciples He said to them, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit.' Of this, therefore, He spoke when He said, 'The Holy Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.' 'And He breathed into their faces' (Gen. ii. 7, Lat. Vul.), by which breath He made the first man, whom He made erect from the clay, and to whom He gave life; by which breath He gave soul to His members. For, signifying that it was the same Spirit which He breathed into their faces, that they might rise from the clay, and renounce works of clay, then first after His Resurrection (which the evangelist calls glorification), the Lord gave the Holy Spirit to His disciples. . . . Therefore we also receive the Holy Spirit, if we love the Church, if we are joined together in charity, if we rejoice in the catholic name and faith,

Therefore, as much as anyone loves the Church of Christ so much has he of the Holy Spirit.

Ibid. col. 613.

6. 'As my Father hath sent me even so send I you.' (John xx. 21.) We know that the Son is equal to the Father; but here we recognise the words of the Mediator: for He shows that He was the Medium, saying, *He me, and I you.*

Ibid. col. 613.

7. 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.' (John xx. 22.) The charity of the Church, which by the Holy Ghost is poured into our hearts, remits the sins of its participators; but it holds the sins of those who are not participators of it.

Ibid. col. 622.

8. 'And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.' (Matt. vi. 12.) The Church does this by that blessed hope in this wretched life; of which Church Peter the Apostle, on account of the primacy of his apostleship (*propter apostolatus sui primatum*), in a general figure bore the representation. But when it was said to him, 'To thee I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: what thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall also be loosed in heaven,' he signified that the universal Church, which in this world is shaken by divers temptations as well as by rains and floods, does not fall, since it has been founded upon the Rock whence Peter took his name. For rock is not from Peter, but Peter from the rock (*a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra*); as Christ is not from Christian, but Christian from Christ. For the Lord said, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church,' because Peter had said, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God;' 'Upon this rock,' therefore, said He which is confessed, 'I will build my Church.' For the rock was Christ; upon which foundation, also, Peter himself was built. 'For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' (1 Cor. iii. 11.) The Church, therefore, which is founded on Christ, has received from Him the keys of the kingdom of heaven in Peter, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins. For that which by propriety is the Church in Christ, this by signification is Peter in the rock, by which signification the rock is understood to be Christ, Peter the Church.

Expositio in Acta Apost. col. 659.

9. 'Over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops.' (Acts xx. 28.) For he had said above that the presbyters of Ephesus were called to Miletus, whom he now named bishops, that is, super-inspectors (*super-inspectores*). For one city could not have many bishops, but he intimates that these presbyters, under the name of bishops, were indeed the same as priests. For the degrees are conjoined, and in many things are almost the same.

Expositio in I. Epist. Petri, col. 700.

10. 'A holy priesthood.' (1 Peter ii. 5.) By which he most plainly instructs us that we ourselves are a holy priesthood, built upon the foundation of Christ. Therefore he calls every church a holy priesthood, that which under the Law the house of Aaron had in office and in name. Because, doubtless, we are all members of the High-Priest, we are all sealed with the oil of gladness.

Expositio in Apocalypsin, col. 764, 766.

11. 'And hath made us a kingdom and priests unto God and His Father.' (Rev. i. 6.) Because He, the King of kings, and the Priest of heaven, by offering Himself for us, hath made us one with His body, no one of the saints who is spiritual is without the office of the priesthood: since he becomes a member of the eternal Priest.

12. 'The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches.' (Rev. i. 20.) That is, the rulers of the churches (*rectores ecclesiarum*).

'But they shall be saints (*sancti*) of God and Christ.' Another edition has 'priests of God and of Christ.' (Rev. xx. 6.) But it is not spoken only of bishops and presbyters, who are suitably called in the Church priests; but as we are all called Christians by reason of the mystical chrism so we are all priests, we are members of One Priest. Of whom the Apostle Peter said, 'A holy people, a royal priesthood.'

56.

AMALARIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF TREVES.

Flourished about A.D. 800.

De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, lib. ii. cap. 13. *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Patr.* tom. ix. pt. i. p. 337.

1. Presbyters are reckoned in the place of the sons of Aaron. It is written in the Book of Numbers, 'These are the names of the sons of Aarn, the priests that were anointed, and whose hands were filled by consecration to perform the functions of the priesthood.' (Num. iii. 3, Lat. Vul.) Our bishops hold this custom; they anoint the hands of the presbyters with oil. It is plain why they do this, to purify them to offer a sacrifice to God, and to perform other duties of their office. Both the grace of management and the charity of love are designated by the oil. These are over the Levites, as the Book of Numbers shows, 'And the prince of the princes, Eleazar, the son of Aaron, shall be over them that watch for the guard of the sanctuary.' (iii. 32.) And a little after, 'This is the service of the family of the Gershonites in the tabernacle of the covenant, and they shall be under the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest.' (iv. 28.) For when they are consecrated, they receive the imposition of hands. What that signifies, according to that which the Lord hath given to us, we have shown. In what order presbyters were in the time of the apostles, we may learn from the authority of holy fathers.

2. Ambrose says, in a tract upon Timothy, 'Some one will think he hath not the usage of the sacred Scriptures, that the blessed Paul left out presbyters, but this is not the case; for those things which he said respecting a bishop, in what went before, he also says concerning those who are now named presbyters, because in ancient times both were called presbyters;' and after a few words, 'But he will be better able to know this from those things which the apostle wrote to Titus, for he said, "that thou shouldest constitute presbyters in every city" (Tit. i. 5), and, describing what kind ought to be ordained, added, "For a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God" (vs. 7), when it was suitable that he should remind him of presbyters; but he evidently named the same person both presbyter and bishop.'

3. And Jerome, on the Epistle to Titus: 'Let us attend to the words of the speaker, "Thou shouldest constitute presbyters in every city, as I had appointed thee." What kind of presbyter must be ordained he shows in what follows, that is, "If any be blameless, the husband of one wife," &c. Afterwards he states, "For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God." Therefore, a presbyter is the same who is also a bishop.' And a little after, 'If any one thinks that there is no proof from Scripture, but that this is my opinion, that a presbyter and a bishop are the same, that the latter is a title of office, and the former a title of age, let him read again the words of the apostle to the Philippians, saying, "Paul and Timotheus, servants of Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." (i. 1.) Philippi is one city of Macedonia, and, certainly, in one city there cannot be many bishops such as are now so called. But because at that time they called the same persons bishops whom they called presbyters therefore the apostle speaks of bishops and presbyters indifferently. Should this still seem ambiguous to anyone unless verified by another testimony, in the Acts of the Apostles it is written that, "when the apostle had come to Miletus, he sent to Ephesus and called the presbyters of the Church," to whom afterwards, among other things, he said, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to feed the Church of the Lord (*Domini*), which he hath purchased with His own blood." (Acts xx. 17, 28.) And here observe you very attentively how, calling the presbyters of one city, Ephesus, he afterwards called the same persons bishops.' In his epistle to Evagrius: 'But Peter also, in his first epistle said, "The presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am also a fellow-presbyter, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, Rule the flock of Christ, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God." (1 Peter v. 1, 2.) In Greek it is more significantly called *ἐπισκοποῦντες*. Whence also the name of bishop is derived. Do the testimonies of such great men appear small to thee? Let the Gospel trumpet sound, the son of thunder, whom Jesus loved very much, who drank the streams of doctrine from the Saviour's breast: "The presbyter unto the elect lady and her children, whom I love in the truth." (2 John i.) Also, in another epistle, "The presbyter unto the well-beloved Gaius, whom I love in the truth." (3 John.)'

4. Let them not be considered unworthy to be colleagues because they were leaders, from which office of leading (*a ducatu*) the name priest took its rise, as Bede explains in his exposition on the temple of Solomon: 'For the term priest takes its Latin name from this because it is his duty to offer sacred leadership to inferiors.'

5. Of what kind their consecration was, Jerome, in his famous epistle to Evagrius, explains: 'For at Alexandria, also from Mark the Evangelist, to the Bishops Hereclas and Dionisius, the presbyters always called one elected from among themselves, and placed in a higher rank, bishop; just as an army may constitute its general, or deacons may elect one of themselves, whom they may know to be diligent, and call him archdeacon.'

6. The consecration of an archdeacon is well known to us. An archdeacon has the same consecration as other deacons, but by the election of his brethren he is placed first (*præponitur*.) Again, Jerome explains why one should be chosen, upon the Epistle to Titus: 'Before dissensions were introduced into religion by the instigation of the devil, and it was said among the peoples, "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas," churches were governed by a common council of presbyters; afterwards, when everyone thought that those whom he had baptised were his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed over the rest, and to whom all care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schisms might be plucked up.' Whence also Jerome, in his epistle to the memorable Evagrius: 'But that afterwards one was chosen to be over the rest was done to prevent schism, lest each one drawing the Church of Christ after him should break it up.'

7. Let us see why the name of presbyter passed over to that of bishop. Ambrose says, on the Epistle to Timothy, 'But what is the cause? It is not proper to pass it over in silence on account of the change of the names which there appears to be at present, and from what cause are they now distinct, neither can a bishop be called a presbyter nor can a presbyter ever claim to himself the name of bishop, never until he ceases to be a presbyter. Because in ancient times, when presbyters were devoted to piety, they were ordained in every place, receiving that name for the sake of honour; even as also among the Jews they were called presbyters who were over the people. But they were also called bishops (*vocabantur autem et*

Bingham, after giving the statement of Theodoret, says: 'The author under the name of St. Ambrose asserts the same thing, "That all bishops were called apostles at first," and, therefore, he says, that "St. Paul, to distinguish himself from such apostles, calls himself an apostle not of man, nor sent by man to preach, as those others were who were chosen and sent by the apostles to confirm the churches." Amalarius cites another passage out of the same author which speaks more fully to the purpose. "They," says he, "who are now called bishops were originally called apostles (*qui nunc episcopi nominantur, illi tunc apostoli dicebantur*); but, the holy apostles being dead, they who were ordained after them to govern the churches could

episcopi), from that work which they also seemed to perform; because they had been appointed to take care of all things which belonged to the service of piety, so that they had committed to them the management of all things. For they then were entrusted both with the entire management and authority of the ecclesiastical ministry, and all things were ruled according to their will. And the blessed apostles having departed, in subsequent times, they who were ordained after them to rule the churches could not compare with those chiefs (*illis primis*), nor had they the testimony of miracles equal to them, but seemed also to be inferior in many other things to them. They thought it to be a weighty affair to claim to themselves the name of the apostles, therefore they divided the names, and of them some left the name of the presbytership (*presbyterii*) to the presbyters. But others who were endued with the power of ordination were called bishops, so that they might most fully know that they were the rulers (*præpositos*) of the churches.'

8. Jerome explains, 'what more has a bishop than a presbyter,' saying in the epistle to Evagrius, often repeated, 'For what does a bishop do except in the case of ordination which a presbyter may not do?' And he explains by what appointment a bishop should be appointed, in his tract upon Titus, saying, 'Therefore, as presbyters know that it is by the custom of the Church that they are to be subject to him who is placed over them so let the bishops know that they are above presbyters rather by custom than by Divine appointment, and ought to rule the Church in common, following the example of Moses, who, when he alone had power to preside over the people Israel, chose seventy, with the assistance of whom he might judge the people.'

De Pontifice, cap. xiv. p. 337.

9. Aaron, in his anointing, prefigures the high-priest (bishop), of whom it is written in Leviticus, 'Moses sanctified the oil, pouring which on the head of Aaron, he anointed and consecrated him.' (viii. 12, 13.) And again, in the same book, 'The high-priest (*pontifex*), that is, the priest the greatest among his brethren (*sacerdos maximus inter fratres suos*), upon whose head the oil of unction hath been poured, and whose hands have been consecrated for the priesthood.' And a little after, 'Neither shall he go out of the holy places.' (xxi. 10, 12, Lat. Vul.) According to the authority of the fathers, that is to say, the Apostle Paul, Ambrose the archbishop, and Jerome the presbyter, the consecration for a bishop to sacrifice was made in the ordination of a presbyter.

De Varietate Sandaliorum, cap. xxv. p. 341.

10. The variety of sandals depicts the variety of ministers. The office of a bishop and priest (presbyter) is almost one; but because in

not arrive to the excellency of those first; nor had they the testimony of miracles, but were in many respects inferior to them; therefore they thought it not decent to assume to themselves the name of apostles, but, dividing the names, they left to presbyters the name of the presbytery, and they themselves were called bishops." —
Ant. bk. i. chap. ii. sect. i.

name and honour they are distinguished, they are also distinguished by the variety of sandals, to avoid mistake, which might arise on account of the similarity of office. The bishop has a tie on his sandals, which a presbyter hath not. It is the duty of a bishop to run hither and thither through the parish (*parochiam*), to rule the people; lest by chance the sandals fall from his feet, they are tied. From which it can be known how much it is necessary to make firm the steps of his mind who is conversant with the troubles of the people. The presbyter, who offers the sacrifice at home (*immolat hostias*), sits more securely.

57.

EUTICHIUS, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

Flourished about A.D. 900.

Origines Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ, pp. 29–33.

1. And from that time Hananias believed in Christ, whence Mark baptised him and constituted him patriarch of Alexandria, that is to say, he was constituted the first patriarch of Alexandria. Moreover, he appointed twelve presbyters with Hananias, who were to remain with the patriarch, so that, when the patriarchate was vacant, they might elect one of the twelve presbyters, upon whose head the other eleven might place their hands and bless him, and create him patriarch, and then choose some excellent man, and appoint him presbyter with themselves in the place of him who was made patriarch, that thus there might always be twelve. Nor did this custom respecting the presbyters, namely, that they should create their patriarchs from the twelve presbyters, cease at Alexandria until the times of Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria, who was of the number of the three hundred and eighteen (bishops of Nice).

2. But he forbade the presbyters to create the patriarch for the future, and decreed that, when the patriarch was dead, the bishops should meet together and ordain the patriarch. Moreover, he decreed that on a vacancy of the patriarchate, they should elect either from any country or from those twelve presbyters, or others, as circumstances might prescribe, some excellent man and create him patriarch. And thus that ancient custom, by which the patriarch used to be created by the presbyters, disappeared, and in its place succeeded the ordinance for the creation of the patriarch by the bishops. He besought of them not to call the Alexandrian patriarch pope, which signifies grandfather.

3. But from Hananias, whom Mark the Evangelist appointed patriarch, even to the times of Demetrius, patriarch (he was the eleventh Alexandrian patriarch), there was no bishop in the province of Egypt; nor did the patriarchs before him create bishops. But he, being made patriarch, appointed three bishops. And this Alexandrian patriarch was the first who made bishops. Demetrius being dead, Heraclas was elected the Alexandrian patriarch, who appointed twenty bishops.

PART II.

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS RESPECTING THE CHURCH AND THE
CLERICAL OFFICE, FROM TWENTY-FIVE AUTHO-
RITIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, INCLUD-
ING HER MARTYRS AND ALL HER LEADING
AUTHORS OF THE LATTER HALF OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

58.

TYNDALE, MARTYR.

1536.

The Obedience of a Christian Man, &c. set forth by William Tyndale.

October 2, 1528.

Of Order, vol. i. pp. 254-256, 258, 259.

1. Subdeacon, deacon, priest, bishop, cardinal, patriarch, and pope, be names of offices and service, or should be, and not sacraments. There is no promise coupled therewith. If they minister their offices truly, it is a sign that Christ's Spirit is in them; if not, that the devil is in them. Are these all sacraments, or which one of them? Or what thing in them is that holy sign or sacrament? The shaving, or the anointing? What also is the promise that is signified thereby? But what word printeth in them that character, that spiritual seal? O dreamers and natural beasts, without the seal of the Spirit of God, but sealed with the mark of the beast, and with cankered consciences!

2. There is a word called in Latin *sacerdos*, in Greek *hiereus*, in Hebrew *cohan*, that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest: as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. And in the English should it have had some other name than priest.

3. But antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever; and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priest on earth, to be a mean for us unto God. For Christ hath brought us all into the inner temple, within the veil or forehanging, and unto the mercy stool of God, and hath coupled us unto God; where we offer, every man for himself, the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh with prayer, fasting, and all manner of godly living.

4. Another word there is in Greek, called *presbyter*, in Latin *senior*, in English an *elder*, and is nothing but an officer to teach, and not to be a mediator between God and us. This needeth no anointing of man. . . .

5. Nevertheless, the truth is that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God's promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfil them, so is his prayer heard; and as good is the prayer of a cobbler as of a cardinal, and of a butcher as of a bishop; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth is as good as the blessing of our most holy father the pope.

6. And by blessing understand not the wagging of the pope's or

bishop's hand over thine head, but prayer: as when we say, 'God make thee a good man,' 'Christ put his Spirit in thee,' or 'Give thee grace and power to walk in the truth, and to follow His commandments,' &c.: as Rebecca's friends blessed her when she departed (Gen. xxiv. 60), and as Isaac blessed Jacob. (Gen. xxvii. 27, &c.; and xxviii. 1, &c.)

7. When Matthias was chosen by lot, it is not to be doubted but that the apostles, after their common manner, prayed for him that God would give him grace to minister his office truly, and put their hands on him, and exhorted him, and gave him charge to be diligent and faithful; and then was he as great as the best. And (Acts vi.) when the disciples that believed had chosen six deacons to minister to the widows, the apostles prayed and put their hands on them, and admitted them without more ado.

8. Their putting on of hands was not after the manner of the dumb blessing of our holy bishops, with two fingers, but they spake unto them, and told them their duty, and gave them a charge, and warned them to be faithful in the Lord's business: as we choose temporal officers, and read their duty to them, and they promise to be faithful ministers, and then are admitted. Neither is there any other manner or ceremony at all required in making of our spiritual officers than to choose an able person, and then to rehearse him his duty, and give him his charge, and so to put him in his room.

9. And as for that other solemn doubt, as they call it, whether Judas was a priest or no? I care not what he then was; but of this I am sure that he is now not only priest but also bishop, cardinal, and pope.

Marginal Notes on the first twenty-one chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xvi. 17, 18, vol. ii. p. 234.

10. *Peter* in the Greek signifieth a stone in English. This confession is the rock. Now is Simon Barjona, or Simon Jona's son, called Peter, because of his confession. Whosoever then of this wise confesseth Christ is called Peter. Now is this confession common to all that are true Christians. Then is every Christian man and woman Peter. Read Bede, Austin, and Hierome, of the manner of loosing and binding; and note how Hierome checketh the presumption of the Pharisees in his time, which yet had not so monstrous interpretations as our new gods have feigned. (29. 58.)

11. Read Erasmus' Annotations. It was not for nought that Christ bade 'beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.' Nothing is so sweet that they make not sour with their traditions. The evangelion, that joyful tidings, is now bitterer than the old law. Christ's burden is heavier than the yoke of Moses. Our condition and estate is ten times heavier than was ever the Jews', the Pharisees have so leavened Christ's sweet bread.

The Practice of Prelates, 1530, vol. ii. p. 286.

12. Moreover, with this term, 'Peter's seat,' they juggle apace (as with infinite other), saying, 'That Peter's seat is the chief seat;' but what Peter's seat is that they tell you not: for wist ye that ye should

soon perceive that they lie. Peter's seat is no stool or chair (for what hath the kingdom of Christ to do with such baggage?), but it is a spiritual thing. Christ saith in the Gospel, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat.' What was Moses' seat there, a chair, or the temple, or the churches, or synagogue of the land? Nay, verily, for Moses never came there. But Moses' seat was Moses' law and doctrine. Even so Peter's seat is Peter's doctrine, the Gospel of Christ which Peter taught. And the same doctrine is Peter's keys; so that Peter's seat, and Peter's keys, and Peter's doctrine, is all one thing. Now is Peter's doctrine Paul's doctrine, and the doctrine of all the twelve apostles indifferently; for they taught all one thing.

13. Wherefore it followeth that Peter's keys and Peter's seat be the keys and seat of Paul also, and of all the other twelve apostles, and are nothing save the Gospel of Christ. And thus, as Peter's doctrine is no better than Paul's, but one thing, even so Peter's seat is no greater, nor higher, nor holier, than the seat of the other twelve. Peter's seat now is Christ's seat, Christ's Gospel, on which all the apostles sat, and on which this day sit all they only that preach Christ truly.

14. Wherefore, as antichrist preacheth not Peter's doctrine (which is Christ's Gospel) so he sitteth not on Peter's seat, but on the seat of Satan, whose vicar he is, and on the seat of his own laws and ceremonies, and false doctrine, whereunto he compelleth all men with violence of sword.

An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue.

M. C. clxxiii. Whether the Church were before the Gospel, or the Gospel before the Church, vol. iii. pp. 24-26, 45.

15. Another doubt there is: whether the Church or congregation be before the Gospel, or the Gospel before the Church; which question is as hard to solve as whether the Father be elder than the Son, or the Son elder than His Father. For the whole Scripture and all believing hearts testify that we are begotten through the Word. Wherefore, if the Word beget the congregation, and he that begetteth is before him that is begotten, then is the Gospel before the Church. Paul also (Rom. x.) saith, 'How shall they call on Him whom they believe not; and how shall they believe without a preacher?' That is, Christ must first be preached ere men can believe in Him.

16. And then it followeth, that the word of the preacher must be before the faith of the believer. And therefore, inasmuch as the word is before the faith, and faith maketh the congregation, therefore is the Word or Gospel before the congregation. And again, as the air is dark of itself, and receiveth all her light of the sun, even so are all men's hearts of themselves dark with lies, and receive all their truth of God's Word, in that they consent thereto; and, moreover, as the dark air giveth the sun no light, but, contrariwise, the light of the sun in respect of the air is of itself and lighteneth the air, and purgeth it from darkness.

17. Even so, the lying heart of man can give the Word of God no truth; but, contrariwise, the truth of God's Word is of herself, and

lighteneth the hearts of the believers, and maketh them true, and cleanseth them from lies, as thou readest (John xv.), 'Ye be clean by reason of the Word.' Which is to be understood, in that the Word had purged their hearts from lies, from false opinions, and from thinking evil good, and therefore from consenting to sin; and (John xvii.), 'Sanctify them, O Father, through thy truth; and thy Word is truth.' And thus thou seest that God's truth dependeth not of man. It is not true because man so saith or admitteth it for true; but man is true because he believeth it, testifieth and giveth witness in his heart that it is true. And Christ also saith Himself (John v.), 'I receive no witness of man.' For if the multitude of man's witness might make aught true then were the doctrine of Mahomet truer than Christ's. . . .

18. And after the same manner, though our popish hypocrites succeed Christ and His Apostles, and have their Scripture, yet they be fallen from the faith and living of them, and are heretics, and had need of a John Baptist to convert them. And we depart from them unto the true Scripture, and unto the faith and living thereof, and rebuke them in like manner. And as they which depart from the faith of the true Church are heretics, even so they that depart from the Church of heretics and false feigned faith of hypocrites are the true Church; which thou shalt alway know by their faith, examined by the Scripture, and by their profession and consent to live according unto the laws of God.

59.

CRANMER AND OTHERS.

A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests. An Original. Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England. Records. Addenda, vol. ii. pp. cxxxv.-cxxxvii.

An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession. By the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval. Pp. 74-76.

1. As touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge:—

2. First, how that Christ and His Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament that, beside the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, which is called in Scripture *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword, there should be also continually, in the Church militant,

Nothing can be more contrary to the truth, as far as the Church of England is concerned, than the allegation which forms the ground of this objection, namely, that our Protestant fathers in the sixteenth century were either ignorant or unmindful of this doctrine, as the following documents will show: In 1536, Henry VIII., we have the following statement signed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, and some other of the reforming divines, in common with Stokesly, Tonstall, Sampson, and others, who

certain other ministers or officers, which should have spiritual power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God unto His people, and to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed Body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, to loose and absoil from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally, to feed Christ's people like good pastors and rectors, as the apostles call them, with their wholesome doctrine and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from sin and iniquity. . . .

4. *Item.* That this office, this ministration, this power, and authority, is no tyrannical power, having no certain laws or limits within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute power; but it is a moderate power, subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain limits and ends for the which the same was appointed by God's ordinance; which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute, unto the members of Christ's mystical body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christ's Gospel, and the graces conferred in His sacraments.

5. And therefore this said power and administration is called, in some places of Scripture, *donum et*

in many things adhered to the papal errors.

3. *'Christ and His apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament certain ministers or officers which should bear spiritual power, authority, and commission, under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God unto His people; to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them, and by the same to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghost; to consecrate the blessed Body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; to loose and absoil from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order, and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves. . . .*

gratia, a gift and a grace; in some places it is called *claves sive potestas clavium*, that is to say, the keys or the power of the keys, whereby is signified a certain limited office restrained unto the execution of a special function or ministration, according to the saying of St. Paul in his first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the fourth chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy, and also in the fourth chapter (7-16) of his Epistle to the Ephesians. . . . By which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. Paul accounted and numbered this said power and office of the pastors and doctors among the proper and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited power and office ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed. . . .

6. *Item.* That this office, this power, and authority, was committed and given by Christ and His apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto *priests* or *bishops*, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of their hands.

8. Secondly, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed unto their spiritual charge, that the sacrament of order may worthily be called a sacrament, because it is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and His apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other sacraments of the Church do, that is to say, of a spiritual and invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign.

9. The invisible gift or grace

7. 'This office, this power, and authority, was committed and given by Christ and His apostles unto certain persons only, that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of their hands. . . .

10. 'The invisible gift or grace

conferred in this sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority, before mentioned; the visible and outward sign is the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destituted of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the apostles that the same sacrament should be applied and ministered by the bishop from time to time unto such other persons as had the qualities which the apostles very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, and his Epistle unto Titus. And surely this is the whole virtue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this sacrament, as it is found in the New Testament. . .

11. The truth is that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferring of this sacrament but only of prayer, and the imposition of the bishop's hands.

Thomas (Lord) Cromwell.
 T. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Edward, Archbishop of York.
 John, Bishop of London.
 Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham.
 John, Bishop of Lincoln.
 John, Bishop of Bath.
 Thomas, Bishop of Ely.
 John, Bishop of Bangor.
 Nicholas, Bishop of Salisbury.
 Edward, Bishop of Hereford.
 Hugo, Bishop of Worcester.

conferred in this sacrament is nothing else but the power, office, and authority, before mentioned; the visible and outward sign is the prayer and *imposition of the bishop's hands* upon the person which receiveth the said gift of grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destituted of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the keys, *it was also ordained and commanded by the apostles that the same sacrament [of orders] should be applied and* MINISTERED BY THE BISHOP from time to time, and unto such other persons as had the qualities which the apostles very diligently describe, as it appeareth in the first Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, and his Epistle to Titus.'

John, Bishop of Rochester.
 Richard, Bishop of Chichester.
 Richard Wolman.
 John Bell.
 William Clyffe.
 Robert Aldridge.
 Geoffrey Downes.
 John Skip.
 Cuthbert Marshall.
 Marmaduke Waldeby.
 Robert Oking.
 Nicholas Heyth.
 Ralf Bradford.

Richard Smith.
 Simon Matthew.
 John Prynne.
 William Buchmastre.
 William Maye.
 Nicholas Wotton.
 Richard Cox.
 John Edmunds.

Thomas Robertson.
 Thomas Baret.
 John Nase.
 John Barber.

(Some other hands there are that cannot be read, professors of sacred theology, ecclesiastical and civil law.)

60.

LAMBERT.

1538.

The History of the Worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson, with his troubles, examinations, and answers, &c. before King Henry VIII., by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield.—The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, vol. v. pp. 182, 190, 191.

1. Article ix. Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the Church, . . . and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God? As touching priesthood in the primitive Church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the Church of God than bishops and deacons; that is to say, ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture, fully, apertly, Jerome, in his commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith that those whom we call priests were all one, and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. (29. 75-77.)

2. Neither were they instituted and chosen, as they be nowadays, with small regard by a bishop or his officer, only opposing them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only by the bishop but also with consent of the people, among whom they should have their living, as showeth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. (11. 34.) But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in, which, if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by His Apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down.

3. To conclude, I say, the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurors, otherwise called 'Exorcistæ,' and 'Acolitæ,' which we call 'Benet,' and 'Collet,' were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'

Lambert's Disputation before the King, pp. 230, 231, 233, 234, 236.

4. But the king, being hasty with anger and vehemency, said, 'Why

standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether thou dost say that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?' And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. 'I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.'

The King. 'Answer me, neither out of St. Augustine nor by the authority of any other, but tell me, plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no?' These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert. 'Then I deny it to be the body of Christ.'

The King. 'Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, "Hoc est corpus meum."'

5. Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, &c. . . .

6. At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king, minding to break up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: 'What sayest thou now,' said he, 'after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men, art not thou yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice.'

Lambert answered, 'I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty.' 'Then,' said the king, 'commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.'

Lambert. 'I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit into your clemency.' Then said the king, 'If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics.' And, by and by, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, 'Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him.' This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. . . .

7. Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning, unto the house of the Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where, as it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired him of forgiveness for that he had done. There, at the last, Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and, being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When, as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where as he should offer himself unto the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savour who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever, Amen.

8. As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted that of all other who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet not one so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a

small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, 'None but Christ, none but Christ!' and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there gave up his life.

61.

CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR.

1555.

XXI. The resolutions of several Bishops and Divines of some questions concerning the Sacraments, &c. A.D. 1540, part i. book iii. vol. ii. pp. lxxxviii. xcvi. xcvi. xcix. c.—Burnet.

Question 10.

Whether Bishops or Priests were first? and if the Priests were first then the Priest made the Bishop.

1. The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion. (*Cranmer.*)

The name of a bishop is not properly a name of order, but a name of office, signifying an overseer. (*Lee, Archbishop of York.*)

2. I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference between a bishop and a priest (29. 23, 24-30, 37, 75-78), especially touching the signification. (*Bonner, Bishop of London.*)

3. Incertus sum utri fuere priores, at si apostoli in prima professione ordinati erant, apparet episcopos fuisse priores, nempe apostolos, nam postea designavit Christus alios septuaginta duos. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut sacerdos episcopum consecret, si episcopus haberi non potest. (*Dr. Robertson.*)

4. Although by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) priests and bishops be one, and, therefore, the one not before the other, yet bishops, as they be now, were after priests, and, therefore, made of priests. (*Dr. Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely.*)

5. In the beginning of the Church, as well that word *episcopus* as *presbyter* was common, and attributed both to bishops and priests. (*Dr. Day.*)

6. They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old authors show by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently. (*Dr. Redmayn, the learned Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

7. Christ, our Chief Priest and Bishop, made His apostles priests and

bishops all at once, and they did likewise make others, some priests and some bishops; and that the priests in the primitive Church made bishops, I think no inconvenience (as Jerome saith) in an *Epist. ad Evagrium*. Even like as soldiers should choose one among themselves to be their captain so did priests choose one of themselves to be their bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c. (29. 26); and also for to avoid schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one head among them. (*Dr. Edgworth.*)

The apostles were made of Christ bishops and priests, both at the first; and after them, Septuaginta duo discipuli were made priests. (*Dr. Coren.*)

Agreement.

8. In the tenth, where it is asked whether bishops or priests were first. The Bishop of St. David, my Lord Elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redmayn say that 'at the beginning they were all one.' The Bishops of York, London, Rochester, Carlisle, Drs. Day, Tresham, Symmons, Oglethorp be in other contrary opinions. The Bishop of York and Doctor Tresham think 'that the apostles first were priests, and after were made bishops, when the overseeing of other priests was committed to them.' My Lords of Durham, London, Carlisle, Rochester, Drs. Symmons and Crayford think 'that the apostles first were bishops, and they after made other bishops and priests.' Drs. Coren and Oglethorp say 'that the apostles were made bishops, and the seventy-two were after made priests.' Dr. Day thinks 'that bishops, as they be nowadays called, were before priests.' My Lord of London, Drs. Edgworth and Robertson think 'it no inconvenience if a priest made a bishop in that time.'

[The agreement at the end of these questions is in Cranmer's hand. It will be observed that he has not included his own opinion.]

Question 11.

Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest?

9. A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election; for as we read that bishops have done it so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it, and the people, before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests. (*Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

Agreement.

10. In the eleventh: To the former part of the question, the Bishop of St. David's doth answer 'that bishops have no authority to make priests, without they be authorised of the Christian prince.' The others, all of them, do say 'that they be authorised of God.' Yet some of

them, as the Bishop of Rochester, Drs. Curren, Leighton, Robertson, add 'that they cannot use this authority without their Christian prince doth permit them.' To the second part, the answer of the Bishop of St. David's is 'that laymen have other whiles made priests.' So doth Drs. Edgworth and Redmayn say 'that Moses, by a privilege given to him of God, made Aaron, his brother, priest.' Drs. Tresham, Crayford, and Cox say 'that laymen may make priests in time of necessity.' The Bishops of York, Durham, Rochester, Carlisle, Elect of Westminster, Drs. Curren, Leighton, Symmons seem to deny this thing, for they say 'they find not, nor read not, any such example.'

Question 12.

Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

11. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient. (*Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

12. Upon this text of Paul to Timothy, *Noli negligere gratiam quæ in te est, quæ data est tibi per prophetiam cum impositione manuum presbyterii* (Neglect not the grace which is within thee, which was given thee by prophecy with the imposition of the hands of the presbytership —1 Tim. iv. 14), St. Anselm saith this grace 'to be the gift of the bishop's office, to the which God of His mere goodness hath called and preferred him. The prophecy (he saith) was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The imposition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that office.'

Agreement.

13. In the twelfth question, the Bishop of St. David's saith 'that only the appointing,' Dr. Cox, 'that only appointing, *cum manuum impositione*, is sufficient without consecration.' The Bishops of York, London, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Day, Curren, Leighton, Tresham, Edgworth, Oglethorp say 'that consecration is requisite.' Dr. Redmayn saith 'that consecration hath been received from the apostles' time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer grace.' My Lord of Rochester, Drs. Day and Symmons say 'that priesthood is given *per manuum impositionem*, and that by Scripture; and that consecration hath of long time been received in the Church.'

62.

RIDLEY, BISHOP AND MARTYR.

1555.

Certain godly, learned, and comfortable conferences between Nicholas Ridley, some time Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, some time Bishop of Worcester, during the time of their imprisonment, pp. 122, 123.

1. The Holy Catholic or universal Church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth, this Church I believe, according to the Creed; this Church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. 'And as many as walk according to this rule,' I say with St. Paul, 'peace be upon them, and upon Israel, which pertaineth unto God.'

2. The guide of this Church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these—the sincere preaching of God's Word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline according to the Word of God. And that Church or congregation which is garnished with these marks is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this Church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation, and, I suppose, the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this Church only.

3. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostom, 'there were many ways to know the Church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering of the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the churches, it is only known by the Scriptures which is the true Church. They have all things in outward show which the true Church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours,' &c. And in the end concludeth, 'Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church.' (34. 22.)

A letter which he wrote as his last farewell to all his true and faithful friends in God, a little before he suffered; with a sharp admonition, by the way, to the papists, the enemies of the truth, pp. 409, 413-415.

4. Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of antichrist, thou bloody wolf; why slayest thou down and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor simple sheep, which will not hear thy voice because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor Christ His voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of His saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make—that thy deaf

and dumb god (I say) will not indeed nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the High and Almighty God. But be thou assured that the Living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth now on the right hand of His Father in glory—He seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to His dear members, and He will not forget His holy ones, and His hands shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets!

5. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary, the Bishop of Rome. And lest, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak it in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail: therefore, that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that 'I speak the words of truth and of sobriety' (as St. Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all that, as concerning the Bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.

6. For I assure your lordships (the Living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's Gospel truly; which therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles, and also that Church and congregation of Christians, an apostolic Church, yea, and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred of years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of years, I will not be too bold; but thus I say, so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that Gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered everything by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God (8. 6), so long (I say) that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather, Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof apostolicus, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

7. But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning; and hath preached another Gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the Church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules, than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas!) of too too long a time—since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed in truth, it ought, of duty and of right, to have the names changed, both of the see and of the siter therein.

8. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the

place or person thereof that see and bishop thereof were called apostolic, but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men.

9. And therefore as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and *consanguinity of doctrine* (8. 8) with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic, so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and His apostles, that see and the bishop thereof at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian. The see is the seat of satan; and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed.

63.

LATIMER, BISHOP AND MARTYR.

1555.

The last appearance and examination of Master Latimer before the Commissioners, Oct. 1, 1555, vol. ii. p. 290.

1. *Latimer.*—Your lordship often doth repeat the Catholic Church, as though I should deny the same. No, my lord, I confess there is a Catholic Church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the Church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and Catholic Church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish Church, and another thing to say Catholic Church.

An answer to a letter from Dr. Sherwood, p. 313.

2. But you know full well what Luther holds respecting the Church: and I will not trouble myself to write down what Lyra, in accordance with many others, holds on the sixteenth of Matthew, where that Father remarks that 'the Church consists not of men by virtue of ecclesiastical or secular power and dignity, for many princes and supreme pontiffs and others of inferior dignity, saith he, have been found to apostatise from the faith; wherefore, he saith, the Church consists of those persons in whom abideth the true knowledge and confession of faith and verity.'

3. Hereunto Chrysostom (34. 22) and Jerome (29. 55) also agree; for they speak to this effect. I know not whether their language is approved by you, since you are manifestly of those who are more ready to uphold the primacy of Peter, even when there is no occasion, than to re-echo the blessed confession of Peter by kindred fruits of holiness.

64.

JOHN BRADFORD, MARTYR.

1555.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Bradford, vol. i. pp. 505, 506.

1. 'Well, go to,' said I, 'what then?'

'It hath also,' quoth he, 'succession of bishops.'

And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

'You say as you would have it,' quoth I, 'for if this point fail you, all the Church you go about to set forth will fall down. You shall not find it in all the Scripture, this your essential point of succession of bishops,' quoth I. 'In Christ's Church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us as it went in the old Church afore Christ's coming so it will be in the new Church sithen Christ's coming; that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bare rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be, sithen Christ's coming, false teachers, even of such as be bishops, and bear rule amongst the people.'

'You always go out of the matter,' quoth he; 'but I will prove,' saith he, 'the succession of bishops.'

'Do so,' quoth I.

'Tell me,' quoth he, 'were not the apostles bishops?'

'No,' quoth I, 'except you will make a new definition of bishops; that is, give him no certain place.'

'Indeed,' saith he, 'the apostles' office was more than bishops', for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in His Church, as Paul saith, "He hath given pastors, prophets:" so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures, the succession of bishops to be an essential point.'

2. To this I answered that 'the ministry of God's Word and ministers is an essential point; but to translate this to bishops and their succession,' quoth I, 'is a plain subtlety; and therefore,' quoth I, 'that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me whether the Scripture know any difference between bishops and ministers, which you call priests.'

'No,' saith he.

'Well then, go on forwards,' quoth I, 'and let us see what you shall get now by the succession of bishops, that is, of ministers; which cannot be understood of such bishops, as minister not, but lord it.'

The talk of Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, with Master Bradford, vol. i. pp. 528, 529.

3. 'Well,' quoth my lord of York, 'Master Bradford, we leese our labour: for you seek to put away all things that be told to your good; your church no man can know.'

'Yes, that you may well,' quoth I.

'I pray you, whereby?' said he.

'Forsooth, Chrysostom showeth it only by the Scriptures (34. 22, 23); and thus speaketh he very oftentimes together, as you well know,' quoth I.

'Indeed,' quoth he, 'that is, of Chrysostom *in opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of: the thing whereby the Church may be known best is succession of bishops.'

4. 'No, my lord,' quoth I, 'Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew that "the Church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power, but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity." And in Hilarius' time, you know, he writeth to Auxentius that the Church "was hidden rather in caves and holes" than "did glister and shine in thrones of pre-eminence."' (19. 4.)

Letter to Lady Vane, vol. ii. p. 143.

5. But be it so, that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? 'He hath left,' say the papists, 'to his successors the self-same right which he received.' O Lord God! then must his successor be a satan; for he received that title of Christ Himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession, mentioned in the Scriptures.

65.

JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP AND MARTYR.

1555.

A Declaration of Christ and His office, ch. xi. vol. i. pp. 81, 82, 84-86.

1. This commonwealth of the true Church is known by these two marks: the pure preaching of the Gospel, and the right use of the sacraments. Thus proveth Paul (Eph. ii.) that the Church is bound unto the Word of God, 'You are builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' Likewise (Isaiah lix.), 'My Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart from thy mouth, nor from the mouth of thy seed forever.' Of the right use of sacraments it is taught, 1 Cor. xi.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; Matt. xxviii.

2. Such as teacheth people to know the Church by these signs, namely, the traditions of men, and the succession of bishops, teach wrong. Those two false opinions hath given unto the succession of bishops power to interpret the Scripture, and power to make such laws in the Church as it pleaseth them. There is no man hath power to interpret the Scripture. God, for the preservation of His Church, doth give unto certain persons the gift and knowledge to open the Scripture; but that gift is no power bound to any order, succession of bishops, or title of dignity. The princes of the earth doth give always such

power of civil justice by succession; as one is chief-justice for the time of his office, to do everything appertaining to the same, so hath always his successor the like.

3. Remember, Christian reader, that the gift of interpretation of the Scripture is the light of the Holy Ghost given unto the humble and penitent person that seeketh it only to honour God; and not unto those persons that acclaim it by title or place, because he is a bishop, or followed by succession Peter or Paul. Examine their laws by the Scripture, and then shalt thou perceive they be the enemies of Christ's Church, and the very church of Korah.

4. Remember, therefore, to examine all kind of doctrine by the Word of God; for such as preach it aright hath their infirmities and ignorances. They may depart from the truth, or else build some superstition and false doctrine upon the Gospel of Christ. Superstition is to be avoided, false doctrine to be abhorred, whosoever be the author thereof, prince, magistrate, or bishop: as the apostles made answer (Acts v.), 'We must rather obey God than men.'

5. And consider whether these injuries, blasphemies, trouble, unquietness, and destruction of God's people by the law of the bishops be to be permitted, though they cry till they be hoarse again, The Holy Church! The Holy Church!

Answer to the Bishop of Winchester's Book, vol. i. p. 138.

6. God hath bound His Church, and all men that be of the Church, to be obedient unto the Word of God. It is bound unto no title or name of men, nor to any ordinary succession of bishops or priests: longer than they teach the doctrine contained in the Scripture, no man should give hearing unto them, but follow the rule of Paul, 'He that teacheth any other gospel than Christ's, it must be accursed.'

*A Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith, ch. xx.
vol. ii. p. 90.*

7. As concerning the ministers of the Church, I believe that the Church is bound to no sort of people, or any ordinary succession of bishops, cardinals, or such like, but unto the only Word of God; and none of them should be believed but when they speak the Word of God. Although there be diversity of gifts and knowledge among men, some know more, and some know less: and if he that knoweth least, teach Christ after the Holy Scriptures, he is to be accepted; and he that knoweth most, and teacheth Christ contrary, or any other ways than the Holy Scriptures teach, is to be refused.

8. I am sorry, therefore, with all my heart, to see the Church of Christ degenerated into a civil policy; for even as the kings of the world naturally by descent from their parents must follow in civil regiment, rule, and law, as by right they ought, even so must such as succeed in the place of bishops and priests that die possess all gift and learning of the Holy Ghost, to rule the Church of Christ, as his godly predecessor had; so that the Hol. Ghost must be captive and bond-

man to bishops' sees and palaces. And because the Holy Ghost was in St. Peter at Rome, and in many other godly men that have occupied bishoprics and dioceses, therefore the same gifts, they say, must needs follow in their successors, although, indeed, they be no more like of zeal nor diligence than Peter and Judas, Balaam and Jeremy, Annas and Caiaphas to John and James.

66.

JOHN PHILPOT, PRESBYTER, ARCHDEACON, MARTYR.

1555.

The Process and History of Master John Philpot, examined, condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Gospel's cause against the antichristian see of Rome. Thirteenth examination.—
Pp. 138, 139.

1. *York (Archbishop of).*—‘ St. Augustine proveth the Catholic Church principally by succession of bishops (33. 10–12, 24–26), and therefore you understand not St. Augustine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote? Can you tell? What country were they of?’

Philpot.—‘ They were a certain sect of men, affirming, among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacraments depended upon the worthiness of the minister; so that, if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not.’

Chichester (Bishop of).—‘ That was their error, and they had none other but that.’ And he read another authority of St. Augustine, out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was.

Philpot.—‘ I challenge St. Augustine to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another.’

Chichester.—‘ If you will not have the Church to be certain, I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?’

2. *Philpot.*—‘ I do not deny the Church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place longer than it abideth in the Word; and for all controversies the Word ought to be judge.’

Chichester.—‘ But what if I take it one way and you another; how then?’

Philpot.—‘ St. Augustine showeth a remedy for that, and willeth “ that one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more.”’

York.—‘ How answer you to this argument? “ Rome hath known succession of bishops; which your Church hath not, ergo, that is the Catholic Church, and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your Church.”’

3. *Philpot.*—‘ I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the Church by: for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as well as

at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withal as St. Augustine doth (33. 26, 29, 34, 36, 37, 41, 47, 48, 68), I will grant it to be a good proof for the Catholic Church: but a local succession is nothing available.'

York.—'You will have no Church then, I see well.'

Philpot.—'Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the Catholic Church, as I am bound by my creed: but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true.'

Chichester.—'Why, are there two catholic churches then?'

4. *Philpot.*—'No, I know there is but one Catholic Church; but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of His Church, which be not so indeed, as it is written, "There be they that call themselves apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan and liars." And now it is with us, as it was with two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her child, and afterwards went about to challenge the true mother's child.'

67.

SANDYS, ARCHBISHOP.

A Sermon preached in York, at the celebration of the day of the Queen's entrance into her Reign, p. 67.

1. Another ground whereupon they build their persuasion is the 'authority of the Church,' and of the pope, which cannot err. There is a Church of God and a synagogue of Satan. The Church of God is builded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets. The true Church hath her marks whereby she is known; the Gospel truly preached, the sacraments sincerely ministered, discipline duly executed. The popish church hath neither the true foundation nor yet the right marks of the Church of God: her foundation is man: her marks are blasphemy, idolatry, superstition. Christ is 'the head of His body, the Church.' This Head cannot err: the head of the church antichristian is the pope, that man of sin, a liar, yea, a very father of lies.

A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, at what time a Main Treason was discovered, p. 411.

2. For there can be no sacrifice without a priest, as there can be no priest where there is no sacrifice. In the Scriptures I find a threefold priesthood allowed of God: a Levitical priesthood, such as that of Aaron and his sons; a royal priesthood, figured in Melchizedek, and verified in Christ; a spiritual priesthood, belonging generally to all Christians. . . . The third priesthood is that which is common to all Christians: for 'He hath made us kings and priests unto God His Father.' Where the popish priesthood taketh footing, in what ground the foundation thereof is laid, I cannot find in the Scriptures. Antichrist is the author of that priesthood; to him they sacrifice, him they serve.

68.

BECON, PRESBYTER, CHAPLAIN TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

David's Harp, vol. i. p. 294.

1. For without the Church of Christ there is no health nor salvation, but altogether death and damnation. But I would have men wise in knowing this Church of Christ, lest they err and maintain an whore instead of a spouse, an unchaste harlot for a true wife, a filthy strumpet for a faithful yoke-fellow, a disobedient synagogue for a Christian congregation. We have in times past taken the Bishop of Rome and his painted carnal idols, I would have said his sainted cardinals, patriarchs, legates, archbishops, bishops, priests, monks, friars, canons, heremites, anachorites, and other of the spirituality, as they call them, only to be the Church; and have thought that by no means we might depart from them and their doctrine, except we would be damned, in whatsoever case they stood, were they on God's side or contrary, taught they according to God's Word or otherwise.

The sixth part of the Catechism. Of the Offices of all degrees. The Minister of God's Word. Vol. ii. p. 319.

2. *Father.*—What difference is there between a bishop and a spiritual minister? *Son.*—None at all; their office is one, their authority and power is one. And therefore St. Paul calleth the spiritual ministers sometime bishops, sometime elders, sometime pastors, sometime teachers, &c. *Father.*—What is 'bishop' in English? *Son.*—An overseer or superintendent, as St. Paul said to the elders or bishops of Ephesus: 'Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, overseers or superintendents, to rule, or feed the congregation of God, which He hath purchased with His blood.'

Certain Articles of the Christian Religion, &c. preface, vol. iii. p. 401.

3. In fine, as God in these our days doth build His Church in many godly princes, in many virtuous rulers, in many holy and reverend bishops, ministers, deacons, &c., in many learned and eloquent writers and preachers, whom the enemies of God call Lutherians, Zuinglians, Oecolampadians, Calvinists, heretics, schismatics, teachers of new learning, troublers of our mother Holy Church, confounders of all good order, despisers of all laudable customs, &c., so likewise the devil at this present ceaseth not to build his chapel in the papists, in the anabaptists, in the Arians, &c. and in such other most horrible monsters of wickedness, so that this common proverb is found true in every age: 'Wheresoever God buildeth His Church, there the devil also buildeth his chapel.' . . .

4. What shall I here recite, how great and how wide a chapel, how ample and how large a synagogue, the devil hath built him in the satanical sect of the pernicious papists, which are so much the more pestiferous to the true Church of Christ because that they, being inwardly grievous and ravening wolves, clothe themselves outwardly with sheep's apparel, that is to say, use all one sacrament with the faithful and true

Christians, are called by one name, profess one Bible, confess one faith, look for one heavenly inheritance, &c. ?

5. When, notwithstanding, no sect that ever Satan brought into the world is more injurious to the Blood of Christ, more despiteful to God's Word, more cruel to the saints of the Lord, more hurtful to the true religion of Christ, than the sect of the papists is. But of this wolvis and damnable sect, and of such-like, Christ, the Wisdom of the Father, hath tofore warned us, saying, 'Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits.'

69.

PILKINGTON, BISHOP.

The Burning of St. Paul's Church : A Confutation of an Addition, &c.

I.—Committing the rule, &c. pp. 493, 494.

1. Yet remains one doubt unanswered in these few words when he says that 'the government of the Church was committed to bishops,' as though they had received a larger and higher commission from God of doctrine and discipline than other lower priests or ministers have, and thereby might challenge a greater prerogative. But this is to be understood that the privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers are rather granted by man for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths than commanded by God in His word. Ministers have better knowledge and utterance some than other, but their ministry is of equal dignity.

2. God's commission and commandment is like and indifferent to all, priest, bishop, archbishop, prelate, by what name soever he be called, 'Go and teach baptising in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;' and again, 'Whose sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, it is loosed in heaven, &c.' Likewise the Lord's Supper, by whomsoever, being lawfully called, it be ministered, it is of like strength, power, and holiness. St. Paul calls the elders of Ephesus together, and says, 'The Holy Ghost made them bishops to rule the Church of God;' he writes also to the bishops of Philippos, meaning the ministers, for neither Ephesus nor Philippos were so great towns, but one little bishopric is a greater compass of ground; then they needed not many bishops.

3. Therefore this diversity of absolving sins, invented by idle brains, that a simple priest may absolve some small ones, other greater belong to the bishop; the archbishop claims another higher sort; the rest and foulest sort pertain to popes and cardinals, as the fathers and maintainers of them; these, I say, are so foolish and childish to believe that I think it is not needful to speak of them; they are not grounded on God's Word, and therefore must needs be untrue, and not to be credited, because our faith hangs only on the Holy Scripture. Greedy covetousness to enrich themselves has invented these, as also the rest of their superstition, which they term religion.

4. St. Jerome, in his commentary on the first chapter *ad Tit.*, says

that 'a bishop and a priest is all one' (29. 75, 77), and in his epistle *ad Evagrium*, he says that 'the bishop, wheresoever he be, he is of the same power and priesthood.' Rome makes him not better, nor England makes him worse. (29. 28.)

XI.—*In Christ's Church has ever been a succession of Bishops, &c.*
pp. 597-600, 603-605.

5. A succession of bishops or ministers, we grant, has been in the world, rather than in any one see or country since Christ; which succession we say we have and follow better than they, but not after such sort as he says and means. God is never without His Church in the world, although some countries fall; and His Church never wants His ministers and true teachers, at the least privily, although in some ages it has them more plenteously than in other some, and sometimes the outward face of the Church wants not his errors and blots. But where he says there have been bishops in every see since the apostles' time, it must needs be false; for here with us unto the time of King Lucius, almost two hundred years after Christ, there were no bishops in this realm at all, but flamines, as Fabian and Polychronicon say, and heathen priests; and sundry times since divers sees in this realm many years together had no bishops at all when the unchristened Saxons were here; and divers bishoprics here are not half so old as the apostles' time. Yet in all these ages were some that both knew, taught privately, and followed the truth, though they were not horned and mitred bishops, nor oiled and sworn shavelings to the pope.

6. Such popish bishops I am sure no man is able to prove to have been in every see of this realm continually, since the apostles' time, nor elsewhere: when he has proved it, I will say as he does. Does the see make the bishop and his doctrine good or bad? Does the place make him good or bad? If his saying be true, that they have such a succession, the man must needs be good because he is bishop of such a place or such (for he means to have a continual succession of good bishops everywhere without interruption); but whether they succeed in agreement of one true doctrine, as they do of one see or place, he cares not. If succeeding in place be sufficient to prove them good bishops then the Jews and Turks have their good bishops and religion still at Jerusalem, Constantinople, and elsewhere; for there they dwell where the apostles did, and have their synagogues, Levites, priests, and bishops, after their sort.

7. We do esteem and reverence the continual succession of good bishops in any place if they can be found; if they cannot, we run not from God, but rather stick fast to His Word. . . . Succession of good bishops is a great blessing of God; but because God and His truth hangs not on man nor place, we rather hang on the undeceivable truth of God's Word in all doubts than on any bishops, place, or man; for 'all men are liars,' and may be deceived; only God and His Word is true, and neither deceives nor is deceived.

8. As Christ our Lord, therefore, proved the Jews to be of the devil, because they filled his desires, and, therefore, not the children of

Abraham, so it is easy to see whose children these be when they follow the pope and not the apostles. Succession in doctrine makes them the sons of the prophets and apostles, and not sitting in the same seat, nor being bishop of the same place. [Here follows a black catalogue of filthy and abominable popes, whose deeds of darkness and abominations are given from Latin records, and Bishop Pilkington thus concludes:]

9. This is the goodly succession, that he would have us to follow, of doctrine in Romish popes, written by Platina, and such like, no Protestants; these be the successors and fathers, whom he would have us to be like unto. God defend all good folk from all such doings, sayings, believing, living, loving, or following. Except God dwell and be tied in chairs, seats, and places, He cannot dwell in such wicked men as these popes be. God 'dwells not in houses made with man's hands,' nor in the mighty prelates of the world; but He dwells in the pure minds and consciences of His elect people, of what estate or degree soever they be. Compare the doings, preachings, and troublesome life of Peter the Apostle, from time to time, with the wicked blasphemies of these Romish prelates, and with their lordly idleness; and mark in what thing he is like to them, or they to him.

10. They are no more like than an apple and oyster; then cannot he be their predecessor, nor they his successors. If they claim to be Judas' successors, I will not stick with them.

11. What does Tertullian make for his purpose? 'If he walk not in his father's steps,' said he, 'he is a bastard.' Content: who be the fathers? Surely the apostles, for in his time the pope had no such authority, nor there were any such horned cattle of the pope's made bishops. Prove then that the pope walks in the apostles' steps, and we will reverence him. Surely he is like no apostle, except Judas; and these popish prelates, so as the father is, such is the son. Judas sold and betrayed his master for thirty pieces of silver; and our papists sell their purgatory for thirty groats, the price of trental; or else, for their pleasure, I will grant them something. The pope may be like Peter in such a case as Christ our Lord said to him, 'Go after me, Satan, for thou understandest not the things of God.' Peter was ambitious, and therefore our Lord called him devil, and bade him go back: so the pope, desiring to be above all, follows the devil, his father, and therefore we may justly say to them with Christ, 'Come after me, thou devil.'

70.

BALE, BISHOP.

The Image of both Churches, pp. 325, 326.

1. Still reigneth the antichrists with their hypocrisy and false doctrine, the pope here in Europe, and other not all unlike to him in Asia and Africa. But for that Europe is only known unto us, of that will we only define. In naming the pope, we mean not his person, but the proud degree or abomination of the papacy. The great antichrist of

Europe is the king of faces, the prince of hypocrisy, the man of sin, the father of errors, and the master of lies, the Romish pope.

2. He is the head of the said pale horse, whose body are his patriarchs, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, fat prebends, doctors, priests, abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, nuns, pardoners, and proctors, with all the sects and shorn swarm of perdition, and with all those that consent with them in the Romish faith, obeying their wicked laws, decrees, bulls, privileges, decretals, rules, traditions, titles, pomps, decrees, blessings, counsels, and constitutions, contrary to God's truth. The wickedness of these hath so darkened the blind world that scarce was left one sparkle of the verity of the true Christian faith. Nowhere can men dwell to greater loss of their souls' health than under their abominations.

71.

CALFHILL, PRESBYTER, BISHOP ELECT OF WORCESTER.

An Answer to the Treatise of the Cross, wherein ye shall see by the plain and undoubted Word of God: the vanities of men disproved, by the true and godly Fathers of the Church, the dreams and dotages of other controlled, and by lawful counsels conspiracies overthrown, p. 230.

1. And whosoever will be successors unto the apostles must use this ministry, this trade of doctrine, which, if they continue in being lawfully called thereunto by God, and have gifts competent to approve their calling unto the world, they need not care for the sign of the cross to be imprinted in them, the virtue whereof never departeth from them. Certain it is that neither Scripture nor any learned Father commendeth any blessing but of prayer to us. And how your wisdom doth esteem the wagging of a bishop's fingers, I greatly force not. I looked rather that ye should have commended the oil for anointing, which the greasy merchants will have in every mess.

2. For the *character indelebilis*, 'the mark unremovable,' is thereby given. Yet there is a way to have it out well enough; to rub them well-favourably with salt and ashes; or, if that will not serve, with a little soap.

72.

NOWELL, PRESBYTER, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

A Catechism, or first instruction and learning of Christian Religion, 1570. 'It was offered unto them (bishops) being assembled in convocation, and by them allowed, and by the whole clergy of the lower convocation house subscribed unto, as is to be seen in the copy remaining with me. Alexander Nowell.'—*Memoir*, p. 6.

Catechism, pp. 174, 175, 218.

1. *Master*.—Then, that this whole matter of the Church may be

made plainer, so describe and paint me out that same visible Church, with her marks and signs, that it may be discerned from any other fellowship of men.

Scholar.—I will assay to do it as well as I can. The visible Church is nothing else but a certain multitude of men, which, in what place soever they be, do profess the doctrine of Christ, pure and sincere, even the same which the evangelists and apostles have, in the everlasting monuments of Holy Scriptures, faithfully disclosed to memory, and which do truly call upon God the Father in the name of Christ, and, moreover, do use His mysteries, commonly called sacraments, with the same pureness and simplicity (as touching their substance) which the apostles of Christ used, and have put in writing.

Master.—Thou sayest, then, that the marks of the visible Church are the sincere preaching of the Gospel, that is to say, of the benefits of Christ, invocation and administration of the sacraments.

Scholar.—These are, indeed, the chief and the necessary marks of the visible Church, such as without which it cannot be indeed, nor rightly be, called the Church of Christ. But yet also in the same Church, if it be well ordered, there shall be seen to be observed a certain order and manner of governance, and such a form of ecclesiastical discipline that it shall not be free for any that abideth in that flock publicly to speak or do anything wickedly, &c. But this discipline since long time past by little and little decaying, as the manners of men be corrupt and out of right course, specially of the rich and men of power, which will needs have impunity and most free liberty to sin and do wickedly, this grave manner of looking to them and of chastisement can hardly be maintained in churches.

2. But in whatsoever assembly the Word of God, the calling upon Him, and His sacraments, are purely and sincerely retained, it is no doubt that there is also the Church of Christ.

Master.—What remedy is, then, to be found and used for this mischief?

Scholar.—In churches well ordered and well mannered, there was, as I said before, ordained and kept a certain form and order of governance.

3. There were chosen elders, that is, ecclesiastical magistrates, to hold and keep the discipline of the Church. To these belonged the authority, looking to, and correction like censors. (Matt. xviii. 15-17; Acts xiv. 23, and xv. 4, 6, 22, 24, and xx. 17, 28; 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, and xii. 28, and xiv. 26, 30; 1 Tim. v. 17; Tit. i. 5.) These, calling to them the pastor, if they knew any that either with false opinions, or troublesome errors, or vain superstitions, or with corrupt and wicked life, brought publicly any great offence to the Church of God, and which might not come without profaning the Lord's Supper, did put back such from the communion, and rejected them, and did not admit them again till they had with public penance satisfied the Church. (1 Cor. v. 1, 4, 5, and xi. 16, 18, &c.)

73.

JEWEL, BISHOP.

A Reply unto M. Harding's answer; by perusing whereof the discreet and diligent reader may easily see the weak and unstable grounds of the Roman religion, which of late hath been accounted Catholic.—
Article iv.

The second division, vol. i. p. 340.

1. Indeed, touching the same words of St. Matthew, St. Hierome writeth thus: 'Bishops and priests, not understanding this place, take upon them some part of the proud looks of the Pharisees.' (29. 58.)

2. And again he saith: 'Let bishops understand that they are greater than the priests (presbyters) more of custom than of the truth of God's ordinance.' (29. 78.) By this it appeareth that the bishop of Rome holdeth by custom, and not, as M. Harding saith, *de jure divino*.

The fifth division, p. 348.

3. So, likewise, St. Hierome saith that, notwithstanding the power of all priests by the authority of God's Word be one and equal 'yet men, by policy to avoid contention, appointed one priest in every city,' to order and direct his brethren. (29. 26, 75, 77.)

The fifteenth division, pp. 372, 373.

4. This place of St. Hierome is notably well noted. But if it might have pleased M. Harding to note but the two lines that went before, he should soon have seen that this note was not worth the noting. For it is certain that St. Hierome there speaketh generally of all bishops, and not one word specially of the Bishop of Rome. He entreateth there of the order of confirmation, which, he saith, by the usage of the Church, for quietness and unity, in many places was ministered only by the bishop, and not by any other priest, and that, he saith, 'more for the honour of the state of bishops than for the necessity of the law.' And this, as I said, he speaketh generally of all bishops. Immediately after, he added these words that M. Harding here allegeth: 'The safety of the Church hangeth of the dignity of the high-priest.' (29. 21.) Herein St. Hierome agreeth thoroughly with St. Cyprian (11. 32), that is, 'that, for avoiding of sects and schisms, one high-priest, that is to say, one bishop, was by good policy appointed in every diocese, to whose doings and doctrine the rest of the clergy should conform themselves.' (29. 75, 77.) And by this order the unity of the Church was well preserved. . . . To the like purpose St. Hierome writeth upon the Epistle unto Titus: 'These things have I spoken, to the intent to show that in old time priests and bishops were all one; and that in process, and by degrees, the whole charge was brought unto one man (he meaneth within one diocese), that the occasions of dissensions might be rooted out.' (29. 77.) And therefore, as it is before declared, St. Cyprian saith, 'Hereof spring schisms, for that the priest of the Lord is not obeyed.' (11. 26.)

An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England, &c.
vol. iii. p. 92.

5. We truly have renounced that Church wherein we could neither have the Word of God sincerely taught nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God duly called upon; which Church also themselves confess to be faulty in many points, and wherein was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety. To conclude, we have forsaken the Church as it is now, not as it was in old time, and have so gone from it as Daniel went out of the lions' den, and the three children out of the furnace; and to say the truth, we have been cast out by these men (being cursed of them, as they use to say, with book, bell, and candle), rather than have gone away from them of ourselves. And we are come to that Church wherein they themselves cannot deny (if they will say truly, and as they think in their own conscience) but all things be governed purely and reverently, and, as much as we possibly could, very near to the order used in the old time. Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see that themselves have most shamefully gone from the apostles, and we most justly have gone from them.

An Answer to a certain Book lately set forth by M. Harding, and entitled 'A Confutation of the Apology of Church of England,' pt. i. vol. iii. pp. 152, 153.

6. For they are not all heretics, M. Harding, that this day espy your gross and palpable errors, and mourn to God for reformation. St. Augustine saith: 'It is no reason the sheep should therefore leave off his fleece for that he seeth the wolf sometime in the same apparel.' Likewise, it is no reason that we should therefore give over the right and inheritance we have in the Church of God, for that you by intrusion and unjust means have entitled yourselves unto the same.

7. It behoveth us rather to search the Scriptures, as Christ hath advised us, and thereby to assure ourselves of the Church of God; for by this trial only, and by none other, it may be known. Therefore St. Paul calleth the Church the Spouse of Christ, for that she ought in all things to give ear to the voice of the bridegroom. Likewise he calleth the Church the pillar of the truth, for that she stayeth herself only by the Word of God, without which Word the Church, were it never so beautiful, should be no Church.

8. The ancient Father Irenæus saith: 'The pillar and buttress of the Church is the Gospel and the Spirit of Life.' St. Augustine saith: 'There be certain books of our Lord unto the authority whereof each part agreeth. There let us seek for the Church; thereby let us examine and try our matters.' And again: 'I will ye show me the holy Church, not by decrees of men, but by the Word of God.' (33. 47.) Likewise saith St. Chrysostom: 'It can no way be known what is the Church but only by the Scriptures.' (34. 22.) And again: 'Christ commandeth that whoso will have the assurance of true faith seek to nothing else but unto the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they look to anything else, they shall be

offended and shall perish, not understanding which is the true Church.' (34. 23.)

9. By these ancient learned Fathers it is plain that the Church of God is known by God's Word only, and none otherwise. And therefore, M. Harding, you so carefully flee the same, and condemn it for heresy, and often burn it, lest thereby the deformities of your Church should be known. For 'the ill-doer fleeth the light.'

Chap. iii. division v. p. 294.

10. But M. Harding saith the primates had authority over other inferior bishops. I grant they had so. Howbeit, they had it by agreement and custom; but neither by Christ, nor by Peter, or Paul, nor by any right of God's Word. St. Jerome saith: 'Let bishops understand that they are above priests rather of custom than of any truth or right of Christ's institution; and that they ought to rule the Church altogether.' (29. 78.) And again: 'Therefore a priest and a bishop are both one thing; and, before that by the inflaming of the devil, parts were taken in religion, and these words were uttered among the people, "I hold of Paul, I hold of Apollo, I hold of Peter," the churches were governed by the common advice of the priests.' (29. 75.)

11. St. Augustine saith: 'The office of a bishop is above the office of a priest, (not by the authority of the Scriptures, but) after the names of honour, which the custom of the Church hath now obtained.' (33. 5.)

Part ii. chap. v. division i. pp. 322, 323, 325-327, 335, 336,
339, 347-350.

12. Here hath M. Harding taken some pains more than ordinary. He thought, if he could by any colour make the world believe we have neither bishops, nor priests, nor deacons, this day in the Church of England, he might the more easily claim the whole right unto himself. And indeed, if it were certain that the religion and truth of God passeth evermore orderly by succession, and none otherwise, then were succession, whereof he hath told us so long a tale, a very good substantial argument of the truth. . . .

13. Of succession St. Paul saith to the faithful at Ephesus: 'I know that after my departure hence ravening wolves shall enter and succeed me. And out of yourselves there shall (by succession) spring up men speaking perversely.' Therefore St. Hierome saith: 'They be not always the children of holy men that (by succession) have the places of holy men.'

14. Touching the Church of Rome, I will say no more for this present, but only that was spoken openly by Cornelius, the Bishop of Bitonto, in the late council of Trident: 'Would God they were not gone as it were utterly by consent together from religion to superstition, from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist!' These few words, considering either the speaker or the place where they were spoken, may seem sufficient. They are gone from faith to infidelity, from

Christ to antichrist. And yet, all other things failing, they must hold only by succession; and, only because they sit in Moses' chair, they must claim the possession of the whole. This is the right and virtue of their succession.

15. The words of Tertullian, M. Harding, which you have here alleged, were spoken of certain your ancient fathers, that had raised up a new religion of themselves, as you have also done; without either Word of God or example of the apostles and holy fathers. And therefore he saith, not unto us, but unto you and such as you be: 'Let them show forth the originals of their churches.' (8. 7.) Even so we say unto you: Show us the originals of your doctrine; show us any one of the apostles of Christ, or of the learned catholic doctors of the Church, that ever said your private mass; show one at the least, either Greek or Latin. St. Augustine saith: 'Of so many bishops of Rome, there could not one be found that had been a Donatist.' (33. 11.) Even so in like sort say we to you: Of all the same bishops of Rome, there cannot one be found that ever agreed with M. Harding in saying mass. Or, if there were any such, show us his name, with the other circumstances, when and where, and who were witnesses of the doing. Show us your originals, M. Harding; confess the truth; deceive us no longer; it is a new device; ye have it only of yourselves, and not by succession from the apostles.

16. *Addition.*—Hereto M. Harding answereth: 'You say not even right so as Tertullian said. For he called not for the originals of doctrine, but of churches. For by the churches the doctrine is known to be good or evil, to be allowable or reprobable.' *The Answer.*—I grant, M. Harding, great and worthy is the authority of the Church of God; yet is not the truth of God's Gospel always known by the name of the Church; but, contrariwise, the true Church is always known by the Gospel. St. Augustine saith unto Cresconius: 'The Holy Scripture showeth forth the Church without doubtfulness.' And the author of the book called *Opus Imperfectum*, speaking purposely hereof, saith thus: 'Therefore Christ commandeth that Christian men, willing to be assured of the true faith, resort to nothing else but only to the Scriptures. For, if they have regard to anything else, they shall be offended and perish, not knowing which is the true Church.' (34. 23.)

17. But wherefore telleth us M. Harding this long tale of succession? Have these men their own succession in so safe record? Who was then the bishop of Rome next by succession unto Peter? Who was the second? Who the third? Who the fourth? Irenæus reckoneth them together in this order: Petrus, Linus, Anacletus, Clemens (6. 6, 7); Epiphanius thus, Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens; Optatus thus, Petrus, Linus, Clemens, Anacletus. (22. 2.) Clemens says that he himself was next unto Peter; and then must the reckoning go thus, Petrus, Clemens, Linus, Anacletus. Hereby it is clear that of the four first bishops of Rome, M. Harding cannot certainly tell us who in order succeeded other. And thus, talking so much of succession, they are not well able to blase their own succession.

18. St. Hierome saith: 'It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to hold the chair of them now reigning with Christ.' And Chrysostom saith, as he is alleged by Gratian: 'It is not the chair that maketh the priest, but it is the priest that maketh the chair.' (34. 20.) Therefore we neither have bishops without church nor church without bishops. Neither doth the Church of England this day depend of them whom you often call apostates, as if our Church were no church without them.

19. They are no apostates, M. Harding; that is rather your own name, and of good right belongeth unto you. They are for a great part learned and grave and godly men, and are much ashamed to see your follies. Notwithstanding, if there were not one, neither of them nor of us, left alive, yet would not therefore the whole Church of England flee to Lovaine. Tertullian saith: 'And we, being laymen, are we not priests? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom and priests unto God His Father; the authority of the Church, and the honour by the assembly or council of order, sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Whereas there is no assembly of ecclesiastical order, the priest, being there alone (without the company of other priests), doth both minister the oblation and also baptise. Yea, and be there but three together, and though they be laymen, yet is there a church. For every man liveth of his own faith.' (8. 16.) [Part of the above passage is a translation of a corrupt reading of the original. The Latin given by Jewel is: *et offert et tingit sacerdos, qui est ibi solus*. Should be: *et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus*. 'And thou both offerest and tingest, i. e. both administerest the Lord's Supper and baptisest; thou alone art a priest to thyself.']]

20. *M. Harding*.—'There is priesthood internal and priesthood external; where the external priesthood is denied, as among the Lutherans and Calvinists, there is no church, &c.' Thus saith St. Peter: 'You are the kingly priesthood.' And thus he saith not only unto priests and bishops, but also unto the whole Christian people. Likewise St. John the Evangelist saith: 'Christ with His blood hath washed us from our sins, and hath made us kings and priests unto God His Father.' But ye tell us: 'There is a priesthood internal, and a priesthood external; and there is a difference between laymen and priests.' What needeth this talk, M. Harding? There is not one of us that ever taught otherwise. We know that the priest or minister of the Church of God is divided from the rest of his brethren, as was the tribe of Levi from the children of Israel, and hath a special office over the people. Neither may any man force himself into that office without lawful calling. But as touching the inward priesthood, and the exercise of the soul, we say even as St. Peter, and St. John, and Tertullian have said; in this sense every faithful Christian man is a priest, and offereth unto God spiritual sacrifices: in this only sense, I say, and none otherwise.

21. Now, if any man shall think it strange to hear a layman in any sense called a priest, may it please him to peruse some part of that here-

after followeth in this defence. There shall he find, by the authorities of St. Augustine (33. 17, 18, 22, 23), St. Ambrose (30. 4, 15, 17), St. Hierome (29. 18, 19, 45, 49), and St. Chrysostom (34. 38), that whosoever is a member of Christ's body, whosoever is a child of the Church, whosoever is baptised in Christ and beareth his name, is fully invested with this priesthood, and therefore may justly be called a priest. And wheresoever there be three such together, as Tertullian saith, 'Yea, though they be only laymen, yet have they a church.' (8. 16.)

22. To be short, we succeed the bishops that have been before our days. We are elected, consecrated, confirmed, and admitted, as they were. If they were deceived in anything, we succeed them in place, but not in error. They were our predecessors, but not the rulers and standards of our faith. Or rather, to set apart all comparison of persons, the doctrine of Christ this day, M. Harding, succeedeth your doctrine, as the day succeedeth the night; as the light succeedeth darkness; and as the truth succeedeth error.

23. Now, forasmuch as ye have thought it so good to examine the petite degree of the bishops of Sarisbury, I trust you will not think it ill if I a little touch the like in the bishops of Rome, that we may thereby be the better able to see some of the branches of your succession. [Here follow about eight royal octavo pages containing the pedigrees of some of the popes of Rome, with references to chapter and verse of ancient records for the dark character of these monsters of iniquity.]

24. This is M. Harding's holy succession. Though faith fail yet succession must hold; for unto such succession God hath bound the Holy Ghost. For lack of this succession, for that in our sees in the churches of England we find not so many idolaters, necromancers, heretics, advouterers, church-robbers, perjured persons, man-killers, runagates, monsters, scribes and Pharisees, as we may easily find in the Church of Rome: therefore, I trow, M. Harding saith we have no succession, we are no bishops, we have no Church at all.

25. Now, M. Harding, if the pope and his Roman clergy, by his own friends' confession, be fallen from God's grace, and departed from Christ to antichrist, what a miserable claim is it for them to hold only by bare succession!

It is not sufficient to claim succession of place: it behoveth us rather to have regard to the succession of doctrine. St. Bernard saith: 'What availeth it, if they be chosen in order, and live out of order?' So saith St. Augustine: 'The outward mark or right of a bishop many give to wolves, and be wolves themselves.' Therefore the ancient Father Irenæus giveth us this good counsel: 'It becometh us to obey those priests in the Church which have their succession from the apostles; and, together with the succession of their bishoprics, according to the good will of God the Father, have received the undoubted gift of the truth.' (6. 11.) St. Cyprian, being likewise charged for dissenting from his predecessors, answereth thus: 'If any of my predecessors have not observed and kept the same that our Lord hath taught us, both by His example and also by His commandment, his simplicity may be pardoned;

but we (if we do the like) can hope for no pardon, being now admonished and instructed of our Lord.'

26. Compare the use and order of our churches, M. Harding, with the primitive Church of God, and ye shall easily see the right of our succession. St. Cyprian saith, 'If the pipes of the conduit, which before ran with abundance, happen to fail, do we not use to search to the head, &c.?' The priests of God, keeping God's commandments, must do the same, that, if the truth have fainted or failed in any point, we return to the very original of our Lord, and to the tradition of the Gospel and of the apostles; that there hence we may take the discretion of our doings, from whence the order itself and original first began.' (11. 39, 40.)

Chap. ix. division i. p. 439.

27. But what meant M. Harding here to come in with the difference between priests and bishops? Thinketh he that priests and bishops hold only by tradition? Or is it so horrible an heresy as he maketh it, to say that, by the Scriptures of God, a bishop and a priest are all one? Or knoweth he how far, and unto whom, he reacheth the name of an heretic?

'Verily,' Chrysostom saith, 'between a bishop and a priest, in a manner, there is no difference.' (34. 45.) St. Hierome saith somewhat in rougher sort: 'I hear say there is one become so peevish that he setteth deacons before priests, that is to say, before bishops; whereas the apostle plainly teacheth us that priests and bishops be all one.' (29. 24.) St. Augustine saith: 'What is a bishop, but the first priest, that is to say, the highest priest?' (33. 21.) So saith St. Ambrose: 'There is but one consecration of priest and bishop; for both of them are priests. But the bishop is the first.' (31. 10.) All these, and other more holy Fathers, together with St. Paul the Apostle, for thus saying, by M. Harding's advice, must be holden for heretics.

Chap. iii. division iii. vol. iv. p. 912.

28. Ye say, 'The priests and deacons waited only upon the bishops, but sentence in council they might give none.' This tale were true, M. Harding, if every your word were a gospel. But St. Luke would have told you far otherwise. For, speaking of the first Christian council holden in the apostles' time, he saith thus: 'The apostles and elders met together to take order touching this matter.' And again, in the conclusion: 'It seemed good to the apostles and elders, together with the whole Church.' Here you see the apostles and elders gave their voices together. Nicephorus saith: 'Athanasius, being (not a bishop, but) one of the chief deacons of Alexandria, was not the least part of the council of Nice.' (See 38. 1; 42. 1; also 16. 4-7; 39. 31, 32.)

29. Tertullian saith: 'The judges in such ecclesiastical assemblies be the best allowed elders, having obtained that honour, not for money, but by the witness of their brethren.' (8. 2.) And in the second council of Nice, Petrus, *proto-presbyter*, and Petrus, *presbyter*, not being bishops, but only priests, sent thither by Adrianus, the Bishop of Rome, gave their assents, and subscribed their names before all the bishops.

Chap. xxi. division i. p. 1070.

30. For that you tell us so many fair tales of Peter's succession, we demand of you wherein the pope succeedeth Peter. You answereth, 'He succeedeth him in his chair;' as if Peter had been some time installed in Rome, and had sat solemnly all day with his triple crown in his *pontificalibus* (pontificals), and in a chair of gold. And thus, having lost both religion and doctrine, ye think it sufficient at least to hold by the chair; as if a soldier that had lost his sword would play the man with the scabbard. But so Caiaphas succeeded Aaron, so wicked Manasses succeeded David: so may antichrists easily sit in Peter's chair.

74.

WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The Defence of the Answer to the Admonition against the Reply to T. C.

Tract ii. chap. i. second division, vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

1. But to be short, I confess that in a church collected together in one place, and at liberty, government is necessary in the second kind of necessity; but that any one kind of government is so necessary that without it the Church cannot be saved, or that it may not be altered into some other kind, thought to be more expedient, I utterly deny; and the reasons that move me so to do be these: the first is, because I find no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ; which, no doubt, should have been done if it had been a matter necessary unto the salvation of the Church.

2. Secondly, because the essential notes of the Church be these only; the true preaching of the Word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments: for, as Master Calvin saith in his book against the anabaptists, 'This honour is meet to be given to the Word of God and to His sacraments, that, wheresoever we see the Word of God truly preached, and God according to the same truly worshipped, and the sacraments without superstition administered, there we may, without all controversy, conclude the Church of God to be;' and a little after, 'So much we must esteem the Word of God and His sacraments that, wheresoever we find them to be, there we may certainly know the Church of God to be, although in the common life of man many faults and errors be found.'

3. The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers, and the judgment of the Reformed Churches, as appeareth by their confessions. So that, notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet is it not such a part of the essence and being but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government; and therefore the 'kind of government' of the Church is not 'necessary unto salvation.'

Tract iii. chap. iv. the eighth division, p. 369.

4. I 'condemn' no 'churches' that have appointed any order for the electing of their pastors which they think to be agreeable to their state, and most profitable for them; for, therefore, I say that no certain manner or form of electing ministers is prescribed in the Scripture, because every church may do therein as it shall seem to be most expedient for the same. That may be profitable for 'the Churches of Geneva and France, &c.,' which would be most hurtful to this Church of England. And therefore I say that, 'howsoever this popular kind of electing was convenient or profitable in the apostles' time, yet in this state of the Church' of England it would be 'pernicious and hurtful.'

Chap. vii. the first division, pp. 428, 429, 431, 432.

5. The admonition in the sixth article colourably, but in the seventh plainly, affirmeth that 'the right of ordering ministers doth at no hand appertain to the bishop.' This do I improve in this place, and prove that the right of ordering and electing ministers doth appertain to the bishop; but I have contented myself with the fewer proofs, because their assertion is so absurd that it cannot but discredit their learning with all learned men, and whatsoever T. C. hath hitherto said manifestly declareth it to be untrue; yet, now it is his pleasure to gloss upon my words, and to say that I 'would prove this election of ministers by one man to have been in the apostles' time, &c.,' whereas, indeed, my words be plain, and my meaning is to prove that the electing and ordering of ministers doth appertain to bishops; I do not say only to bishops.

6. When you say that the election of the pastor doth appertain to the people, do you mean that it only pertaineth to the people? But, because you think that to be so great a matter, to say that 'in the apostles' time the election of ministers was by one man,' seeing that I have said before that this election by the Church was in the apostles' time and after, I will say now more than I said before, that they be both true; that is, that in the apostles' time there were divers manners of ordaining and electing ministers. For sometime one alone did choose and ordain, sometime many, sometime ministers only, and sometime the people also; as it may evidently be gathered, both by that which is spoken before and by this also that I do say in this place. Zuinglius, in his book called *Ecclesiastes*, saith thus: 'We read in old time of three kinds of elections: some were chosen by the common and general consent of all the faithful gathered together in one place; other some were elected and sent by the apostles only; other some we may find whom one only apostle did choose and send, as Titus, whom Paul left at Crete, committing unto him the care of that Church.' The like saith M. Bullinger (*Adversus Anabap.* lib. iii. cap. iv.): 'There is another calling of those, which are also called of God, but by men, which choose and send according to God's ordinance; as when Peter sent Mark, and Paul both called and sent Timothy, Titus, and Luke.' Thus you see that it is counted no strange matter to have divers kinds of calling and electing ministers, even in the apostles' time. And, therefore, in saying now that 'bishops have authority to admit ministers,' I say

nothing contrary to anything that I have said before; neither yet if I affirm that Timothy and Titus had this authority to themselves alone.

7. The election of the minister by the Church is fittest for the time of persecution; but that doth not exclude from the same time election and calling by one man. Neither is this the question, whether choosing by the common consent of the people, or calling and sending by one man, be meetest for the time of persecution; but whether election made by the multitude is fitter for the time of persecution, and when there is no Christian magistrate, than for the time of prosperity, and under a Christian magistrate; and therefore you do but encumber the reader with false suppositions. Elections by the multitude, or by one only, may be used in the time of persecution, and at other times also, as shall be most expedient for the Church.

8. But, to put you out of doubt, 'to lay on hands' sometimes signifieth the ceremony only of laying on of hands, and sometimes the whole manner and form of ordering. And in this second signification it is taken 1 Tim. v. and 2 Tim. i. Bullinger, expounding this place, 1 Tim. v., saith, 'to lay on hands is nothing else but to ordain and appoint one over the Church.' And interpreting that also, 2 Tim. i., he saith, 'Paul doth here understand by the gift of God the gift of prophecy, and the office of a bishop, unto which the Lord had called Timothy, but by the ministry of Paul; who for that cause now saith, that that gift was in Timothy by the imposition of his hands.' And M. Calvin (*Instit. cap. viii. sect. 1.*) decideth this matter fully in these words:

9. 'But Paul himself in another place doth testify that he, and no more, did lay his hands upon Timothy. "I admonish thee (saith he) that thou stir up the grace which is in thee by the imposition of my hands." For, where it is said in the other epistle of the laying on of the hands of the eldership, I do not so take it as though Paul spake of the college of elders; but in this name (*videlicet presbyterii*) I understand the ordination itself, as if he should say, Endeavour thyself that the grace be not in vain, which thou hast received by the laying on of hands, when I ordained thee a minister.' Again, upon this 1 Tim. v., he saith thus: 'The imposition of hands signifieth the ordering; for the sign is taken for the thing itself.' For what is it to appoint, but to call, elect, and ordain? Moreover, that which Paul saith to Titus, 'That thou mayest appoint, &c.' doth expound this to Timothy, 'Lay hands suddenly, &c.'; and therefore, indeed, I make no difference in this place betwixt election, ordaining, and imposition of hands.

Tract iv. chap. ii. the fourth division, pp. 489, 490.

10. To use these words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' in ordering of ministers, which Christ Himself used in appointing His apostles, is no more ridiculous and blasphemous than it is to use the words that He used in the Supper; but it is blasphemy thus outrageously to speak of the words of Christ. The bishop, by speaking these words, doth not take upon him to give the Holy Ghost, no more than he doth to remit sins, when he pronounceth the remission of sins; but by speaking these

words of Christ, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted, &c.,' he doth show the principal duty of a minister, and assureth him of the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, if he labour in the same accordingly.

11. Christ used these words, 'This is my body,' in the celebration of His Supper; but there is no special commandment that the minister should use the same; and yet must he use them, because Christ used them. Even so, when Christ did ordain His apostles ministers of the Gospel (John xx.), He said unto them, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.,' which words, because they contain the principal duty of a minister, and do signify that God doth pour His Spirit upon those whom He calleth to that function, are most aptly also used of the bishop (who is God's instrument in that business) in the ordaining of ministers. St. Paul, speaking to Timothy (1 Tim. iv.) saith: 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given unto thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the eldership.'

12. In which words the apostle signifieth that God doth bestow His gifts and Spirit upon such as be called to the ministry of the word; whereof imposition of hands is a token, or rather a confirmation, and, therefore, saith M. Calvin, that 'it was not a vain ceremony, because God did fulfil with His Spirit that consecration which men did signify by imposition of hands.'

13. And surely, as that is no vain ceremony, though it be done by men, so these be no vain words, though they be spoken by men. Neither doth the bishop speak them as though he had authority to give the Holy Ghost, but he speaketh them as the words of Christ, used in the like action; who (as I said before) doth most certainly give His Holy Spirit to those whom He calleth to the ministry.

Tract viii. chap. iii. the seventeenth division, vol. ii. pp. 221-223.

14. And therefore Hierome, writing upon the first to Titus, saith that—'In the beginning a bishop and priest was all one. But, after that there begun to rise factions in religion, and some said they held of Apollo, some of Paul, some of Cephas, and some of Christ, it was decreed that one should be chosen to bear rule over the rest; to whom the chief care of the Church should appertain, and by whom sects and schisms should be cut off.' (29. 75.) Here a man may reason thus: The distinction of degrees began in the Church when men began to say, I hold of Paul, I hold of Apollo, &c. But this was in the apostles' time.

15. The same Hierome, in his epistle *ad Evagrium*, teacheth that the cause why one was chosen amongst the bishops to rule over the rest was—'To meet with schisms; lest everyone, according to his own fancy, should tear in pieces the Church of Christ;' and saith further that—'In Alexandria, from St. Mark unto Heraclas and Dionisius, bishops, the ministers used to elect one among themselves, whom they, placing in a higher degree, called a bishop; even as an army should choose their captain, or deacons should choose one of themselves whom they knew to be painful, and call him an archdeacon.' (29. 26.) In

all these places Hierome doth not maintain the authority of one man over the whole Church, but thinketh it necessary that in every province there be one to be chief over the rest for unity's sake, and for rooting out of contentions and sects. And therefore, *contra Luciferianos*, he saith that, unless this superiority were, 'there would be as many schisms in the Church as there be priests.' (29. 21.)

16. This is but a poor refuge, when you cannot answer, to discredit the author. It is evident that Hierome saith nothing touching this matter but that which is both consonant to the Scriptures and confirmed by the practice of the Church, long before his time, as appeareth by that which is said before.

17. And, I pray you, what difference is there betwixt that which Hierome speaketh in this place and that which Cyprian hath said before? For Cyprian said that 'heresies and schisms have sprung and do spring of this, because the priest of God is not obeyed, &c.' (11. 26); and 'because the bishop, which is one, and is set over the Church, is through the proud presumption of some contemned, &c.' (11. 32.) And Hierome saith that the cause, why among the bishops one was chosen to govern the rest, was 'to remedy schisms.' (29. 26.)

18. Do you not perceiue how these two Fathers join in one truth, and directly affirm the self-same matter?

Chap. iii. the thirty-eighth division, p. 254.

19. And, although Hierome (29. 24) confess that by Scripture *presbyter* and *episcopus* (bishop) is all one (as indeed they be *quod ministerium*, as to ministry), yet doth he acknowledge a superiority of the bishop before the minister. For, besides these places that I have alleged in mine answer to the Admonition, he saith thus in the same epistle, 'The one is a name of age, and the other of dignity;' and a little after, 'The elder or minister is contained in the bishop.' (29. 29.)

20. Therefore, no doubt this is Jerome's mind, that a bishop in degree and dignity is above the minister, though he be one and the self-same with him in the office of ministering the word and sacraments; and therefore he saith, '*Presbyter continetur in episcopo*;' because every bishop is presbyter, but every presbyter is not bishop.

Chap. vii. the eighteenth division, pp. 432, 433.

21. M. Calvin (in his *Inst.* cap. viii. sect. lii. (b. iv. ch. iv. 2), upon the place of Hierome in the epistle *ad Evagrium*, saith that in the old time there was to every city appointed a certain region, province, or diocese, 'which took presbyters from it, and was considered, as it were, incorporated into that church,' and that the same also was under the bishop of the city. 'But if the district which was under his bishopric was too large for him to be able to discharge all the duties of the bishop, presbyters were distributed over it in certain places to act as his substitute in minor matters. These were called *chorepiscopi* (rural bishops), because they represented the bishop throughout the province.'

Tract xvii. chap. ii. the seventh division, vol. iii. pp. 175, 176.

22. I know that in the primitive Church they had in every church certain seniors to whom the government of the congregation was committed; but that was before there was any Christian prince or magistrate that openly professed the Gospel, and before there was any Church by public authority established, or under civil government. I told you before that the diversity of time and state of the Church requireth diversity of government in the same.

Chap. iv. the twenty-ninth division, pp. 214, 215.

23. That there is no one certain kind of government in the Church which must of necessity be perpetually observed.

24. We see manifestly that in sundry points the government of the Church used in the apostles' time is, and hath been of necessity, altered, and that it neither may nor can be revoked; whereby it is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed is nowhere in the Scripture prescribed to the Church.

Table of Dangerous Doctrines, vol. iii. pp. 554, 555.

25. But the accidental points of government (as the manner of electing ministers, the kind of discipline, accidental ceremonies, and other such like rites and ceremonies) may be varied according to time, place, and persons, and are so to be framed as they may best agree with the state and government of every commonwealth. . . . He (T. C.) both joineth with the papists in taking from the civil magistrate authority in ecclesiastical matters and also in confirming that error by their arguments, and none other.

75.

FULKE, PPESBYTER.

A Defence of the sincere and true Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue, against the manifold cavils, &c. of Gregory Martin, &c. by W. Fulke, D. in Divinitie, and M. of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, chap. xv. vol. i. pp. 461, 467-469.

1. For the orders of bishops, elders, or, as you call them, priests, and, as they be commonly called, priests and ministers, is all one in authority of ministering the word and the sacraments. The degree of bishops, as they are taken to be a superior order unto elders (presbyters) or priests, is for government and discipline, specially committed unto them; and not in authority of handling the word and the sacraments.

2. *Martin*.—Now, concerning imposition, or laying on of hands, in making their ministers, none of them all make more of it than of the like Judaical ceremony in the Old Law; not acknowledging that there is any grace given withal, though the apostle say there is, in express terms; but they will answer this text (as they are wont) with a

favourable translation, turning 'grace' into 'gift;' as, when the apostle saith thus, 'Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which is given thee by prophecy, with imposition of the hands of priesthood,' they translate, 'neglect not the "gift."'

3. *Fulke*.—Though we find that by or with imposition of hands many rare and extraordinary gifts, of prophecy, of tongues, and such like, were given in the apostles' time, yet we find nowhere that grace is ordinarily given by that ceremony, used always in the Church for ordination of the ministers thereof. But whether there be or not, our translation of χάρισμα into 'gift' is true and proper to the word. For albeit the word χάρις be taken, not only for the favour of God, but also for his gracious gifts, yet χάρισμα is never taken in the Scripture but for a free gift, or a gift of His grace.

4. *Martin*.—Thus it is evident that, though the apostle speak never so plain for the dignity of holy orders, that it giveth grace, and consequently is a sacrament, they pervert all to the contrary, making it a bare ceremony, suppressing the word 'grace,' which is much more significant to express the Greek word than 'gift' is, because it is not every gift, but a gracious gift, or a gift proceeding of marvellous and mere grace.

5. *Fulke*.—Here is no evidence at all that the order of priesthood is a sacrament, or giveth grace, but that God, by the ceremony of laying on of hands, did give wonderful and extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophesying in the beginning and first planting of the Church. But that grace should always follow that ceremony, there is no proof to be made out of the Holy Scriptures. And experience showeth that he which was void of gifts before he was ordered priest is as very an ass and dogbolt (worthless fellow) as he was before, for any increase of grace or gracious gifts, although he have authority committed unto him, if he be ordained in the Church, though unworthily, and with great sin, both of him that ordaineth and of him that is ordained.

An Overthrow of Stapleton's Fortress, or, as he calleth it himself, the Pillar of Papistry, book i. ch. xx. vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.

6. We doubt not therefore, but determine with Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, to rest in the bosom of that Church which, from the seat of the apostle, by consent of mankind, hath continued by succession of bishops, and hath obtained the height of authority; all heretics barking about it; which, partly by the judgment of the people, partly by the gravity of councils, partly by the majesty of miracles, have been condemned.

7. But we utterly deny the popish church to be this Church; which hath had no continuance of succession from the apostles' seat in faith and doctrine, though it claim never so much the succession of persons and places. With the Donatists, Simon Magus, Marcion, Eunomius, and other heretics, we have nothing to do.

8. If truth in Ærius and Vigilantius was condemned for error, not by the Scriptures, but by the tradition of men, such condemnation can be no prejudice to them or their opinion, when, being called again into

judgment, they are found by the sentence of God's Word and the judgment of the more ancient Fathers to have been wrongfully condemned.

Ibid. book ii. chap. i. pp. 74, 75.

9. The third demand is that we must show a succession from the apostles, as the Scripture witnesseth the Church to have, and the ancient Fathers exacted of heretics. The Scripture requireth no succession of names, persons, or places, but of faith and doctrine; and that we prove when we approve our faith and doctrine by the doctrine of the apostles. Neither had the Fathers any other meaning in calling upon new upstart heresies for their succession but of a succession of doctrine as well as of persons. Which is manifest by Tertullian, 'So coming down by successions from the beginning, that their first bishop have for his authors and antecessors one of the apostles or apostolic men, but yet such a one as hath continued with the apostles.' (8. 7.)

10. These words of Tertullian are manifest, that succession of bishops even to the apostles helpeth not, except there be a continuance in the doctrine of the apostles; which, when the papists can show, we will gladly yield unto them. In the meantime, it is not the continual succession of persons in any place, which teach contrary to their antecessors which have taught in that place, that can carry away the credit of the whole doctrine and religion of Christ.

A discovery of the dangerous Rock of the Popish Church, lately commanded by Nicholas Sander, Doctor in Divinity; at which the Catholic Church of Christ hath been in peril of shipwreck these many hundred years, by W. Fulke.—Chap. xii. pp. 315, 316.

11. M. Sander, fantasizing that he hath proved Peter superior to the apostles, not in their apostleship, but in his bishoply degree, doth yet again distinguish the order and office of a bishop from the authority and jurisdiction of the same. And in order and office he confesseth that all bishops of the world are equal; as Hierome sayeth, *ad Evagrium* (29. 28), and Cyprian, *De unitate Ecclesie* (11. 3), but not in authority. But seeing he rehearseth the testimony of Hierome imperfectly, I will set it down at large, that you may see whether it will bear his distinction.

12. He writeth against a custom of the Church of Rome, by which the deacons were preferred above the priests, whom he proveth by the Scripture to be equal with bishops, except only in ordaining: 'For what doth a bishop, excepting ordination, which a priest or elder doth not? Neither is it to be thought that there is one Church of the City of Rome, and another of the whole world. Both France, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all barbarous nations, worship one Christ, observe one rule of truth. If aucturity be sought, the world is greater than a city. Wheresoever a bishop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, or at Alexandria, or at Tunis, he is of the same worthiness, and of the same priesthood. Power of riches and baseness of poverty make not the bishop

higher or inferior; but they are all successors of the apostles.' (29. 27, 28.)

13. And lest you should think he speaketh only of equality in order and office, and not in authority, he doth in another place show that the authority of every priest is equal with every bishop by God's disposition; and that the excelling of one bishop above other priests came only by custom. (Titus, ch. i.) 'Therefore as priests do know that by custom of the Church they are subject to him that is set over them so let bishops know that they are greater than priests rather by custom than by truth of the Lord's appointment.' (29. 78.)

14. If the authority, then, and jurisdiction of bishops, dependeth upon custom, and not upon God's appointment, Peter was not by our Lord's appointment preferred in bishoplike authority before the rest of the apostles; nor the bishop of Rome before other bishops and priests, but only by custom, as Hierome saith.

Ibid. ch. xviii. p. 388.

15. Fourthly, Ærius taught 'that we must not pray for the dead, nor keep the accustomed fastings, and that there is no difference between a priest and a bishop.' The superstition of praying for the dead was justly reprov'd by Ærius; so was the fast of custom and decree rather than of consideration. For the first that prayed for the dead were heretics, Montanists, as Tertullian and his sect. The first that made prescript laws of fasting was Montanus the heretic also, as Eusebius witnesseth. (Lib. v. cap. xviii.) Of the third opinion was Hierome, *Evagrio*; affirming that the distinction was made by men, and not by God. (29. 24.)

76.

ANTI-POPISH PRAYERS.

List of Occasional Forms of Prayer and Services, for the most part publicly and authoritatively used during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

IV.—*A form to be used in Common Prayer twice a week, &c.* 1563.—*Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 478, 484.

1. Thou hast called us to the knowledge of thy Gospel. Thou hast released us from the hard servitude of Satan. Thou hast delivered us from all horrible and execrable idolatry wherein we were utterly drowned, and hast brought us into the most clear and comfortable light of thy blessed word, by the which we are taught how to serve and honour thee, and how to live orderly with our neighbours in truth and verity.

XVI.—*A Prayer for the Estate of Christ's Church: to be used on Sundays.* 1580.—*Ibid.* pp. 578, 579.

2. In meantime assist those that thou callest to this trial, that they may feel thy help and comfort amidst all their sufferings, whilst they shall be assured to be blessed when they suffer for righteousness' sake, and to reign with thy Son when they fulfil His sufferings in their flesh, and carry in their bodies the scars and marks of His wounds. O Lord,

sanctify their blood, that it may water thy Church, and bring a mighty increase and gain to thyself, and a decrease and loss to the kingdom of antichrist, and to the princes of the earth who are become his slaves and butchers.

3. And herein, good Lord, by special name we beseech thee for the Churches of France, Flanders, and of such other places : help them after their long troubles, as thou shalt see to be best for them, in the advancing of thine own glory. . . . Strengthen her hand to strike the stroke of the ruin of all their superstition, to double into the bosom of that rose-coloured whore that which she hath poured out against thy saints, that she may give that deadly wound not to one head, but to all the heads of that cruel beast ; that the life that quivereth in his dismembered members yet amongst us may utterly decay, and we, through that wholesome discipline, easy yoke, and comfortable sceptre of Jesus Christ, may enjoy His great righteousness, that thy Church may flourish. . . . Strengthen her hand, and give her a swift foot to hunt out the bulls of Basan, and the devouring beasts that make havoc of thy flock.

XXVIII.—A Form of Prayer, necessary for the present time and state. 1588.—Pp. 615, 616.

4. O Lord our God and Heavenly Father, look down, we beseech thee, upon all such Christians as are anywhere persecuted and sore afflicted for the true acknowledging of thee to be our God, and thy Son Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent to be the only Saviour of the world : Save them, O merciful Lord, who are as sheep appointed to the slaughter, and by hearty prayer do call and cry unto thee for thy help and defence : hear their cry, O Lord, and our prayer for them, and for ourselves. And for that, O Lord, thou hast commanded us to pray for our enemies, we do beseech thee, not only to abate their pride and to stay the fury and cruelty of such as either of malice or ignorance do persecute them which put their trust in thee, and hate us, but also to mollify their hard hearts, to open their blinded eyes, and to lighten their ignorant minds, that may see and understand, and truly turn unto thee and embrace thy holy word, and unfeignedly be converted unto thy Son Jesus Christ, and believe and love His Gospel, and so eternally to be saved. Finally, that all Christian realms, and especially this realm of England, may by thy defence and protection enjoy perfect peace, quietness, and security.

XXXIII.—Certain Prayers to be used at this present time for the good success of the French King against the enemies of God's true religion and his state. 1590.—Pp. 647-649.

5. Nevertheless, O heavenly Father, with an assured confidence, relying upon thy promises, we make bold to draw near unto the throne of thy grace, humbly craving the continuance of thy blessings upon us, and upon all princes, countries, and commonwealths that have received and do embrace thine holy Gospel, and that at this time fight thy battles against the adversaries of thy Gospel, and those that uphold the kingdom of antichrist. . . .

6. O Lord, how the heathen and such as hold of superstitious vanities,

even at this present, in France and elsewhere, do rush into thine inheritance to make thy chosen Jerusalem, even thy Church, a desolate heap of stones, to lay waste thy holy sanctuary, yea, even to give up the flesh of thy dear children to the birds of the air, and the slain carcasses of thy saints to the beasts of the field. . . . Thou knowest, O Lord, how the adversaries that come to fight against them have entered into a league, and combined themselves together, never to desist until they have destroyed all such as profess thy Gospel, and laid the glory of thy Zion and Temple in the dust.

XXXVI.—An Order for Prayer and Thanksgiving (necessary to be used in these dangerous times) for the safety and preservation of Her Majesty and this realm. Set forth by authority, 1594.

An Admonition to the Reader, p. 655.

7. Which mischievous devices, as they have all flowed from none other fountain than from that city of seven hills, the see of Rome, and seat of the beast, not in regard of any desert of ours, but because we have abandoned the cup of spiritual abominations, wherewith these have long intoxicated the kings of the earth : so have they been continually projected, carried forward, and managed by idolatrous priests and Jesuits his creatures, the very loathsome locusts that crawl out of the bottomless pit. Howbeit they have been, and are, mightily seconded by certain potentates of the earth, who do nothing else but serve themselves of that idolatrous Romish religion, as of a mask and stalking-horse, therewith to cover the unsatiable ambition wherewith they are possessed, of usurping other men's kingdoms.

77.

HOMILY.

Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory. The second part of the Sermon for Whitsunday.

1. Also in the prayer that He made to His Father a little before His death, He maketh intercession, not only for Himself and His apostles, but indifferently for all them that should believe in Him through their words, that is to wit, for His whole Church. (John xvii.) Again, St. Paul saith : ' If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his.' (Rom. viii.) Also in the words following : ' We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father.' (*Ibidem.*) Hereby then it is evident and plain to all men that the Holy Ghost was given, not only to the apostles, but also to the whole body of Christ's congregation, although not in like form and majesty as He came down at the feast of Pentecost. But now herein standeth the controversy : whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the Holy Ghost or no ? The bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge thereunto,

reasoning for themselves after this sort, 'The Holy Ghost,' say they, 'was promised to the Church, and never forsaketh the Church.'

2. 'But we are the chief heads, and the principal part of the Church, therefore we have the Holy Ghost for ever: and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities, and oracles of the Holy Ghost.' That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you, first, what the true Church of Christ is, and then to confer the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together. The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head cornerstone. (Ephes. ii.) And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. The description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith.

3. Now if ye will compare this with the Church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is presently, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd: you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true Church that nothing can be more. For neither are they built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, retaining the sound and pure doctrine of Christ Jesus; neither yet do they order the sacraments, or else the ecclesiastical keys, in such sort as he did first institute and ordain them: but have so intermingled their own traditions and inventions, by chopping and changing, by adding and plucking away, that now they may seem to be converted into a new guise. . . .

4. To be short, look what our Saviour Christ pronounced of the scribes and Pharisees in the Gospel: the same may be boldly and with safe conscience pronounced of the bishops of Rome, namely, that they have forsaken, and daily do forsake, the Commandments of God, to erect and set up their own constitutions. Which thing being true, as all they which have any light of God's Word must needs confess, we may well conclude, according to the rule of Augustine, that the bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true Church of Christ, much less then to be taken as chief heads and rulers of the same. Whosoever, saith He, do dissent from the Scriptures concerning the Head, although they be found in all places where the Church is appointed, yet are they not in the Church; a plain place, concluding directly against the Church of Rome. (*August. contra Petilian.-Donatist. Ep. cap. iv.*)

5. But as the lion is known by his claws so let us learn to know these men by their deeds. What shall we say of him that made the noble King Dandalus to be tied by the neck with a chain, and to lie flat down before his table, there to gnaw bones like a dog? (*Sabel. Ennead. ix. lib. vii.*) Shall we think that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Clement the Sixth. What shall we say of him that proudly and contemptuously trod Frederic the emperor under his feet, applying the verse of the

Psalm unto himself, 'Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon thou shalt tread under thy foot?' (Psalm xci.) Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Alexander the Third.

6. What shall we say of him that armed and animated the son against the father, causing him to be taken, and to be cruelly famished to death, contrary to the law both of God and also of nature? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Pascal the Second. What shall we say of him that came into his popedom like a fox, that reigned like a lion, and died like a dog? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Boniface the Eighth. What shall we say of him that made Henry the emperor, with his wife and his young child, to stand at the gates of the city, in the rough winter, bare-footed and bare-legged, only clothed in linsey woolsey, eating nothing from morning till night, and that for the space of three days? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil?

7. Such a tyrant was Pope Hildebrand, most worthy to be called a firebrand, if we shall term him as he hath best deserved. Many other examples might be here alleged; as of the Pope Joan the harlot, that was delivered of a child in the high street, going solemnly in procession; of Pope Julius the Second, that wilfully cast St. Peter's keys into the river Tiberis; of Pope Urban the Sixth, that caused five cardinals to be put into sacks, and cruelly drowned; of Pope Sergius the Third, that persecuted the dead body of Formosus, his predecessor, when it had been buried eight years; of Pope John, the fourteenth of that name, who, having his enemy delivered into his hands, caused him first to be stripped stark naked, his beard to be shaven, and to be hanged up a whole day by the hair, then to be set upon an ass with his face backward toward the tail, to be carried round about the city in despite, to be miserably beaten with rods, last of all, to be thrust out of his country and to be banished for ever.

8. But to conclude, and make an end, ye shall briefly take this short lesson; wheresoever ye find the spirit of arrogance and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, cruelty, murder, extortion, witchcraft, necromancy, &c. assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the devil, and not of God, albeit they pretend outwardly to the world never so much holiness. . . . Such were all the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appear in the story of their lives, and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of false prophets, and false Christs, which deceived the world a long while. (Luke xxi.)

9. The Lord of heaven and earth defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into His vineyard again, to the disturbance of His silly poor flock; but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the world; and He of His great mercy so work in all men's hearts, by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, that

the comfortable Gospel of His Son Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of sin, death, the pope, the devil, and all the kingdom of antichrist.

78.

WHITAKER.

An Answer to the Ten Reasons of Edmund Campian, the Jesuit, in confidence whereof he offered Disputation to the Ministers of the Church of England, in the controversy of Faith. Whereunto is added, in brief marginal notes, the sum of the Defence of those Reasons, by John Duræus, the Scot, being a priest and a Jesuit, with a reply unto it. Written first in the Latin tongue by the reverend and faithful servant of Christ and His Church, William Whitaker, Doctor in Divinity, and the King's Professor and Public Reader of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.

The Answer to the Third Reason, p. 86.

1. And whereas you call him a runagate, I pray you tell us where you have lived for these divers years, and remember what yourself were. Calvin never forsook the Church he once took upon him to govern, but there he lived with the special love of all, and there he ended his days; but why do I answer you anything in defence of those excellent and worthy men, whom you shall never justly defame, though you burst your heart with lying.

2. But let us now hear your communication, as you call it. And here you demand, 'Whether we will subscribe to the Church which flourished these many hundred years?' We answer, we will subscribe; but, say you, 'to which church?' I answer, to the Church which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, that is, to the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, and all those famous and excellent churches of which we read in the epistles written by the apostles; yea, even to the ancient Church of Rome, to which yours is no more like than an apple to an oyster. Finally, we subscribe to those churches of whom we read in histories that they kept the seed of that doctrine which the apostles taught among them sound and uncorrupt. These churches, as long as they did continue in the apostles' doctrine, were true churches; and to those churches we have and ever will subscribe.

3. *Whit.* p. 285.—As if no Church but the Romish Church had flourished these many hundred years; or if for many ages together in the opinion of men, it only had the name of the church, was there therefore no Church upon the earth? We will subscribe to all churches, whether they flourished now or heretofore, so they hold the apostles' doctrine: but you shall never prove that we must necessarily subscribe to place, see, and succession.

The Answer to the Fifth Reason, which is 'The Fathers,'
pp. 137-139, 144, 145.

4. But yet further you urge Augustine against us, for (say you)

‘they that make their captious devices the rule of their faith, must not they be offended with Augustine, which hath an excellent epistle against Manichæus?’ An epistle (Campion) do you call it? It was ever accounted a book; but what is there in that epistle (as you call it) against us? ‘In which he professeth himself to agree with antiquity, unity, perpetual succession, and with that Church which alone amongst so many heresies hath attained unto the name catholic by prescription.’ (33. 24.) We also agree with that Church, which hath all these. And yet to these must be added (as Augustine saith in the same place) ‘sincere wisdom and truth;’ else all the other bind us not, for they are of no value without that wisdom; but this wisdom and truth, though without these, is of itself to be preferred before all things; so saith Augustine, ‘If the truth appear manifestly, so as it cannot be doubted of, it alone is more to be esteemed than all those reasons that keep me in the Catholic Church.’ (33. 25, 26.)

5. Thus, then, Augustine setteth more by the truth itself alone and sincere wisdom than all those things you mention, ‘antiquity, unity, succession,’ and we, perceiving this truth and wisdom so manifestly in our churches, that none that will see the truth can doubt whether we hold the truth or no, do willingly give you free liberty to brag, whilst you list, of antiquity, unity, and succession, without the truth. There is then, as you see, no cause why we should be angry with Augustine, either now or before.

6. *Duræus.*—‘Augustine affirmeth that these cannot be without the truth.’

Whit. p. 387. Nay, Augustine showeth the contrary: for if truth cannot be separated from these, he had spoken very unfitly when he said he preferred the truth before all these. If you can take or rightly challenge the possession of truth, in the next place you may enquire of antiquity, unity, and succession.

7. But we deny your Church to be catholic, and, therefore, you cannot thus convince us, though Optatus might thereby confute the Donatists. It must first appear that it is the Church before we can be convicted of schism. The Church of Rome was then the preserver of religion, the maintainer of the true faith, and shined like a star in the sight of all other churches; no marvel then, though the most holy Fathers esteemed much the reverence of this Church, and urged the heretics with the example of it, as a great prejudice unto them.

8. Hence it is that sometimes they allege the decrees and succession of the bishops of Rome, thereby proving that the heresies, by them refuted, were not heard of in the most famous and honourable Church. But since that time the course of the Church is turned, and the see of Rome hath declined and degenerated from her sincere faith to detestable falsehood. Restore us (Campion) the old Church of Rome, and we will never separate ourselves from her; but of that Church you have nothing left but the walls and old rubbish, yet still you brag of the name of the Catholic Church. . . .

9. ‘John Jewel (say you) challenged the Catholics, when you were a young student, calling upon and desiring the help of the Fathers, as

many as flourished six hundred years after Christ.' That worthy man did that he knew himself able to perform; he had read over all the Fathers with special judgment and diligence; he saw how you deceived the ignorant; he had a care to preserve his countrymen from your dangerous error. And hereupon, without any boasting, as you would have it, but trusting only in the power of God and the truth of the cause, he calleth forth all the generation of papists unto this trial, viz. if they could confirm their opinions by the Holy Scriptures, or by the witness of fathers and councils, they should overcome; if they failed, they should confess themselves were vanquished. 'Certain renowned men (say you), living in exile at Lovane, entertain the offer, and allow of the condition.' Harding was the captain of these; he adventured himself, hand to hand, in this combat; but how worthily performed he the condition? Jewel called for Fathers; Harding produceth certain Clements, Abdies, Martials, Hippolytes, Amphilochytes, and others of this rank, fathers of worshipful antiquity. If all the ancient Fathers of the Church be (as you brag) of your side, why should Harding turn his back so cowardly, bringing in for witnesses in a most weighty cause, wherein we demanded the judgment of antiquity, a company of upstart bastards, I know not from whence, whom no man before had saluted, seen, or heard of, passing by of purpose the known and truly noble Fathers? Is this the reverend antiquity you talk of? Must we have these fellows digged out of their graves to help you in your desperate cause?

10. Hear me (Campian) that which Jewel then said most truly and confidently, challenging you to the trial of six hundred years' antiquity, offering also to yield you the victory if you brought one plain and manifest authority out of any father or council; that same we do all profess and promise, and will surely perform it.

The Answer to the Sixth Reason, which is 'The Foundation of the Fathers,' pp. 163, 164.

11. Jerome did too much contemn your pope, and other your glorious bishops, when he writeth that a priest and a bishop, by the law of God, are all one; do you judge him worthy to be a Father of the Romish Church, the bishop whereof you make not only to be far above all priests, but also all bishops.

Dur.—'Jerome never writeth thus, but affirmeth that there is the like difference betwixt a bishop, a priest, and a deacon, as was betwixt Aaron and his sons and the Levites.' (29. 30.)—*Epist. ad Evag.*

Whit. p. 447. It is strange that you deny that which Jerome directly affirmeth in the beginning of the same epistle, namely, 'that the apostle doth plainly teach that a bishop and a priest are all one' (29. 24); and this he proveth by many testimonies of the Scripture. And, upon the first chapter to Titus, he affirmeth plainly that a bishop is above a priest by custom, not by God's ordinance. (29. 78.)

The Answer to the Seventh Reason, which is 'The History,'
pp. 179, 180, 183.

12. 'And then also when Peter gathered and governed the church there, calling it Babylon.' We deny not this. And though I can be well content that you call Rome Babylon, for I doubt not but it is the same of which John writes so much in the Revelation, the mother of whoredoms and abominations of the earth, yet I cannot be so easily persuaded that Peter means Rome in this place; here, Campian, you are always at a nonplus, and could yet never prove that Peter was at Rome. But you take this for granted, and as already proved; which if any man once deny, then, like the mathematicians, you have done, and can go no further. But why may I not reasonably think that Peter meaneth that Babylon which once was the chief city of the Assyrians, in which city certainly were many Jews, unto whom Peter was appointed apostle peculiarly. If I should set down that which I could allege in this cause, I fear I should try your patience too much. In the meantime I allow well your confession that Rome is Babylon, and hereafter, at your leisure, you may declare upon what occasion the name of it was altered. You may not now be angry with us if, following Peter's example, from henceforth we also call Rome Babylon.

Dur.—'St. John speaketh of Rome when it yet abhorred the faith of Christ, and persecuted Christians.'

13. *Whit.* p. 512.—Nay, St. John described Rome as it was restored and re-edified by antichrist, for when he writeth Apoc. xviii. 2, who seeth not that this cannot be understood of ancient Rome, but of Rome when it was the habitation of saints rather than devils, and the hold of the Spirit of God rather than foul spirits. (29. 7.)

Dur.—'Yet Œcumenius, Jerome, Eusebius, Tertullian, to say nothing of others, do grant it. And to make question of Peter's being at Rome is as if you should doubt whether ever Romulus, Julius Cæsar, or Pompey, was there. For if Cyprian, Eusebius, Dorotheus, Epiphanius, Optatus, Jerome, and many others, may not be believed, what shall ever be certain in any history?'

14. *Whit.* p. 508.—All these testimonies prove no thing that I have either doubted of or denied; for I desire authority of Scriptures, not the opinions of men; I desire every man who desireth salvation to weigh this one thing well: that whereas the whole government and hierarchy of the papacy hangeth on this foundation, that St. Peter was bishop of Rome, yet they have no word in the Scriptures to show that he ever was so; and so the whole papacy is hanged upon the conjectures of men, as upon a rotten thread; for what if many histories say he was there, if the Scripture say no such thing, what assurance can be of it for matter of faith, the mind must needs be suspicious and doubtful; it is true that the received opinion is that he was there.

15. But who knoweth not that, that which one declareth at the first may increase by fame, and be by many reserved to posterity. At the first an ancient writer mentioned St. Peter's opposing of Simon Magus, and saith it was at Rome, and him hath many followed since; and hence, from the common rumours and suspicions of men, sprang up

the pope's chair. And who shall then give assurance of faith in this thing when there is no place of Scripture for it, nay, when many places are against it? These especially. (Gal. ii. 7, 9.) Now if St. Peter should be Bishop of Rome, and for so many years, it was against both his order of life and his faith. (Acts xxviii. 22, 23.) Now they could not be so ignorant if that St. Peter for so many years before had governed that church; St. Paul abode in Rome two years, and thence writ many epistles, and in them spake of many of the brethren, but never once named St. Peter; suppose you he would be two years from his church? (Gal. ii. 1, 2.)

16. But he ought rather to have been at Rome, as a good bishop ought to be with his flock, unless you can prove he might substitute a vicar. Besides, the histories themselves are in such variety of opinions that you can hardly tell whom to follow. Some say he came to Rome in the first year of Claudius the emperor, some in the second, some in the fourth, and some in the tenth year; and it may be that none of these is true, sure it is all cannot be true.

17. *Whit.* p. 521.—I contemn your reproaches, and stand to that I have said. The Church of Rome, which once flourished, is now so oppressed with antichrist that, besides the outward face, image, countenance of a church, and a vain pomp, there is nothing else left in it. There is no word but it is corrupted with pestiferous leaven, no sacrament but polluted with sacrilege and corruption, no discipline but antichristian: I pass not for your pope's chair; your college of cardinals, the glory of your bishops, your priests, monks, temples, riches, nothing move me. I search for a Living Church, not bare walls; for a man, not a picture; for a body, not a shadow.

The Answer to the Tenth Reason, &c. p. 317.

18. And if to condemn prayers for the dead, and make equal a priest with a bishop, be heretical, what shall be catholic? Jerome was altogether of Ærius his mind about equality of priests: for he determines them to be equal with bishops by God's law. (29. 24.)

A Disputation on Holy Scripture against the Papists, &c. Question the Third, chap. x. pp. 331, 332.

19. There remains now one other argument, which Stapleton, indeed, hath not made use of; but I perceive that some other papists are exceedingly delighted with it. It is to this effect: the Church is more ancient than the Scripture, therefore it ought to have more authority in respect of us than the Scripture. So Eckius, in his *Enchiridion*; so Hosius, lib. iii. *de Auctoritate Scripturæ*; so Lindanus, in his *Panoply*, in many places; so Andradius, in the third book of his *Defence of the Council of Trent*; Schröck, the Jesuit, in his *13th Thesis*; and some others beside. I answer, in the first place, I confess that there was a time when the Word of God was not written, and that the Church existed then; but it does not, therefore, follow that the Church was more ancient than the Word.

20. For the doctrine was the same, when not written, as it is now, when it is written; and that was more ancient than all churches. For the Word of God is the Seed of the Church. Now the seed is always more ancient than that progeny of which it is the seed. When I speak of the Word of God, I mean no other than that which is now written, for the unwritten Word was the same with that which is now written. Secondly, neither is that assertion true that all things that are junior are of less authority.

21. For Christ was later in time than John. Shall, then, the authority of John be greater in respect of us than that of Christ? No one in his senses will affirm that. This argument, therefore, is but slight, and of no importance whatsoever, although it be handled very showily by some authors. Some of the papists have laboured as if they were on a question of chronology, to show that the Word was unwritten for more than two thousand years, and that the Gospel was preached about thirty years before it was written. But there is no reason why we should give this argument a larger answer in this place.

Ibid. Question the Sixth, chap. iv. p. 510.

22. However, I answer, in the *first* place, that the succession even of that Church (of Rome) is not entire and uninterrupted, as is plain from Platina and others. For Platina and other historians testify that that see hath been vacant ten, yea, twenty times over, not merely for a day, or a week, or a month, but for one, two, or three years; furthermore, that there were frequent schisms, and sometimes two or three popes in existence together. Nay, in one council, three popes were deposed, and a fourth new one elected, upon which matters we shall have to speak elsewhere. *Secondly*, though we should concede the succession of that Church to have been unbroken and entire, yet that succession would be a matter of no weight, because we regard not the external succession of places or persons, but the internal one of faith and doctrine.

The Insufficiency of the mere Succession of Bishops. Originally no difference between them and presbyters.—Works, vol. i. pp. 506, 509, 510; fol. Genev. 1610.

23. In the first place, I answer in general, that I might justly reject all these human testimonies, and require some clear testimony out of the Scriptures. For this is the constant determination of all the Catholic Fathers, that nothing is to be received or approved in religion which does not rest on the testimony of Scripture, and which cannot be proved and established by the Scriptures.

24. But the Fathers did not use this argument of personal succession as a firm and solid argument of itself, but as a kind of illustration of their main argument; they did not employ it to win the battle, but by way of triumph after victory. For when they had, by solid and powerful arguments out of the Scriptures, conquered their enemies, and established their cause, then, by way of triumph, they brought for-

ward the succession of bishops in this manner. The bishops hold this faith as they received it from the apostles; therefore this is the catholic faith. This argument proves not that the succession of persons alone is conclusive, or sufficient of itself, but only that it avails when they had first proved (from the Scriptures) that the faith they preached was the same faith which the apostles had preached before them. Faith, therefore, is, as it were, the soul of the succession, which faith being wanting, the naked succession of persons is like a dead carcass without a soul. . . .

25. I confess that there was originally no difference between a presbyter and a bishop. Luther, and the other heroes of the Reformation, were presbyters, even according to the ordination of the Romish Church; and, therefore, they were, *jure divino*, bishops. Consequently, whatever belongs to bishops, belongs, *jure divino*, to themselves. As for bishops being afterwards placed over presbyters, that was a human arrangement for the removal of schisms, as the historians of the times testify.

The Origin of the Papacy. Quæst. de Pontif. Rom. i. cap. iii.

26. For as at first one presbyter was set over the rest of the presbyters, and made a bishop, so afterwards one bishop was set over the rest of the bishops; and thus the custom hatched the pope with his monarchy, and by degrees brought him into the Church.

Ærius, and some who had the like views, cont. iv. quæst. i. cap. iii.

27. If Ærius was a heretic in this point, he had Jerome to be his neighbour in that heresy, and not only him, but other Fathers, both Greek and Latin, as is confessed by Medina. Ærius thought that a presbyter did not differ from a bishop by any Divine law and authority; and the same thing was contended for by Jerome, and he defended it by those very Scripture testimonies which Ærius did. But how childishly and foolishly Epiphanius answered to these testimonies, everyone may see (21. 1.)

79.

GRINDAL, ARCHBISHOP.

Letter to Henry Bullinger, August 27th, 1566. Zurich Letters, vol. i. p. 169.

1. We most fully agree with your Churches, and with the Confession (Helvetic) you have lately set forth, and we do not regret our resolution; for in the meantime, the Lord giving the increase, our Churches are enlarged and established, which, under other circumstances, would have become a prey to the Ecebolians, Lutherans, and semi-papists. But these unseasonable contentions about things which, as far as I am able to judge, are matters of indifference are so far from edifying that they disunite the Churches, and sow discord among the brethren.

2. But enough of our affairs. Things in Scotland are not so well

established as we could wish. The Churches, indeed, still retain the pure confession of the Gospel; but the Queen of Scotland seems to be doing all in her power to extirpate it.

80.

BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP.

A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, the 9th of February, being the first Sunday in the Parliament, anno 1588.

1. Of the times in like manner wherein we now live, the Apostle St. Paul did prophesy that there should be many false prophets; and we do see his sayings therein to be fulfilled by the number of such prophets as now remain amongst us: Arians, Donatists, Papists, Libertines, Anabaptists, the Family of Love. (P. 3.)

2. Of these false prophets some endeavour to seduce the godly under pretence of dreams and revelations, especially the popish priests and prophets, for proving of their real presence, &c. Of this number I may very well account the late obstinate heretic Francis Ket, who was within these two months burnt at Norwich. All the places in the Prophets which did describe the spiritual kingdom of Christ, he applied to the material restoration of the earthly Jerusalem, affirming that as many as would be saved, must go and dwell there in the land of Canaan. Another of this sort endeavoureth to prove out of the Prophets that Elizabeth, now Queen of England, is ordained of God to be Queen of Jerusalem; even as the Anabaptists long since dreamed of John Bocaldus, of Leiden, whom, as Bullinger noteth, they crowned King of Jerusalem.

3. Lastly, they are to be reckoned amongst the number of these false prophets who do pervert the meaning of the Scriptures for the maintenance and defence of any false doctrine, schism, or heresy. Hereof, you know I might give you many examples: I pray you bear with me if I set down one as strange, in my opinion, as any is to be found in a matter of no greater importance.

4. The name of false prophet I am content in diverse respects to suppress, the matter itself which I mean standeth in this sort. There are very many nowadays who do affirm that, when Christ used these words, *Dic ecclesiæ* (tell it to the Church), he meant thereby to establish in the Church for ever the same plat and form of ecclesiastical government, to be erected in every parish, which Moses, by Jethro's counsel, appointed in Mount Sinai, and which afterwards the Jews did imitate in their particular synagogues. (P. 6-8.)

5. They had (say these men) in their synagogues (*the certain form of eccles. govern.*) their priests, we must have in every parish our pastors; they their Levites, we our doctors; they their rulers of their synagogues, we our elders; they their Levitical treasurers, we our deacons.

This form of government they call the Tabernacle which God hath

appointed, the glory of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, the presence of God, the place which he hath chosen to put His name there, the court of the Lord, and the shining forth of God's glory. Where this ecclesiastical synod is not erected, they say God's ordinance is not performed; the office of Christ, as He is a King, is not acknowledged; in effect, that, without this government, we can never attain to a right and true feeling of Christian religion, but are to be reckoned amongst those who are accounted to say of Christ as is in Luke, 'We will not have this man to reign over us.'

6. And their conclusion upon this point (*Demonstra. of Disciplin.*) against all that do withstand their government is this, according as it likewise followeth in the same place: 'Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.'

Here you see there is great vehemence used, and very sharp applications are urged; a man would think that, if the ground of this government were not more clear than the sun, and so determined of by all the godly, and learned in the world ever since Christ's time, they could never be half so resolute or earnest. . . .

7. Besides, it is most manifest that there hath been a diverse government from this used in the Church ever since the apostles' times; and these men themselves confess that long before the Council of Nice this their government began greatly to decay (T. C.); and that since the said council it was never heard of in Christendom until these their times. (Pp. 8-10.)

8. There are many causes set down by the said ancient Fathers why so many false prophets do go out into the world; but I will only touch four, whereof I find the contempt of bishops especially to be one. For unto them, as St. Jerome saith, ever since St. Mark's time, the care of church government hath been committed. They had authority over the rest of the ministry, *ut schismatum semina tollerentur*: 'that the seed of schisms might be taken away.' And again, 'Lest everyone drawing to himself by a several way should rent in pieces the Church of Christ.' (29. 26.) For if bishops had not that authority 'there would be as many schisms in the Church as there are priests.' (29. 21.)

9. But the history of Ærius is most of all pertinent to this purpose. Epiphanius doth report it thus in effect. . . . Ærius affirmed himself (being but a priest) to be equal in honour and dignity with Eustathius, a bishop, and that there was no difference by the Word of God betwixt a priest and a bishop. He used for proof of these his assertions the very same arguments which now are used of those who maintain his opinions, as, that the apostles, sometimes writing to priests and deacons, and sometimes to bishops and deacons, should thereby signify that a bishop and a priest is all one; which is an assertion (saith Epiphanius) full of folly. (21. 1.) . . . St. Augustine likewise beareth witness hereof, who, in his book of heresies, ascribeth this to Ærius for one, in that he said 'that there ought to be no difference betwixt a priest and a bishop.' (Pp. 14, 16-18.)

10. But, indeed, if they would be gone to dwell in strange countries,

yet they could not be permitted. For (as St. Augustine saith) where God doth build His city, the devil will have another hard by to confront it; or, as another writeth (Luther), where Christ erecteth His Church, the devil in the same churchyard will have his chapel. (P. 27.)

11. All the Churches in Europe which were then reformed, understanding of our Reformation, did on our behalf clap, as it were, their hands for joy. The *Apology of the Church of England*, which shortly after was set forth to the justifying of our doctrine, with the reasons of our mislike of popery, hath ever since obtained principal commendation amongst all the apologies and confessions which hitherto have been set forth by any Church in Christendom. The papists only, in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, did show themselves to be therewith discontented. Marry, now of later years, we have gotten new adversaries. (P. 44.)

12. Whereupon Archbishop Cranmer, procuring the same book to be translated into Latin, and requiring Mr. Bucer's judgment of it, received this his approbation. (Pp. 45, 46.)

13. Hereby, you see, dearly beloved, what account was made of this book in times past, and that by men neither for life nor learning to be any way contemned. But now the case is altered; and many are grown to such a hatred of it as they scarcely have patience to hear the book once named. Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Peter Martyr, with many other, as famous men as ever this land brought forth. . . . That the foresaid book, so notably approved, 'hath in it at the least above five hundred errors.' (1st Admonition. Miles.) That 'it is full of corruption, confusion, and profanation; that the orders therein prescribed are carnal, beggarly, dung, dross, lousy, and antichristian.' They say, 'we eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the poor silly souls believe they have an English mass; and so put no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil.' (Pp. 48, 49.)

14. Touching the bishops, as you have heard before out of Jerome, and as Master Calvin upon his report seemeth to confess, bishops have had this authority which *Martin* (*mar-prelate*) condemneth ever since the Evangelist St. Mark's time. (P. 58.)

Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, containing the beginnings, successive parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it: with some of the manifold and material repugnancies, varieties, and uncertainties in that behalf. Faithfully gathered by way of historical narration, out of the books and writings of principal favourers of that platform. 1593. Imprinted at London, by John Wolse, 1593.

Chapter vii. pp. 96, 97, 99, 103.

15. Master Cartwright and all his English followers (that I have read) do affirm it most confidently that, by the commandment of God, by the institution of Christ, by the rules of God's Word, and by the practice and commandment of the apostles, 'there ought of necessity to be an eldership in every parish;' 'in every congregation;' 'church by church;' 'in every particular congregation;' 'and not only in cities, but in all

churches;’ ‘in the country and uplandish towns wheresoever there is a pastor:’ without the which eldership every such church or congregation is to be accounted ‘maimed, imperfect,’ ‘no entire body;’ ‘to want the exercise of the principal offices of charity;’ to be destitute of no small part of the Gospel, of true religion, of Christ’s government, of the pillar of truth, and of all those privileges and profits which are assigned by them unto the enjoying of it.

16. Furthermore, also, the reforming ministers of Scotland do account their platform, now in practice there, to be as agreeable to the Word of God as M. Cartwright’s; and yet (as the chronicles do report) they have but fifty-two elderships in Scotland, and those placed in their chiefest cities and great towns. Unto every of which elderships (as I am informed) twenty-four particular churches or parishes (for the most part) do appertain, none of them having any such particular eldership of their own, but are ruled, controlled, and censured by those in the said cities or towns, whereunto they are adjoined and subject. Lastly, as hitherto you have found M. Cartwright with his friends opposite in this matter unto Geneva and Scotland (differing also much from the churches in the Low Countries), so he seemeth to me to cross himself.

Ibid. chap. xxvii. pp. 333, 334.

17. It is most apparent, and cannot be denied, but that Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and divers other ancient writers, do call bishops the apostles’ successors; in so much as some of them, especially the authors of the ecclesiastical histories, do draw long catalogues of the particular bishops’ names that succeeded the apostles, and other apostolical men whom they made bishops. Which catalogues and manner of speech of the said Fathers, being used by them very fitly against such heretics as did rise up in their days, have since, in our time, been greatly abused by the papists. Unto whom, the learned men, that have stood for the truth against them, by writing, have continually answered, that the Fathers’ arguments, drawn from the said personal succession by bishops, were very effectual, so long as the succession of the apostles’ doctrine did concur therewithal; and that the Fathers in urging of the first had ever an especial eye to the second, some point of doctrine being ever called in question by the said heretics.

Ibid. chap. xxx. pp. 389, 390.

18. A friend of mine was commanded for a certain purpose to contrive the chief matters in controversy about the pretended discipline into certain questions. And it is pertinent to the matter I now speak of to acquaint you with two of them. The first (because of the pretence which is made, as you have heard, of the ancient Fathers) was this: ‘Whether can it be showed out of any ancient Father, out of any council, either general or provincial, or out of any ecclesiastical history, for the space of one thousand five hundred and odd years, even from the apostles’ time till of late, that in the ordinary distribution of church officers (since that time ever used) into *episcopos*, *presbyteros*, et *diaconos* (bishops, priests, and deacons): whether can it (I say)

be showed that this word *episcopus*, that is, bishop, was at any time taken there and used by the churches in any country, for a common and usual name to all ministers of the Word and sacraments, without distinguishing thereby any one of them from another, or was it not ever within the time limited taken and used only in the said distribution, for one amongst the ministers of the Word and sacraments, that governed the rest both of the ministers and people within their circuits limited unto them ?'

19. This question with the rest was sent to Master Doctor Raynolds, in Oxford, to the intent he might return his opinion of them, which he forbore at that time to do, in respect of certain other business that he had in hand ; howbeit, Master Doctor Robinson (his especial and most familiar friend), being acquainted, as it seemeth, with the said questions, hath written in this sort upon another occasion, not dissenting therein, as I take it, from Master Doctor Raynolds.

20. 'I have' (saith he) 'maintained it in the pulpit, that the titles of honour which we give to bishops are no more repugnant to the Word of God than it is for us to be called wardens, presidents, provosts of colleges ; and, in my judgment, they may with as good conscience be governors of their diocese as we, being ministers, may be governors of colleges of ministers. Neither do I think that this was a late devised policy. For I am persuaded that the angel of the Church of Ephesus, to whom St. John writeth, was one minister set over the rest. For, seeing there were many pastors there, why should St. John write to the angel of the Church of Ephesus, and not rather to the angels, if there had been no difference amongst them ? And if this presidency had had that fault which is reprov'd in Diotrephes, as St. Jerome proveth that the Jews had not corrupted the original text before Christ His coming : *Quod nunquam dominus et apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Phariseis, de hoc crimine quod erat maximum reticissent* : so, I may say, neither would our Saviour, who by His servant reproveth those disorders which he found in the seven churches, have passed over this great fault in silence. Therefore, as Titus was left to reform the churches throughout the whole island of Crete, so I am persuaded that in other places some of that order of pastors and teachers which is perpetual in the Church, even in the time of the apostles, had a prelacy amongst their brethren, and that this pre-eminence is approved by our Saviour. And if we come any lower, though the word *episcopus* signify that care which is required of all, and in Scripture be applied to all that have charge of souls, yet I do not remember any one ecclesiastical writer, that I have read, wherein that word doth not import a greater dignity than is common to all ministers. Neither do I think that any old writer did, under the name of bishop, mean the pastor of every parish. When the emperors were persecutors, we read of several elders, but never of more than one bishop at once, in Rome ; the like is to be said of other great cities and the churches near adjoining. And to meet with that offence which is taken at the name of archbishop, because that name is so appropriated to Christ in Scripture, that it is nowhere given to any other, I take it that there is no substantial difference

between archbishop and archbuilder (master-builder—1 Cor. iii. 10). Either, therefore, the apostle offended in taking too swelling a title when he called himself an archbuilder, or chief builder, or it must be granted that this title may in some degree be given to men without derogation to Christ.—*D. Robins. Answ. exhib. to the L. Archb. of Cant.*

21. And thus far Doctor Robinson, with whom if Master Doctor Reynolds do agree, I see not whither the factioners will turn them, for (as I take it) they will not reject his opinion. They have bragged much of him, indeed, and of his judgment (in sundry of their writings), as though he were wholly on their side, and that they held nothing but he would justify it. Howbeit, they have done him therein (I doubt not) exceeding great injury. For requital whereof I would wish him never to seek any other revenge but to turn them to his book against Hart, where he hath written his mind, as touching this point now in hand.

22. 'In the Church of Ephesus' (saith *D. Reynolds*, p. 535), 'though it had sundry elders and pastors (he useth these two words in one signification, as by the sentence going before it is manifest) to guide it, yet amongst those sundry was there one chief whom our Saviour calleth the angel of the Church, and writeth that to him which by him the rest should know. And this is he whom afterwards in the primitive Church the Fathers called bishop. For, &c. the name bishop, common (before) to all elders and pastors of the Church, was then by the usual language of the Fathers appropriated to him who had the presidentship over elders. Thus are certain elders reprov'd by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, for receiving to the communion them who had fallen in time of persecution, before the bishop had advised of it with them and others.'

23. Here then you have two for Oxford, touching the language of the ancient Fathers when they speak of bishops. Now you shall have a Cambridge man's opinion, no more but of one (I tell you) at this time; marry, he shall be such a one as the brotherhood, if they be of the painter's mind before mentioned in the former chapter, may well be compared with the other two, seeing his judgment is laid in equal balance there, both with Calvin's and Beza's, and that without any disparagement unto them, you know whom I mean, it is Master Dr. Fulke, who, in his confutation of the Rhemish notes upon the New Testament, writeth thus:—

24. 'Amongst the clergy for order and seemly government, there was always one principal, to whom, by long use of the Church, the name of bishop, or superintendent, hath been applied: which room Titus exercised in Crete, Timothy in Ephesus, and others in other places. Therefore, although in the Scripture a bishop and an elder is of one order and authority in preaching the word, and administration of the sacraments (as Jerome doth often confess), yet in government by ancient use of speech, he is only called a bishop, which is in the Scriptures called *προιστάμενος*, *προεστώς*, or *ἡγουμένος* (Rom. xii. 8; 1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 17), that is, chief in government, to whom the ordination or consecration, by imposition of hands, was always principally committed,

&c. Which most ancient form of government, when Ærius would take away, it was noted amongst his other errors.'

25. Hitherto Dr. Fulke, so as hereby I trust it may appear to Master Cartwright's reproach, and to all their shames that shall pretend any authority from the ancient Fathers, to impugn the right honourable and lawful calling of bishops, not parsons in every parish, but bishops in their diocese and provinces, appointed in the apostles' times, for the right order and government of the Church of Christ. . . . Besides, Dr. Raynolds showeth that Cyprian's elders did administer the sacraments, and for Dr. Fulke, after he had once encountered with the papists, and, amongst many other points, was come to this whereof I speak, concerning the name of priests, as it is a distinct degree under bishops: though before, and peradventure then also, he had a great fancy to the consistorial alderman, yet then that he was driven to deal directly and truly, consider how he was enforced to alter his disciplinary style:—

26. 'Those priests or ministers that are made among us are the same elders that the Scriptures in Greek calleth *πρεσβυτέρους* (presbyters), and in the bishops' letters of orders, they call them by the name presbyters; which term, though in English you sound it priests, elders, ancient seniors, or ministers, it is the same office which is described by the Holy Ghost (Tit. i.), and in other places of Scripture.' Again, 'we refuse not the name priests as it cometh of presbyters, &c., it is odious to some that know not the true etymology thereof.' Again, 'the name priest, as it is derived of the Greek, we do not refuse it.' Again, 'it appeareth by many places of Wicliffe's works, and namely in his Homily upon Phil. i. that he acknowledgeth the distinction of bishops and priests for order and government, although, for doctrine and administration of sacraments, they are all one.' Again, 'In the Fathers, *Episcopus* and presbyter, bishop and priest, are two distinct degrees.' And again, 'In the Fathers the word presbyter is one degree only, that is subject to the bishop.'

27. Whereas, therefore, Master Cartwright, with his followers, do pretend that they propound nothing which the writers, both old and new, for the most part do not affirm, and the examples of the primitive churches confirm. As that where the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical histories make mention of bishops and priests, they understand by bishops his parish parsons; and by priests, his counterfeit aldermen; believe both him and all that glean after him therein, as they deserve, and as by the premisses you shall judge there is cause.

Ibid. chap. xxxiii. pp. 430, 431.

28. There are two especial points for the which we dislike them, their departing from our churches, and the framing to themselves of a church of their own. And for both these points, hear what they may say, and what, indeed, in effect they do say, and consider withal of these things, which here I will set down: as sufficient matter for a minor, that Barrowe may work upon.

29. Thus our holy consistorians have written, viz. 'That the government of our Church is by the popish hierarchy' (*Gilby*, p. 77); 'and so is

both antichristian and devilish, that it is accursed' (1st Admon. p. 25); 'and that none but traitors to God do defend it' (Hay any, p. 13); 'that our religion is patched with the popes' (Gilby, p. 90); 'whereby we join fire and water, heaven and hell, together; that we want a right ministry' (1st Admon. p. 2); 'that in the order of our service there is nothing but confusion' (1st Admon. p. 24); 'that we eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of our own, to make the silly souls believe they have an English mass' (Gilby, p. 2); 'and that so we put no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil' (Gilby, p. 2). A dunghill of such like sayings might be heaped together, which they have cast up, out of the froth of their zeal.

81.

RAYNOLDS.

Letter to Sir Francis Knollys. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. chap. vii. pp. 495-498.

1. Though Epiphanius says that Ærius' assertion is full of folly (21. 1), he does not disprove his reasons from Scripture; nay, his arguments are so weak, that even Bellarmine confesses they are not agreeable to the text. As for the general consent of the Church, which, the Doctor says, condemned Ærius' opinion for heresy, what proof does he bring for it? It appears (he says) in Epiphanius; but I say it does not; and the contrary appears by St. Jerome, and sundry others who lived about the same time. I grant that St. Augustine, in his book of heresies, ascribes this to Ærius for one: that he said *there ought to be no difference between a priest and a bishop*, because this was to condemn the churches' order, and to make a schism therein.

2. But it is quite a different thing to say *that by the WORD OF GOD there is a difference between them*, and to say that it is by *the ORDER AND CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH*; which is all that St. Augustine maintains. When Harding the papist alleged these very witnesses, to prove the opinion of bishops and priests being of the same order to be heresy, our learned bishop, Jewel, cited, to the contrary, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine himself, and concluded his answer with these words: 'All these, and other more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle Paul, for thus saying, by Harding's advice, must be held for heretics.' (73. 27.)

3. Michael Medina, a man of great account in the Council of Trent, adds to the forementioned testimonies Theodorus, Primacius, Sedulius, Theophylact, with whom agree Æcumenius, the Greek Scholiast, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gregory, and Gratian; and after them, how many? It being once enrolled in the Canon Law for Catholic doctrine, and thereupon taught by learned men.

4. Besides, all that have laboured in reforming the Church for five hundred years have taught that all pastors, be they entitled bishops or

priests, have equal authority and power by God's Word; as first the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then Wicliffe and his scholars, afterwards Husse and the Hussites; and, last of all, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger, and Musculus. Among ourselves we have bishops, the Queen's Professors of Divinity in our Universities (Drs. Humphreys and White), and other learned men, consenting herein, as Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphreys, Fulke, &c. But what do I speak of particular persons? It is the common judgment of the Reformed Churches of Helvetia, Savoy, France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft will not say that all these have approved that for sound doctrine which was condemned by the general consent of the whole Church for heresy in a most flourishing time; I hope he will acknowledge that he was overseen when he avouched the superiority which bishops have among us over the clergy to be by God's own ordinance.

5. As for the Doctor's saying that St. Jerome and Calvin, from him, confessed that bishops have had the said superiority ever since the time of St. Mark the Evangelist, I think him mistaken, because neither Jerome says it nor does Calvin seem to confess it on his report; for bishops among us may do sundry other things, besides ordaining and laying on of hands, which inferior ministers or priests may not; whereas St. Jerome says, 'What does a bishop, except ordination, which a priest does not?' (29. 27); meaning, that in his time bishops had only that power above priests; which Chrysostom also witnesses in Hom. xi. on 1 Tim. (34. 45.) Nor had they this privilege alone in all places, for in the Council of Carthage it is said that the priests laid their hands, together with the bishops', on those who were ordained. And St. Jerome, having proved by Scripture, that in the apostles' time bishops and priests were all one, yet granted that afterwards bishops had that peculiar to themselves somewhere but nothing else; so that St. Jerome does not say, concerning the superiority in question, that bishops have had it ever since St. Mark's time. (29. 24-26.)

6. Nor does Calvin confess it; he says that in old time ministers chose one out of their company in every city, to whom they gave the title of bishop; yet the bishop was not above them in honour and dignity, but as consuls in the senate propose matters, ask their opinions, direct others by giving advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, and so guide the whole action, and by their authority see that performed which was agreed on by common consent, the same charge had the bishop in the assembly of ministers; and having showed from St. Jerome that this was brought in by consent of men, he adds that it was an ancient order of the Church, even from St. Mark; from whence 'tis apparent that the order of the Church he mentions has relation to that above described, in which he affirms that 'the bishop was not so above the rest in honour as to have rule over them.' It follows, therefore, that Calvin does not so much as seem to confess of St. Jerome's report, that ever since St. Mark's time bishops have had a ruling superiority over the clergy.

PART III.

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS RELATING TO THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE, NON-EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, AND KINDRED TOPICS FROM TWELVE AUTHORS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SUBSEQUENT TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY WHO HAVE BEEN PLACED IN THE CATENA PATRUM ON APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION IN THE *TRACTS FOR THE TIMES*, AND FROM ROGERS AND FIELD, TWO IMPORTANT AUTHORS BELONGING TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

82.

ROGERS, PRESBYTER, CHAPLAIN TO ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT.

The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, professed and protected in the realm of England, &c. Expressed in Thirty-Nine Articles, &c. the said Articles analysed into Propositions, and the propositions proved to be agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant Confessions of all neighbour Churches, Christianly reformed. Perused, and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public. The Preface, pp. 3, 4, 6, 8-11, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 31, 32.

1. To the most reverend father in God and his right honourable good lord Richard (Bancroft), by the Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, and Counsellor to the most high and mighty prince, James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

2. Most reverend father in God,—There is no one thing in this world that of men truly zealous and Christian in these latter days of the world with greater earnestness hath been desired than that by a joint and common consent of all the Churches rightly, and according to the canons of the Sacred Scriptures reformed, there might be a draught made and divulged, containing and expressing the sum and substance of that religion which they do all both concordably teach and uniformly maintain.

3. That holy man (of happy remembrance), D. Cranmer, who sometime enjoyed that room in our Church which your grace now worthily possesseth, in the days of that most godly young prince, King Edward the Sixth, employed a great part of his time and study for the effecting of that work; and imparted his thoughts with the most principal persons, and of rarest note in those days for their wisdom, piety, and credit, among the people of God throughout Christendom. M. Calvin, understanding of his intent, addressed his letters unto the said archbishop, and offered his service, saying, 'That, might his labours stand the Church instead, *ne decem quidem maria*, it would not grieve him to sail over ten seas to such a purpose.'

4. But, this proving a work of much difficulty, if not altogether impossible in men's eyes, especially in those days to be brought about, the next course and resolution was that every kingdom and free state, or principality, which had abandoned the superstitious and antichristian religion of the Church of Rome, and embraced the Gospel of Christ, should divulge a brief of that religion, which among themselves was taught and believed, and whereby, through the mercy of God in Christ, they did hope to be saved: which to God His great glory and the singular benefit and comfort of all Churches, both present and to come (as

the extant harmony of all their confessions doth most sweetly record), with no great labour was notably performed.

5. This work of theirs told the Churches in those days, and doth us, and will inform our posterity, that not only in every particular state and kingdom, but also throughout Christendom where the Gospel was entertained, the primitive and apostolical days of the Church were again restored. For the multitudes of them that did believe (I speak both jointly of all and severally of each reformed people, not of every particular person, fantastic false apostles, and perverse teachers or professors in any Church, who were not wanting even in the apostles' days) touching the main and fundamental points of true religion were then of one heart and of one soul, and did think and speak one thing, and live in peace.

6. The said archbishop (for unto whom better, after God and the king, can we ascribe the glory of this worthy act?) he wrought this unity and uniformity of doctrine in this kingdom in the halcyon days of our English Josiah, King Edward the Sixth of that name; and the same doctrine, so by his means established in the time of peace (a notable work of peace), like a manly, heroical, and heavenly captain, under our General Jesus Christ, he resolutely, even with his heart-blood and in the fiery torments, afterwards confirmed in the days of persecution.

7. A principal contriver of this uniformity in religion, and thereby uniting among us, was another predecessor of your grace's, even D. Parker, the first archbishop of Canterbury in the said queen's (Elizabeth) days.

8. For even the admonitioners themselves (which said that they did strive for true religion, and wished the parliament even with perfect hatred to detest the Church of England, whereof notwithstanding they were members), even they do say how they (meaning the bishops and their partakers) hold the substance of religion with us, and we with them. And again, 'We (all of us) confess one Christ.' And their champion doth acknowledge that her majesty hath delivered us from the spiritual Egypt of Popery.

So that for doctrine (I mean still for the main points of doctrine) there was now a sweet and blessed concord among us; which unity continued all that holy and reverend father's, I mean archbishop Parker's, time, which was till the seventeenth year of Queen Elizabeth. After him succeeded in the said archiepiscopal chair, B. Grindal, a right famous and worthy prelate. . . .

9. The care of this archbishop was great to further the glory of God; but, through the envy and malice of his ill-willers, his power was but small; his place high, but himself made low through some disgraces,* by his potent adversaries, which he meekly and patiently endured till his dying day.

10. Next unto him Dr. Whitgift, then Bishop of Worcester (a man deservedly unto that dignity promoted, and for his manifold pains in

* He was confined and sequestered for refusing to forbid the 'Exercises' or 'Prophesyings,' as they were termed. See Strype's *Grindal*, book ii. sect. iii. 41, and sect. iv. § 6.

writing, his wisdom in governing, and his well demeaning of himself every way, worthy the double honour which he did enjoy, or the state could advance him unto), from thence was translated unto the See of Canterbury.

11. Semblably, the next subscription called for by the last archbishop (Whitgift), your lordship's predecessor, an. 84, discovered even the very thoughts and desires of those (brethren before, but now styled) faithful brethren, which have and do seek for the discipline and reformation of the Church.

Many treatises afore, but now and divers years ensuing, they flew about and abroad like atoms; and by them the same things which afore but in a differing sort, and in other words, they publish.

For touching Church officers, they name who and how many sorts they be of them, viz. doctors, pastors, governors, deacons, and widows; no more, no fewer.

They say every Church must be furnished with a teacher and a pastor, as with two eyes; with elders, as with feet; with deacons, as with hands. Every congregation must have eyes, hands, and feet; and yet neither all nor at all any congregation is to have a head, answerable to those feet, hands, and eyes. The doctor, by their doctrine, must be a distinct minister from the pastor, and only teach true doctrine, and neither exhort nor apply his doctrine according to the times, and his auditory, nor minister the sacraments. For these things the pastor is to perform: which pastor also, whensoever he administered the sacraments, must necessarily make a sermon, or else he committeth sacrilege.

12. And concerning discipline by their doctrine, every congregation must have absolute authority to admonish, to censure, to excommunicate, and to anathematise all offending persons, yea, even kings and princes, if they be of the congregation. And no prince but must be of some parish, and under one presbytery or other, always. Where this power is not in their judgments, one of the tokens of a true Church is wanting. For this discipline with them is a mark of the Church, and numbered among the articles of their faith.

13. They build not presbyteries expressedly (though underhand, if it be well marked, they do erect them in their exercises of their sabbath); but they set up a new idol, their Saint Sabbath (erst, in the days of popish blindness, St. Sunday) in the midst and minds of God's people.

14. The very brethren themselves do write (1602) that, in regard of the common grounds of religion, and of the ministry, we are all one. We are all of one faith, one baptism, one body, one spirit; have all one Father, one Lord; and be all of one heart against all wickedness, superstition, idolatry, heresy; and we seek with one Christian desire the advancement of the pure religion, worship, and honour of God. We are ministers of the Word by one order; we administer prayers and sacraments by one form; we preach one faith and substance of doctrine. And we praise God heartily that the true faith, by which we may be saved, and the true doctrine of the sacraments, and the pure worship of

God, is truly taught, and that by public authority, and retained in the book of Articles.

Hitherto the said brethren. And this was their verdict of our Church's doctrine in the last year save one of Queen Elizabeth's reign; than which nothing was ever more truly said or written; and this unity and purity of doctrine she left with us when she departed this world.

15. Now, after Elizabeth, reigned noble James, who found this our Church, as all the world knoweth, in respect of the grounds of true religion, at unity; and that unity in verity, and that verity confirmed by public and regal approbation.

16. These ecclesiastical ministers, therefore (though a thousand for number), who, at his Majesty's first coming into this kingdom, either complained unto his highness of (I know not what) errors and imperfections in our Church, even in points of doctrine (as if she erred in matters of faith), or desired that an uniformity of doctrine might be prescribed (as if the same had not already been done to his hands), or (as weary belike of the old, by Queen Elizabeth countenanced and continued), desired his Majesty to take them out a new lesson (as did the seventy-one brethren of Suffolk), are not to be liked.

17. Neither can we extol the goodness of our God sufficiently toward our king, and us all, for inspiring his royal heart with holy wisdom to discern these unstayed and troublesome spirits; and enabling his highness with power and graces from above to decree orders and directions for the general benefit and peace of the whole Church; neither suffered he his eyes to sleep, nor his eyelids to slumber, nor the temples of his head to take any rest till he had set them down afore all other, though never so important and weighty affairs of the crown and kingdom.

18. Myself have read, and thousand thousands, with an hundred thousand of his subjects beside, have either read or heard of proclamations after proclamations (to the number of six or seven at the least), of books, and open speeches of his Majesty, uttered in the parliament-house, and all of them made vulgar within a year, and little more, after his happy ingress into this kingdom, and taking the administration of this most famous and flourishing empire upon himself; whereby the doctrine in this land allowed, and publicly graced and embraced of all sorts at his entrance into the realm, hath been not only acknowledged to be agreeable to God's Word, sincere,

19. And the very same which both his highness and the whole Church and Kingdom of Scotland, yea, and the primitive Church, professed; but also by his authority, regal and paramount (as one of the main pillars supporting his estate), ratified to continue; and all hope either of allowing or tolerating in this kingdom of any other doctrine, religion, or faction whatsoever, opposite or in any way thwarting the faith and confession of the Church of England, in most plain, pithy, and peremptory words and speeches, cut off.

20. The year 1562 was not more famous for the uniformity of doctrine in religion then concluded than the year 1604 is memorable, and will be, for seconding the same; neither got the clergy in these days more credit in composing the articles of our unity in faith than did the last convocation (wherewith your grace, then Bishop of London, was present,

and president), in ratifying the acts and articles of their antecessors; neither was Queen Elizabeth more honoured in establishing them at first than is our King James renowned, and more and more will be, for approving under the great seal of England the late and last constitutions and canons ecclesiastical.

21. This, and whatsoever else here done, either to the confirmation of the truth or detestation of heresies and errors, I do very meekly present unto your grace, as after God and our king best meriting the patronage thereof.

Myself am much, the whole Church of England much more, bound unto your lordship; yea, not we only now living, but our successors also and posterity, shall have cause in all ages, while the world shall continue, to magnify Almighty God for the inestimable benefits which we have and shall receive from yourself and your late predecessors (Dr. Whitgift, Grindal, Parker, Cranmer, of famous and honourable remembrance, bishops of our Church, archbishops of the See of Canterbury) for this uniform doctrine by some of your lordships drawn and penned, by all of you allowed, defended, and (as agreeable to the faith of the very apostles of Christ, and of the ancient Fathers, correspondent to the confessions of all reformed Churches in Christendom, and contrariant in no point unto God's Holy and written Word) commended unto us, both by your authority and subscriptions. . . .

22. And the same God which both mercifully hath brought and miraculously against all hellish and devilish practices of His and our enemies continued the light of His truth among us, give us all grace with one heart and consent, not only to embrace the same, but also to walk and carry ourselves, as it besemeth the children of light, in all peaceableness and holiness of life, for His Son, our Lord and Saviour Christ His sake!

At Horninge, near St. Ed. Bury, in Suff. the eleventh of March, anno 1607.

Your grace's poor chaplain, always at command,
THOMAS ROGERS.

Article XIX. pp. 167-170, 173, 179-182.

Proposition ii.—*There is but one Church. The proof from God's Word. All God's people agree with us in this point. [In proof of which seven of the Protestant Confessions are referred to.] The Errors and Adversaries of this Truth.*

23. The adversaries unto the eighteenth article be also, for a great part, adversaries unto this truth.

Furthermore, although it be acknowledged by many, and they too baptised for Christians, that there is but one Church; yet the same persons do err, which condemn so many (as no members of Christ's Church) which join not with them in their singular and private opinions, arrogating the style and title unto themselves only, and denying all other men to be either the Church or members of the Body of Christ.

24. Such are the Russes [Russians], who boast how themselves, with

the Grecians, are the only Church of God ; themselves only are the men who shall be saved, all Christians beside themselves are no better than Turks.

25. The Papists also, which say that the present Church of Rome is God's Church, God's Catholic Church, the mystical Body of Christ, 'Papists, Catholics, and true Christians are all one.'

26. The Puritans, finally, they say, 'If God have any Church or people in the land, no doubt the title Puritan is given them.' Notable words: either God hath no Church in England or Puritans are the Church. The mar-prelate is not afraid to utter this speech, 'They, against whom I deal (namely, the ecclesiastical officers, as bishops and their favourers and partakers), have so provoked the anger of the Lord, and prayers of His Church, as stand long they cannot.' Others of the said bishops and the like write thus, 'They bid battle to Christ and His Church, and it must bid defiance to them till they yield.'—*2nd Admonition.*

Proposition iv.—*The Word of God was, and for time is, before the Church.*

The proof from God's Word.

27. Forasmuch as the visible Church of Christ is a congregation of men (either in the eyes of God or in the judgment of the godly) faithful, it followeth that the Word of God must be afore the Church for time, as likewise for authority.

For time: because God's Word is the seed; the faithful, the corn, and the children; God's Word is the rock or foundation; the faithful, the house. (Luke viii. 11, 12; 1 Peter i. 23; Matt. xvi. 18; Ephes. ii. 20.)

28. For authority also the Word is before the Church: because the voice of the Church is the voice of man who hath erred, and may err from the truth; but the voice of the Word is God's voice, who cannot deceive nor be deceived. (Ephes. ii. 21; 2 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Peter i. 21.)

29. Of this judgment be the Churches Reformed. (*Confessions: Helvetia I. art. xiv. 2, ch. xiii. xvii.; Bohemia, ch. i. viii.; France, art. vii.; Belgia, art. iii. 7; Saxony, art. i. 11; Sueveland, art. i.*)

Adversaries unto this Truth.

30. This maketh to the strengthening of us against those popish assertions of Viguierius, and such like, viz. that the Church was before the Word for time, and is above the Word for authority.

Proposition vii.—*The Church of Rome most shamefully hath erred in Life, Ceremonies, and Matters of Faith.*

31. *The proof.* Justly is the Church of Rome condemned of us and all Churches Reformed, because she hath erred, and still very badly every way doth offend.

In doctrine. For proof hereof see the popish errors in every article almost, if not proposition, of this book.

32. Again, look we unto the head of the antichristian synagogue, and we shall find that of them—

Some have been conjurors, sorcerers, and enchanters: as were Pope Martin the Second, Sylvester the Second and Third, Benedict the Eighth, Sergius the Fourth, John the Nineteenth, Twentieth, and One-and-twentieth, Gregory the Sixth and Seventh; and such were all the popes (even eighteen for number) from Sylvester the Second unto Gregory the Seventh.

Some heretics: for Siricius, Calixtus, Leo the Ninth, and Paschalis condemned the marriage of priests; Liberius was an Arian, Marcellinus an idolater, Honorius a monothelite.

John the Two-and-twentieth held many errors, whereof W. Occham wrote a book, one whereof was that the souls of the wicked should not be punished until the day of judgment. Pope John the Twenty-third denied the soul's immortality. And some worldly, profane, and devilish atheists: for Sixtus the Fourth builded a male-stews. Paul the Third received a monthly pension for forty-five thousand whores at Rome. Leo the Tenth made a fable of the Gospel of Christ.

33. Hence it proceedeth that Rome hath been called Babylon, both by St. Augustine and Hierome (29. 7), and by Pope Pius the Fifth was said 'rather to Gentilise, or to be a city of heathens, than of Christians.' St. Bernard saith how the Romans, in his time, were hateful unto heaven and earth, yea, and hurtful unto both, wicked against God, rash against holy things, and seditious among themselves.

Genebrard (himself an antichristian Romanist) writeth that fifty popes successively, and within the space of one hundred and fifty years, departed from the virtue of their elders, and showed themselves abjurors of Christianity, and apostates rather than catholic bishops.

The pope was proclaimed antichrist at Rheims by the council there under Hugh Capet.

Article XXIII. Proposition i. pp. 229, 230, 232, 234, 236-240.—

None publicly may preach but such as thereunto are authorised.

The proof from God's Word.

34. This truth in the Holy Scripture is evident. For there we find how—

(1.) Godly men were both called by God and commanded to preach before they would or durst so do. So was Samuel, Jeremy, John Baptist, Christ Jesus Himself, who also to preach did send the twelve apostles and the seventy disciples.

(2.) The wicked and false prophets, for preaching afore their time, are blamed.

(3.) A commandment is given us to pray the Lord of the Harvest that He would send forth labourers into His harvest.

(4.) Lastly, we do read that God hath ordained in the Church some

to be apostles, some prophets, some teachers, some to be workers of miracles. And Christ, being ascended into heaven, gave some to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers.

35. And all this is acknowledged by the Reformed Churches.

Harmony of Protestant Confessions.

‘Furthermore, no man ought to usurp the honour of the ecclesiastical ministry; that is to say, greedily to pluck it to himself by bribes, or any evil shifts, or of his own accord. But let the ministers of the Church be called and chosen by a lawful and ecclesiastical election and vocation; that is to say, let them be chosen religiously of the Church, or of those which are appointed thereunto by the Church.’ (*From the Latter Confession of Helvetia*, sect. xi. ch. xviii.)

36. ‘In the ninth place, it is taught concerning the acknowledging of the shepherds of souls, or lawful ministers of sacred functions in the Holy Church, according to the degrees and orders of divers cures. And, first, that these are especial members of the holy ecclesiastical communion, and Christ his vicegerents, that is, they who supply His place. He that heareth them heareth Christ; he that despiseth them despiseth Christ and His Heavenly Father. (Matt. x. 40; Luke x. 16; John xiii. 20.) For to these is the ministry of the Word and sacraments lawfully committed. (1 Cor. iv. 1.) But ministers ought not of their own accord to press forward in that calling: but ought, according to the example of the Lord and the apostles, to be lawfully appointed and ordained thereunto, &c.’ (*Confession of Bohemia*, ch. ix.; also *Conf. of France*, art. xxxi.)

37. ‘We believe that ministers, elders, and deacons ought to be called and advanced to those their functions by the lawful election of the Church, earnest prayer being made unto God, and after the order and manner which is set down unto us in the Word of God.’ (*Conf. of Belgia*, art. xxxi.)

38. ‘Concerning ecclesiastical orders, they teach that no man should publicly in the Church teach, or minister the sacraments, except he be rightly called; according as St. Paul also giveth commandment to Titus, “to ordain elders in every city.”—Titus i. 5.’ (*Conf. of Augsburg*, art. xiv.)

39. ‘It is evident by the Holy Scriptures that all they which are indeed Christians are consecrated in baptism by Christ, the Son of God, to be spiritual priests, and that they ought always to offer up to God spiritual sacrifices. Neither is it unknown that Christ in His Church hath instituted ministers who should preach His Gospel and administer His Sacraments. Yet it is not to be permitted to everyone, although he be a spiritual priest, to usurp a public ministry in the Church without a lawful calling.’ (*Conf. of Wirtemberg*, art. xx.)

40. ‘Hence it is manifest that the true and fit ministers of the Church (such as be bishops, elders, anointed and consecrated) can do nothing but in respect of this, that they be sent of God. “For how shall they preach except they be sent?” (Rom. x. 15.) That is, except they re-

ceive of God both a mind and power to preach the Holy Gospel aright, and with fruit, and to feed the flock of Christ; and also except they receive the Holy Ghost, who may work together with them, and persuade men's hearts? Other virtues wherewith these men must be endued are rehearsed in 1 Tim. iii.; Tit. i.' (*Conf. of Sueveland*, art. xiii.)

41. ['Further we say that the minister ought lawfully, duly, and orderly to be preferred to that office of the Church of God; and that no man hath power to wrest himself in the holy ministry at his own pleasure. Wherefore those persons do us the greater wrong which have nothing so common in their mouths as that we do nothing orderly and comely, but all things troublesomely and without order; and that we allow every man to be a priest, to be a teacher, and to be an interpreter of the Scriptures.' (*From the Confession of England*, art. vi.)]

The errors and adversaries to this truth.

42. And so are we gainst them which to their power do seek the abolishment of public preaching in the Reformed Churches, as do the papists, who phrase the preachers to be uncircumcised Philistines, sacrilegious ministers, Hieroboam's priests, inordinate and unordered apostates.

Proposition ii.—*They must not be silent who by office are bound to preach.*

43. *The proof from God's Word.* As publicly to preach, before men are sent, is a grievous fault; so not to preach being seft is a great sin. Hereunto bear witness:—

(1.) Our Saviour Christ, whose words are these, 'Surely I must also preach the kingdom of God: for therefore am I sent.'

(2.) Peter and John, who, being charged to speak no more in the name of Jesus, said, 'We cannot but speak that which we have heard and seen.'

(3.) St. Paul, for he writeth, 'Necessity is laid upon me, and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.'

(4.) The apostles of Christ, for, though they were beaten for so doing, yet 'they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.'

(5.) All the Churches of God which be purged from superstition and errors. (*Conf. of Helvetia the Former*, art. xv., and *of the Latter*, chap. xviii.; *Bohemia*, chap. ix.; *France*, art. xxv.; *Wirttemberg*, art. xx.; and *of Sueveland*, art. xiii.)

Proposition iii.—*The Sacraments may not be administered in the congregation but by a lawful minister.*

44. *The proof from God's Word.*

45. In the Holy Scripture we read that the public ministers of the Word are to be the administrators of the sacraments. For both our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples, as to preach, so to baptise, and celebrate the Supper of the Lord; and the apostles, and other ministers

in the purest times (whom the godly ministers and preachers in these days do succeed), not only did preach, but also baptise, and minister the Lord's Supper.

46. And hereunto do the Churches of God subscribe. (*Conf. of Helvetia the Latter*, chap. xviii.; *Bohemia*, chap. ix.; *France*, art. xxv. xxxi.; *Augsburg*, art. vii.; *Wirtemberg*, art. xx.; *Sueveland*, art. xiii.)

47. In saying that none may administer the sacraments in the congregation afore he be lawfully called and sent thereunto, we think not (as some do) that the very being of the sacraments dependeth upon this point, viz. whether the baptiser, or giver of the bread and wine, be a minister or no: neither is it the meaning of this Article that privately, in houses, either lawful ministers, upon just occasion, may not or others not of the ministry, upon any occasion (in the peace of the Church), may administer the sacraments.

Proposition iv.—*There is a lawful ministry in the Church.*

48. *The proof from God's Word.* God, for the gathering or erecting to Himself a Church out of mankind, and for the well-governing of the same, from time to time hath used, yea, and also doth, and to the end of the world will use, the ministry of men lawfully called thereunto by men: a truth most evident in the Holy Scripture. Jesus said unto His apostles: 'Go and teach all nations, baptising them, &c.;' and 'Lo! I am with you alway, unto the end of the world.' Christ 'gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the gathering together of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ, till we all meet together (in the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God) into a perfect man.'

49. *A truth also approved by the Churches.* 'We confess that the ministers of the Church are (as Paul termeth them) the fellow-labourers of God, by whom He doth dispense both the knowledge of Himself, and also remission of Sins; doth turn men unto Himself, &c.' (*Conf. of Helvetia the Former*, art. xv.)

50. 'The apostles of Christ do term all those who believe in Christ *priests*; but not in regard of their ministry, but because all the faithful being made kings and priests may, through Christ, offer up spiritual sacrifices unto God. (Ex. xix. 6; 1 Peter ii. 5, 9; Rev. i. 6.) The ministry, then, and the Priesthood are things far different one from the other. For the priesthood, as we said even now, is common to all Christians; so is not the ministry. And we have not taken away the ministry of the Church because we have thrust the Popish priesthood out of the Church of Christ.' (*Conf. Helvetia the Latter*, chap. xviii.)

51. 'Therefore it is not permitted to any among us to execute the office of the ministry, or to administer any holy function of the Lord's, unless, according to this custom of the primitive Church, and order appointed by God, he come to that engagement, and be called and assigned thereunto, which thing may also manifestly appear by the ancient canons of the Church (*Distinct. 24, Cap. Episcopus*). St. Cyprian

hath in like sort set down the manner of ordaining priests (lib. i. ep. iv.)' (*Conf. Bohemia*, chap. ix. ; also chap. xiv. and sect. x. chap. viii.)

52. 'We believe that this true Church ought to be governed by that regiment or discipline which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established, to wit, so that there be in it pastors, elders, and deacons, &c.' (*Conf. France*, art. xxix. ; also art. xxv. xxx. xxxi. ; *Belgia*, art. xxx. xxxi. ; *Augsburg*, art. vii. ; *Saxony*, art. xi. ; *Wirtemberg*, art. xx. ; *Sueveland*, art. xiii. xv.)

Proposition v.—*They are lawful ministers which be ordained by men lawfully appointed for the calling and sending forth of ministers.*

The proof from God's Word.

53. 'So testify with us the true Churches elsewhere in the world. For this function is to be given to none whom the ministers, and they to whom this charge is committed by the Church, do not find and judge to be skilful in the law of God, to be of a blameless life, and to bear a singular affection to the name of Christ. Which, seeing it is the true election of God, is rightly allowed by the consent of the Church, and by the laying on of the hands of the priest.' (*Conf. Helvetia the Former*, art. xvii.)

54. 'But let ministers of the Church be called and chosen by a lawful and ecclesiastical election and vocation. . . . And those which are chosen, let them be ordained of the elders, with public prayer, and laying on of hands. We do, therefore, condemn all those which run of their own accord, being neither chosen, sent, nor ordained.' (*Conf. Helvetia the Latter*, chap. xviii.)

55. 'Such men may be chosen and called to the administration of holy functions as are strong and mighty in faith, fearing God, and having gifts requisite for the ministry, and be of an honest and blameless life. And, again, that, above all things, these be proved and tried by examination whether they be such (1 Tim. iii. 10), and that so afterwards, prayers and fastings being made, they be confirmed or approved of the elders by laying on of hands.' (*Conf. Bohemia*, chap. ix. ; see also *Conf. France*, art. xxxi. ; *Belgia*, art. xxxi. ; *Augsburg*, art. xiv. ; *Wirtemberg*, art. xxi. ; *Sueveland*, art. xiii.)

Adversaries unto this truth.

56. The papists, albeit they allow the assertion, yet take they all ministers to be wolves, hirelings, laymen, and intruders, who are not sacrificing priests, anointed by some antichristian bishop of the Romish synagogue.

Proposition vi.—*Before ministers are to be ordained, they are to be chosen and called.*

The proof from God's Word.

57. And this do the Churches Protestant by their confessions approve. (*Conf. Helvetia the Former*, art. xv., and *the Latter*, chap. xviii. ; *Bohemia*,

chap. ix. ; *France*, art. xiii. ; *Belgia*, art. xxxi. ; *Augsburg*, art. xiv. ; *Wirtemberg*, art. xx. ; *Sueveland*, art. xiii.)

83.

HOOKE.

Ecclesiastical Polity, b. iii. sects. i. and ii. p. 130, fol. ed. 1705.

1. For preservation of Christianity, there is not anything more needful than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names, so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct societies, every of which is termed a church within itself.

2. But we must note that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary amongst all men throughout the world doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language ; even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all.

Sect. iii. p. 132.

3. We teach that, whatsoever is unto salvation termed *necessary* by way of excellency ; whatsoever it standeth all men upon to know or do that they may be saved ; whatsoever there is whereof it may truly be said, this not to believe is eternal death and damnation ; or this, every soul that will live must duly observe : of which sort the articles of Christian faith, and the sacraments of the Church of Christ are : all such things, if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God should not be able to measure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever she is to walk : heretics and schismatics, never ceasing, some to abridge, some to enlarge, all to pervert and obscure the same. But as for those things that are accessory hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation as to alter them, is no otherwise to change that way than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof ; which, be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stones, remaineth still the same path ; in such things, because discretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, lest that path, which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns.

4. If this be unsound, wherein doth the point of unsoundness lie ? Is it not that we make some things necessary, some things accessory and appendant only ? For our Lord and Saviour Himself doth make that difference, by terming judgment, and mercy, and fidelity, with other things of like nature, the greater and weightier matters of the law. Is it then in that we account ceremonies (wherein we do not comprise sacraments, or any other the like substantial duties in the exercise of

religion, but only such external rites as are usually annexed unto Church actions), is it an oversight that we reckon these things, and matters of government, in the number of things accessory, not things necessary in such sort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable, consider well their own words.

Sect. x. p. 145.

5. I therefore conclude that neither God's being Author of laws for government of His Church nor His committing them unto Scripture is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change. The very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to hold, even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which, for that very cause, belongeth to all churches, to all times.

Sect. xi. pp. 146, 147, 152, 154.

6. Albeit, therefore, we do not find any cause why of right there should be necessarily an immutable form set down in Holy Scripture; nevertheless, if indeed there have been at any time a church polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid, surely for men to alter those laws, which God for perpetuity hath established, were presumption most intolerable. That Christ did not mean to set down particular positive laws for all things in such sort as Moses did, the very different manner of delivering the laws of Moses and the laws of Christ doth plainly show. Moses had commandment to gather the ordinances of God together distinctly, and orderly to set them down, according unto the several kinds for each public duty and office, the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themselves written of purpose for that end. Contrariwise, the laws of Christ, we find rather mentioned by occasion in the writings of the apostles than any solemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal sort. . . .

7. These, on the contrary side, as being of a far other nature and quality, not so strictly nor everlastingly commanded in Scripture; but that unto the complete form of Church polity much may be requisite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught becomes unrequisite, sometime because we need not use it, sometime also because we cannot. In which respect, for my own part, although I see that certain Reformed Churches, the Scottish especially and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture; I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch as both those Churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such a case than exagitate. . . .

8. When the question is whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm He hath) a complete particular immutable form of Church polity.

Book v. sect. lxxviii. p. 313.

9. Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action, we must define the Church, which is a religious society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things, that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon, because the only object which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, *accounting them which call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church*. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in men's opinions and conceits.

Sect. lxxvii. p. 347.

10. Touching the ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the whole body of the Church being divided into laity and clergy, the clergy are either presbyters or deacons.

Book vii. sect. iii. p. 375.

11. The inequality which they complain of is that one minister of the Word and Sacraments should have a permanent superiority above another, or in any sort a superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over other ministers. By us, on the contrary side, inequality, even such inequality as unto bishops being ministers of the Word and Sacraments granteth a superiority permanent above ministers, yea, a permanent superiority of power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over them, is maintained a thing allowable, lawful, and good.

Sect. v. pp. 380, 381.

12. On the other side, bishops, albeit they may avouch, with conformity of truth, that their authority had thus descended even 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, if thereunto she be constrained through the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her bishops, whose regiment she hath thus long delighted in, because she hath found it good and requisite to be so governed.

13. Wherefore lest bishops forget themselves, as if none on earth had authority to touch their states, let them continually bear in mind that it is rather the force of custom whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue under the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honour them in that respect than that any such true and heavenly law can be showed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord Himself hath appointed pres-

byters for ever to be under the regiment of bishops, in what sort soever they behave themselves. Let this consideration be a bridle unto them, let it teach them not to disdain the advice of their presbyters, but to use their authority with so much the greater humility and moderation, as a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.

Sect. xiv. pp. 402, 403.

14. Now whereas hereupon some do infer that no ordination can stand but only such as is made by bishops, which have had their ordination likewise by other bishops before them, till we come to the very apostles of Christ themselves; in which respect it was demanded of Beza, at Poissie, by what authority he could administer the holy sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than Calvin, or by such as to whom the power of ordination did not belong, according to the ancient order and customs of the Church; sith Calvin, and they who joined with him in that action, were no bishops. . . .

15. To this we answer that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain.

84.

FIELD.

Of the Church. The Epistle Dedicatory, vol. i. pp. xx. xxi.

1. But as in the days of the Fathers, the Donatists, and other heretics, including the Church within the compass of Africa, and such other parts of the world where they and their consorts found best entertainment, rejected all other from the unity of the Church, excluded them from hope of salvation, and appropriated all the glorious things that are spoken of it to themselves alone, so in our time there are some found so much in love with the pomp and glory of the Church of Rome that they fear not to condemn all the inhabitants of the world, and to pronounce them to be anathema from the Lord Jesus if they dissent from that Church, and the doctrine, profession, and observations of it, so casting into hell all the Christians of Græcia, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Ethiopia, because they refuse to be subject to the tyranny of the pope and the court of Rome, besides the heavy sentence which they have passed against all the famous states and kingdoms of Europe, which have freed themselves from the Egyptian bondage they were formerly holden in.

Ibid. Of Universality, chap. viii. b. ii. vol. i. p. 88.

2. For we do not imagine that the Church began at Wittenberg or Geneva, but that in these and sundry other places of the Christian world it pleased God to use the ministry of his worthy servants for the necessary reformation of abuses in some parts of the Catholic Church, which,

beginning at Jerusalem, spread itself into all the world, though not at all times nor all places in like degree of purity and sincerity. So that, though the Reformed Churches neither presently be, nor perhaps hereafter shall be, in all or the most part of the world, yet are they catholic, for that they do continuuate themselves with that Church which hath been, is, or shall be, in all places of the world.

Ibid. Of the harsh and unadvised censure of the Romanists, &c. ch. ii. b. iii. vol. i. p. 153.

3. All these Churches and societies of Christians, in number many, in extent large, in multitudes of men and people huge and great, in continuance most ancient, in defence of the Christian faith constant and undaunted (though enduring the malice and force of cruel, bloody, and potent enemies), the Bishop of Rome, with his adherents, judgeth to be heretics, or at least schismatics, and consequently to have no hope of eternal salvation; for that it is, on the peril of everlasting damnation, imposed upon every soul to bow and do reverence at the sight of his triple crown, to kiss his sacred feet, and to believe nothing more nor longer than his holiness shall decree and define. And therefore the most part of the Christian world is plunged into hell, abandoned into utter darkness, and reserved in chains unto the judgment of the last day (*In Concilio II. Bellarm. I. Tom. Contro. Generali de Pontifice*, ii. 18); ever since that schismatical act of that base, ignoble, and contemptible council of six hundred bishops assembled at Chalcedon, who, forgetting themselves, presumed to equal another bishop to the peerless and incomparable Vicar of Christ, His vicegerent-general on earth, in comparison of whose greatness all other episcopal and patriarchal dignity, regal or imperial majesty, is no more than the light of a candle at midday when the sun shineth in strength. (Vid. *Gesta Innocentii*, vol. i. 29, ed. 1632.)

4. But because we have not received the mark of this antichrist and child of perdition in our foreheads, nor sworn to take the foam of his impure mouth and froth of his words of blasphemy, wherein he extollet himself above all that is named God, for oracles and infallible certainty and the rule of our faith; let us, therefore, see what that heresy and schism is that cutteth off from the company of right believers, in such sort that whosoever is convinced of it is thereby clearly without all hope of eternal life.

Ibid. Of Succession, &c. ch. xxxix. b. iii. vol. i. pp. 318-321.

5. But they [Romanists, and these Anglo-catholics] will say, whatsoever may be thought of these places wherein bishops did ordain, yet in many other none but presbyters did impose hands; all which ordinations are clearly void; and so, by consequent, many of the pretended Reformed Churches, as, namely, those of France and others, have no ministry at all. The next thing, therefore, to be examined is whether the power of ordination be so essentially annexed to the order of bishops that none but bishops may, in any case, ordain. . . .

6. The apostles of Christ and their successors, when they planted the Churches, so divided the people of God, converted by their ministry, into particular churches that each city and the places near adjoining did make but one church. Now, because the unity and peace of each particular Church of God and flock of His sheep dependeth on the unity of the pastor, and yet the necessities of the many duties that are to be performed in churches of so large extent, require more ecclesiastical ministers than one, therefore, though there be many presbyters, that is, many fatherly guides of our Church, yet there is one amongst the rest that is specially pastor of the place who, for distinction's sake, is named a bishop, to whom an eminent and peerless power is given for the avoiding of schisms and factions (29. 21), and the rest are but assistants and coadjutors, and named by the general name of presbyters. So that, in the performance of the acts of ecclesiastical ministry, when he is present and will do them himself, they must give place; and, in his absence, or when, being present, he needeth assistance, they may do nothing without his consent and liking. (3. 27, 49; 8. 11.) Yea, so far for order sake is he preferred before the rest that some things are specially reserved to him only, as the ordaining of such as should assist him in the work of his ministry (29. 27); the reconciling of penitents; confirmation of such as were baptised, by imposition of hands; dedication of churches; and such like. (29. 20, 21, 34.)

7. These being the divers sorts and kinds of ecclesiastical power, it will easily appear to all them that enter into the due consideration thereof that the power of ecclesiastical or sacred order, that is, the power and authority to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God, and to perform eminent acts of gracious efficacy, tending to the procuring of the eternal good of the sons of men, is equal and the same in all those whom we call presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of God's Church and people; and that, only for order's sake and the preservation of peace, there is a limitation of the use and exercise of the same. Hereunto agree all the best learned amongst the Romanists themselves, freely confessing that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter is not a distinct and higher order, or power of order, but a kind of dignity and office or employment only.

8. Which they prove, because a presbyter ordained *per saltum*, that never was consecrated or ordained deacon, may, notwithstanding, do all those acts that pertain to the deacon's order, because the higher order doth always imply in it the lower and inferior, in an eminent and excellent sort: but a bishop ordained *per saltum*, that never had the ordination of a presbyter, can neither consecrate and administer the sacrament of the Lord's body, nor ordain a presbyter, himself being none, nor do any act peculiarly pertaining to presbyters. Whereby it is most evident that that wherein a bishop excelleth a presbyter is not a distinct power of order, but an eminence and dignity only, specially yielded to one above all the rest of the same rank, for order sake, and to preserve the unity and peace of the Church. Hence it followeth that many things, which in some cases presbyters may lawfully do, are peculiarly reserved unto bishops, as Hierome noteth;

'*Potius ad honorem sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem.*' ('Rather for the honour of their ministry than the necessity of any law.'—29. 21.) And therefore we read that presbyters in some places, and at some times, did impose hands and confirm such as were baptised; which when Gregory, Bishop of Rome, would wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken to him for it that he left it free again. (54. 22.) And who knoweth not that all presbyters, in cases of necessity, may absolve and reconcile penitents, a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto bishops? And why not, by the same reason, ordain presbyters and deacons in cases of like necessity? . . . Who, then, dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by presbyters in sundry churches of the world?

Ibid. Of Unity, &c. ch. xli. b. iii. vol. i. p. 336.

9. As if I, being in France or Germany, meeting with some Christians of whose faith I doubt, should demand of them whether they hold the true catholic religion, and add, for explication of the meaning of my question, whether they hold the profession of the Reformed Churches in England and Scotland, which, at this time, I think to be the true Churches of God.

Ibid. Of the Protestants' Pretended Confession that the Roman Church is the true Church of God, ch. xlvii. b. iii. vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

10. The next note whereby Bellarmine endeavoureth to prove the Romish Synagogue to be the true Church of God is our own confession. Surely, if he can prove that we confess it to be the true Church, he needeth not use any other arguments. Let us see, therefore, how he proveth that we confess the Roman Church to be the true Church of God. Luther, saith he, clearly yieldeth it; and Calvin and others, in effect, acknowledge the same. This we deny: for neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor any of us, do acknowledge that the popish religion is true religion; or the Romish faction the orthodox Church of God. That which is alleged out of Calvin, touching Bernard and other holy men living and dying in the Roman Church, is to no purpose. For we never doubted but that the churches wherein those holy men did live and die were the true Churches of God, and held the saving possession of heavenly truth, though there were innumerable in the midst of them that adulterated the same, to their endless perdition; whose successors the Romanists are at this day.

Ibid. Of the Distinction of the power of Order and Jurisdiction, &c. ch. xxvii. b. v. vol. iii. pp. 215-217.

11. Touching the preeminence of bishops above presbyters, there is some difference among the school-divines: for the best learned amongst them are of opinion that bishops are not greater than presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but only in the exercise of it, and in the power of jurisdiction, seeing presbyters may preach and minister

the greatest of all sacraments, by virtue of their consecration and order, as well as bishops.

12. 'Touching the power of consecration or order,' saith Durandus, 'it is much doubted of among divines whether any be greater therein than an ordinary presbyter: for Hierome seemeth to have been of opinion that the highest power of consecration or order is the power of a priest or elder; so that every priest, in respect of his priestly power, may minister all sacraments, confirm the baptised, give all orders, all blessings and consecrations; but that for the avoiding of the peril of schism, it was ordained that one should be chosen, who should be named a bishop, to whom the rest should obey, and to whom it was reserved to give orders, and to do some such other things as none but bishops do.'

85.

HALL, BISHOP.

1. Oh! how oft, and with what deep sighs, hath this most flourishing Church of England wished that she might, with some of her own blood, have purchased unto her *dearest sisters* abroad the retention of this most ancient and every way best form of government. (*Convocation Sermon.*)

2. Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least variation; their public confessions (see Ch. IX. 30) and ours are sufficient convictions to the world of our full and absolute agreement. The only difference is in the form of outward administration; wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it, according to our several apprehensions thereof, and that we do all retain a reverence and loving opinion of each other in our own several ways, not seeing any reason why so poor a diversity should work any alienation of affection in us one towards another. (*The Peacemaker*, sect. vi.)

3. The imputation pretended to be cast by this tenet [the Divine right of Episcopacy] upon all the Reformed Churches which want this government, I endeavoured so to satisfy that I might justly decline the envy which is intended to be thereby raised against us; for which cause I professed that we do 'love and honour those our sister-Churches, as the dear spouse of Christ,' and give zealous testimonies of my well-wishing to them. Your uncharitableness offers to choke me with those scandalous censures and disgraceful terms which some of ours have let fall upon those Churches and their eminent professors, which, I confess, it is more easy to be sorry for than, on some hands, to excuse. The error of a few may not be imputed to all. My just defence is that no such consequent can be drawn from our opinion; forasmuch as the Divine or Apostolical right which we hold goes not so high as if there

were an express command, that, upon an absolute necessity, there must be either episcopacy or no Church; but so far only that it both may and ought to be. How fain would you here find me in a contradiction!

4. While I, onewhere, reckon episcopacy amongst matters essential to the Church, anotherwhere deny it to be of the essence thereof! Wherein you willingly hide your eyes, that you may not see the distinction that I make expressly betwixt the being and the well-being of a church; affirming that 'those churches to whom this power and faculty is denied lose nothing of the true essence of a church, though they miss something of their glory and perfection.' No, brethren, it is enough for some of your friends to hold their discipline altogether essential to the very being of a church, we dare not be so zealous. (*Defence of Humble Remonstrance.*)

86.

BRAMHALL, ARCHBISHOP.

Catena Patrum on Apostolical Succession. No. 74.—*Tracts for the Times*, pp. 15, 16.

1. But let him set his heart at rest. I will remove this scruple out of his mind that he may sleep securely upon both ears. Episcopal divines do not deny those churches to be true churches wherein salvation may be had. We advise them, as it is our duty, to be circumspect of themselves and not to put it to more question whether they have ordination or not, or desert the general practice of the Universal Church for nothing, when they may clear it if they pleased. Their case is not the same with those who labour under invincible necessity. . . . Episcopal divines will readily subscribe to the determination of the learned bishop of Winchester (Andrewes) in his answer to the second epistle of Molineus. 'Nevertheless, if our form (of episcopacy) be of Divine right, it doth not follow from thence that there is not salvation without it, or that a Church cannot stand without it; he is hard-hearted who denyeth them salvation. We are none of those hard-hearted persons, we put a great difference between these things. There may be something absent in the exterior regiment, which is of Divine right, and yet salvation to be had.'

2. This mistake proceedeth from not distinguishing between the true nature and essence of a Church, which we do readily grant them, and the integrity or perfection of a Church, which we cannot grant them without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church.

87.

MASON, PRESBYTER.

Tract, pp. 160, 161, 163.

1. The bishop, in his consecration, receiveth a sacred office, an emi-

nency, a jurisdiction, a dignity, a degree of ecclesiastical preeminence. . . . He hath no higher degree in respect of intention or extension of the character; but he hath a higher degree, that is, a more excellent place in respect of authority and jurisdiction in spiritual regiment. Wherefore, seeing a presbyter is equal to a bishop in the power of order, he hath equally intrinsical power to give orders. . . .

‘First, if you [Romanist] mean by *jure divino* that which is according to the Scripture then the preeminence of bishops is *jure divino*; for it hath been already proved to be according to Scripture. Secondly, if by *jure divino* you mean the ordinance of God, in this sense also it may be said to be *jure divino*. For it is an ordinance of the apostles, whereunto they were directed by God’s Spirit, even by the spirit of prophecy, and consequently the ordinance of God. But if by *jure divino* you understand a law and commandment of God, binding all Christian Churches, universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity that no other form of regiment may in any case be admitted, in this sense neither may we grant it nor yet can you prove it to be *jure divino*.

Of the Consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England; with their succession, jurisdiction, &c. book ii. ch. i. pp. 41–43.

2. *Philodox.*—Very well, now to proceed; we of the Church of Rome are built upon St. Peter, as it were, upon Mount Sion, you are built upon Cranmer, as it were, upon Mount Gerizim. We have a church and priesthood which derive their original from Christ; you can go no further than Cranmer. Now, if this matter were put to King Ptolemy, or any other indifferent man, would not he give judgment for us against you?

Orthodox.—No, neither for your priesthood nor for your church; not for the first, because the priesthood which the apostles conferred was only a power to minister the Word and Sacraments, which, being conveyed to posterity successively by ordination, is found at this day in some sort in the Church of Rome, in regard whereof you may be said to succeed the apostles, and Cranmer you, and we Cranmer, and consequently we also in this succeed the apostles as well as you. But besides this, which is the ordinance of God, you have added another thing, the imagination of your own brain, which you esteem the principal function of priesthood, to wit, a power to offer a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Now, how is it possible that in this you should succeed the apostles, seeing (as in due place shall be proved) they neither were such priests themselves nor ever by ordination delivered any such priesthood? . . .

3. If you say that the line of Constantinople and Alexandria hath been interrupted, be it so; and hath not the Roman been so likewise? Genebrard is of opinion that fifty popes by the space of almost 150 years were not *apostolical*, but *apotactical* and *apostatical*. Baronius lamenteth that false popes ‘were thrust by strumpets into the seat of Peter.’ Platina saith it was grown to that pass that any ‘factious fellow might invade the seat of Peter.’ I pass over your heretical popes,

your woman pope, and your antipopes, whereof you have had sometimes two, sometimes three at once, so that one could not tell which was the true pope, but only by the prevailing faction. For he that won it in the field must wear the garland, the weaker side must to the walls; and ambitious wits must be set at work by writing to maintain the popes' quarrel. Have you not now great cause to brag of this noble succession?

4. If you expound yourself not of local, and personal, but of such as appeareth in successive vocation, mission, and ordination, then why do you tell us of Polydor Virgil, or of Democharis, or of the old monument found in a monastery, which have only set down the names of such as succeeded such persons in such places, but have not described their successive ordination? And if you could show us this also yet it would not prove the Church of Rome to be a true catholic church. For why should we not think that Constantinople and Alexandria might have this as well as Rome? Moreover, your own former example doth confute you.

5. For Manasses the high-priest of the temple on Mount Gerizim was brother to Jaddi the high-priest in Jerusalem, and had the like succession from Aaron, yet the Samaritans were not a true, but a schismatical church, in regard whereof their temple was called *templum transgressorum*. Finally, suppose that into the place of a catholic and canonical bishop deceased a capable and catholic man were canonically chosen and consecrated; yet it is very possible that he may become a heretic, as for example an Arian, and may draw his flock after him.

6. Will you now say that this flock so poisoned with Arianism are the true members of your Catholic Church? Yet here is a local and personal succession, yea, even the golden chain of successive ordination. Therefore that assertion of Stapleton's, to wit, that, 'wheresoever this succession is, there is also a true Catholic Church,' cannot be defended; but Bellarmine saith far more truly: 'It is not necessarily gathered that the Church is always where there is succession.'

7. For besides this outward succession, there must likewise be the inward succession of doctrine to make a true church. Irenæus describeth those which have true succession from the apostles 'to be such as with the succession of the episcopal office have received the certain grace of truth.' And this kind of succession he calleth 'the principal succession' (6. 11); so Gregory Nazianzen, having said 'that Athanasius succeeded St. Mark in godliness,' addeth that 'this succession in godliness is properly to be accounted succession; for he that holdeth the same doctrine is also partaker of the same throne, but he that is against the doctrine must be reputed an adversary, even while he sitteth on the throne, for the latter hath the name of succession, but the former hath the thing itself and the truth.' (25. 5.) Therefore you must prove your succession in doctrine, otherwise you must be holden for adversaries even while you sit in the throne.

88.

PEARSON, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.

On the Creed, art. i.

Those Christians, then, which have lived since the apostles' death, and never obtained the wish of St. Augustine, to see either Christ upon earth or St. Paul in the pulpit, have believed the writings of Moses and the prophets, of the apostles and evangelists, in which together is fully comprehended whatsoever may properly be termed matter of Divine faith; and so *the household of God is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets*, who are continued unto us only in their writings, and by them alone convey unto us the truths which they received from God, upon whose testimony we believe.

89.

LAUD, ARCHBISHOP.

Conference with Fisher, sect. xiv. p. 32.

1. *B.*—What? Was I so ignorant to say, 'The Articles of the Church of England were the public doctrine of all the Protestants?' or, 'That all the Protestants were sworn to the Articles of the Church of England,' as this speech seems to imply? Sure, I was not. Was not the immediate speech before of the Church of England? and how comes the subject of the speech to be varied in the next lines? Nor yet speak I this, as if other Protestants did not agree with the Church of England in the chiefest doctrines, and in the main exceptions which they jointly take against the Roman Church; as appears by their several Confessions. (See Ch. IX. 30.)

Ibid. sect. xvi. pp. 61, 62.

(As quoted in Tract 74, p. 11, in the '*Catena Patrum* of the Later English Church, on the doctrine of the apostolical succession.')

(The parts referred to on the opposite column, as given by Laud in the margin, but left out by the Tractator.)

2. 'I am with you always unto the end of the world.' (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Yes; most certain it is—present by His SPIRIT; for else in bodily presence He continued not with His apostles, but during His abode on earth. And this promise of His spiritual presence was to their successors; else why 'to the

end of the world?' The apostles did not, could not, live so long. But then to the *successors, the promise goes no further than I am with you always, but not to Divine and Infallible.

'The Comforter the Holy Ghost shall abide with you for ever.' Most true again; for the Holy Ghost did abide with the apostles, according to Christ's promise there made, and shall abide with their successors for ever, to comfort † and preserve them. [Here the extract in the Tractarian Catena ends, but the paragraph thus continues:] But here is no promise of Divine Infallibility made unto them. And for that promise which is made, and expressly of infallibility, St. John, xvi. 13 (though not cited by A. C.), that is confined to the apostles only, for the settling of them in all truth. . . . All that was necessary for the founding, propagating, establishing, and confirming the Christian Church. But if any man take the boldness to enlarge this promise in the fulness of it, beyond the persons of the apostles themselves, that will fall out which St. Augustine hath in a manner prophesied: every heretic will shelter himself; and his vanities, under this colour of infallible verity.

3. * Rabanus Maurus goes no further than that to the end some will always be in the world fit for Christ by His Spirit and grace to inhabit: *Divina mansione et inhabitatione digni.* (*Rab. in S. Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20.) *Pergatis, habentes Dominum Protectorem et Ducem,* saith St. Cyprian. (11. 9.) But he doth not say how far forth. And *Loquitur Fidelibus sicut uni Corpori,* St. Chrysostom. (34. 26.) And if St. Chrysostom enlarge it so far, I hope A. C. will not extend the assistance, given or promised here, to the whole body of the faithful, to an Infallible and Divine assistance in every of them, as well as in the pastors and doctors.

† This Comforter . . . shall be eternally with you, here by grace, in the future world by glory. (*Lyra on John* xiv. 16.) You see there the Holy Ghost shall be present by consolation and grace, not by infallible assistance.

Ibid. sect. xx. p. 83.

4. A man that is most dishonest, and unworthy the name, a very thief (if you will), is a true man, in the verity of his essence, as he is a creature endued with reason; for this none can steal from him, nor he from himself, but death: but is not therefore a right or an upright man. And a church that is exceedingly corrupt, both in manners and doctrine, and so a dishonour to the name, is yet a true Church, in the verity of essence, as a church is a company of men which profess the faith of Christ, and are baptised into His name: but yet it is not, therefore, a *right Church*, either in doctrine or manners. It may be you meant cunningly to slip in this word 'right,' that I might, at unawares, grant it orthodox. But I was not so to be caught: for I know well

that orthodox Christians are keepers of integrity, and followers of right things (so St. Augustine), of which the Church of Rome at this day is neither. In this sense then no right, that is, no orthodox Church at Rome.

Ibid. sect. xxv. p. 106.

5. The promise of Christ that He will be with them to the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii. 20.) But this, in the general voice of the Fathers of the Church, is a promise of assistance and protection, not of an infallibility of the Church.—*S. Hil. in Psal. cxxiv. (19. 6)*; *Leo Ser. ii. (44. 5.)*

Ibid. sect. xxxix. pp. 249, 250.

6. I do not find any one of the ancient Fathers that makes *local, personal, visible, and continued succession* a necessary sign or mark of the true Church in any one place. And where Vincentius Lirinensis calls for antiquity, universality, and consent, as great notes of truth, he hath not one word of succession. (40. 1.)

7. And once more, before I leave this point. Most evident it is that the succession which the Fathers meant is not tied to *place* or *person*, but 'tis tied to the *verity of doctrine*. For so Tertullian expressly. Beside the order of bishops running down (in succession) from the beginning, there is required *consanguinitas doctrinae*, that the doctrine be allied in blood to that of Christ and His apostles. (8. 8.) So that, if the doctrine be no kin to Christ, all the succession become strangers, what nearness soever they pretend. And Irenæus speaks plainer than he, 'We are to obey those presbyters which, together with the succession of their bishoprics, have received *charisma veritatis*, the gift of truth.' (6. 11.)

90.

STILLINGFLEET.

Great probability they observed no one certain Form of Government in settling Churches. Sects. xiii. xvi. ch. vi. *Irenicum*, pp. 276, 296, 297.

1. On the other side, those who hold ordinations by presbyters lawful do not therefore hold them necessary; but it being a matter of liberty, and not of necessity (Christ having nowhere said that none but presbyters shall ordain), this power then may be restrained by those who have the care of the churches' peace, and matters of liberty, being restrained, ought to be submitted to, in order to the churches' peace. And, therefore, some have well observed the difference between the opinions of Jerome and Ærius. For as to the matter itself, I believe, upon the strictest enquiry, Medina's judgment will prove true, that Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primacius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact were all of Ærius his judgment as to the identity of both name and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive Church; but

here lay the difference : Ærius from hence proceeded to separation from bishops and their churches, because they were bishops. And Blondel well observes that the main ground why Ærius was condemned was for unnecessary separation from the Church of Sebastia, and those bishops too who agreed with him in other things, as Eustathius the bishop did. . . .

2. Nay, what evidence have we what course Peter took in the churches of the circumcision? Whether he left them to their synagogue way or altered it, and how and wherein? These things should be made appear, to give men a certainty of the way and course the apostles did observe in the settling churches by them planted. But instead of this, we have a general silence in antiquity, and nothing but the forgeries of latter ages to supply the vacuity; whereby they filled up empty places, as Plutarch expresseth it, as geographers do maps, with some fabulous creatures of their own invention. Here is a work now for a Nicephorus Callisthus, a Simeon Metaphrastes, the very Jacobus de Voraigne of the Greek Church (as one well calls him), those historical tinkers, that think to mend a hole where they find it, and make three instead of it. This is the first defect in antiquity as to places. The second is as observable as to times; and, what is most considerable, antiquity is most defective where it is most useful, viz. in the time immediately after the apostles, which must have been most helpful to us in this enquiry.

3. For who dare with confidence believe the conjectures of Eusebius at three hundred years' distance from the apostolical times, when he hath no other testimony to vouch but the hypotyposes of an uncertain Clement (certainly not he of Alexandria, if Joseph Scaliger may be credited), and the commentaries of Hegeppus, whose relations and authority are as questionable as many of the reports of Eusebius himself are in reference to those elder times; for which I need no other testimony but Eusebius in a place enough of itself to blast the whole credit of antiquity as to the matter now in debate. For speaking of Paul and Peter, and the churches by them planted, and coming to enquire after their successors, he makes this very ingenuous confession: 'Is it so hard a matter to find out who succeeded the apostles in the churches planted by them, unless it be those mentioned in the writings of Paul'—*Hist. Eccl.* b. iii. c. iv.

4. What becomes then of our unquestionable line of succession of the bishops of several churches, and the large diagrams made of the apostolical churches, with everyone's name set down in his order, as if the writer had been Clarenceux to the apostles themselves? Is it come to this at last that we have nothing certain but what we have in Scriptures? And must then the tradition of the Church be our rule to interpret Scriptures by? An excellent way to find out the truth, doubtless, to bend the rule to the crooked stick; to make the judge stand to the opinion of his lackey, what sentence he shall pass upon the cause in question; to make Scripture stand cap in hand to tradition, to know whether it may have leave to speak or no.

5. Are all the great outcries of apostolical tradition, of personal suc-

cession, of unquestionable records, resolved at last into the Scripture itself by him from whom all these long pedigrees are fetched? Then let succession know its place, and learn to vail bonnet to the Scriptures. And withal let men take heed of overreaching themselves when they would bring down so large a catalogue of single bishops from the first and purest times of the Church; for it will be hard for others to believe them when Eusebius professeth it is so hard to find them.

Ibid. sect. xviii. pp. 321, 322.

6. At Antioch some, as Origen and Eusebius, make Ignatius to succeed Peter. Jerome makes him the third bishop, and placeth Evodius before him. Others, therefore, to solve that, make them contemporary bishops, the one of the Church of the Jews, the other of the Gentiles; with what congruity to their hypothesis of a single bishop and deacons placed in every city, I know not; but that salvo hath been discussed before. Come we therefore to Rome, and here the succession is as muddy as the Tiber itself; for here Tertullian (8. 7), Ruffinus, and several others place Clement next to Peter. Irenæus (6. 6, 7) and Eusebius set Anacletus before him; Epiphanius and Optatus (22. 2) both Anacletus and Cletus; Augustine (33. 11) and Damasus, with others, make Anacletus, Cletus, and Linus all to precede him. What way shall we find to extricate ourselves out of this labyrinth, so as to reconcile it with the certainty of the form of government in the apostles' times? Certainly, if the line of succession fail us here, when we most need it, we have little cause to pin our faith upon it as to the certainty of any particular form of church government settled in the apostles' times, which can be drawn from the help of the records of the primitive Church, which must be first cleared of all defectiveness, ambiguity, partiality, and confusion, before the thing we enquire for can be extracted out of them.

Ibid. chap. viii. sect. iii. pp. 393, 394, 396.

[At the commencement of this chapter, Stillingfleet quotes what has been already given above. (59. 1-11.)]

7. We now proceed to the re-establishment of church government under our most happy Queen Elizabeth. After our Reformation had truly undergone the fiery trial in Queen Mary's days, and by those flames was much more refined and pure, as well as splendid and illustrious, in the articles of religion agreed upon our English form of church government was only determined to be agreeable to God's Holy Word; which had been a very low and diminishing expression, had they looked on it as absolutely prescribed and determined in Scripture, as the only necessary form to be observed in the Church. The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy was Archbishop Whitgift, a sage and prudent person, whom we cannot suppose either ignorant of the sense of the Church of England or afraid or unwilling to defend it. Yet he frequently, against Cartwright, asserts that the form of discipline is not particularly and by name set down in Scripture; and, again, no kind of government is expressed in the Word, or can necessarily be concluded from thence, which he repeats over

again. No form of church government is by the Scriptures prescribed to or commanded the Church of God. And so

8. Dr. Cosins, his chancellor, in *Answer to the Abstract*, all churches have not the same form of discipline; neither is it necessary that they should, seeing it cannot be proved that any certain particular form of church government is commanded to us by the Word of God.

9. To the same purpose is Dr. Low, *Complaint of the Church*: No certain form of government is prescribed in the Word; only general rules laid down for it. Bishop Bridges: "God hath not expressed the form of church government, at least not so as to bind us to it." They who please but to consult the third book of learned and judicious Mr. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* may see the mutability of the form of church government largely asserted and fully proved. Yea, this is so plain and evident to have been the chief opinion of the divines of the Church of England that Parker looks on it as one of the main foundations of the hierarchy, and sets himself might and main to oppose it, but with what success we have already seen.

10. If we come lower to the time of King James, his majesty himself declared it in print, as his judgment, 'That the civil power in any nation hath the right of prescribing what external form of church government it please, which doth most agree to the civil form of government in the state.'

11. Dr. Sutcliffe, *De Presbyterio*, largely disputes against those who assert that Christ hath laid down certain immutable laws for government in the Church. Crakanthorpe, against Spalatensis, doth assert the mutability of such things as are founded upon apostolical tradition. Not long before the breaking forth of those never sufficiently to be lamented intestine broils, we have the judgment of two learned, judicious, rational authors fully discovered as to the point in question. The first is that incomparable man, Mr. Hales, in his often-cited tract of *Schism*, whose words are these: 'But that other head of episcopal ambition concerning supremacy of bishops in divers sees, one claiming supremacy over another, as it hath been from time to time a great trespass against the churches' peace, so it is now the final ruin of it; the East and West, through the fury of the two prime bishops, being irremediably separated, without all hope of reconcilment. And besides all this mischief, it is founded on a vice contrary to all Christian humility, without which no man shall see his Saviour. For they do but abase themselves and others that would persuade us that bishops, by Christ's institution, have any superiority over men further than of reverence, or that any bishop is superior to another further than positive order agreed upon among Christians hath prescribed: for we have believed him that hath told us that in Jesus Christ there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honours every man should be ready to prefer another before himself: which saying cuts off all claim certainly of superiority, by title of Christianity, except men think that these things were spoken only to poor and private men. Nature and religion agree in this, that neither of them hath a hand in this heraldry of *secundum sub et supra*; all this comes from composition and agreement of men

among themselves; wherefore this abuse of Christianity, to make it a lackey to ambition, is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of ignominy, and an ordinary I will not give it, lest you should take so transcendent a vice to be but trivial.' Thus that grave and wise person, whose words savour of a more than ordinary tincture of a true spirit of Christianity, that scorns to make religion a footstool to pride and ambition.

Ibid. sect. vii. p. 413.

12. It is acknowledged by the stoutest champions for episcopacy, before these late unhappy divisions, that ordination performed by presbyters in cases of necessity is valid; which I have already showed doth evidently prove that episcopal government is not founded upon any unalterable Divine right; for which purpose many evidences are produced from Dean Field of the Church, lib. iii. cap. xxxix.; B. Downham, lib. iii. cap. iv.; B. Jewel, p. ii. p. 131; Saravia, cap. ii. pp. 10, 11; B. Alley, prælect. iii. and vi.; B. Pilkington, B. Bridges, B. Bilson, D. Nowell, B. Davenant, B. Prideaux, B. Andrewes, and others, &c. &c.

13. So much may suffice to show that both those who hold an equality among ministers to be the apostolical form and those that do hold episcopacy to have been it do yet both of them agree at last in this, that no one form is settled by an unalterable law of Christ, nor consequently founded upon Divine right. For the former, notwithstanding their opinion of the primitive form, do hold episcopacy lawful, and the latter, who hold episcopacy to have been the primitive form, do not hold it perpetually and immutably necessary, but that presbyters (where bishops cannot be had) may lawfully discharge the offices belonging to bishops; both which concessions do necessarily destroy the perpetual Divine right of that form of government they assert, which is the thing I have been so long in proving, and I hope made it evident to any unprejudicated mind.

91.

BINGHAM.

Antiquities of the Christian Church. Of Presbyters, book ii. chap. xix. sect. iv.

1. What is further to be noted in this place is the honour and respect that was paid to them, acting in conjunction with their bishop, who scarce did anything in the administration and government of the Church without the advice, consent, and amicable concurrence of his presbyters.

Sect. v.—*Presbyters allowed to sit with the bishop on thrones in the church.*

2. Hence it was that presbyters were allowed to sit together with the bishop in the church (which privilege was never allowed to

deacons), and their seats were dignified with the name of thrones, as the bishop's was, only with this difference that his was the high throne, and theirs the second thrones. In allusion to this, Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of his own ordination to the degree of presbyter, says his father, who ordained him, brought him by violence to the second thrones. And in his vision concerning the Church of Anastasia, he thus represents the several orders of the Church: Methought I saw myself (bishop) sitting on the high throne, and the presbyters, that is, the guides of the Christian flock, sitting on both sides by me on lower thrones, and the deacons standing by them. (25. 13.) By this we may understand what Constantine meant in his letter to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse, when, giving him a summons to the council of Arles, he bids him also bring with him two of the second throne, that is, two presbyters, and what Eusebius means by those words in his panegyric upon the temple of Paulinus, where he says he beautified and adorned the structure with thrones set up on high for the honours of the presidents or rulers. By which it is plain he means the thrones of the presbyters as well as the bishop, for they were both exalted above the seats of the common people.

3. Nay, both the name and the thing were then so usual that Ærius drew it into an argument to prove the identity and parity of bishops and presbyters. A bishop sits upon a throne, and so does a presbyter likewise. (21. 1.) Which, though it be but a very lame and foolish argument to prove what he intended, yet it is a plain intimation of what has here been noted to have been the then known custom and practice of the Church. And little regard is to be had to those modern authors who pretend to say that presbyters had not power to sit in the presence of their bishops, which is confuted by the acts and canons almost of every council, and the writings of every ancient author, in which nothing more commonly occurs than the phrases, *consessus presbyterorum*, and *sedere in presbyterio*, importing the custom and privilege whereof we are now speaking.

Sect. vi.—*The form of their sitting in a semicircle, whence they were called corona presbyterii.*

4. There is one thing further to be noted concerning the manner of their sitting, which was on each hand of the bishop, in the form or figure of a semicircle, which is described by the author of the *Constitutions* under the name of Clemens Romanus, and Gregory Nazianzen, and others. Whence, as the bishop's throne is called the middle throne, or the middle seat, by Theodoret and the *Constitutions*, so for the same reason Ignatius and the *Constitutions* term the presbyters the spiritual crown or circle of the presbytery, and the crown of the Church (3. 29, 30); unless we will take this for a metaphorical expression, to denote only that presbyters, united with their bishop, were the glory of the Church.

Sect. vii.—*Presbyters the ecclesiastical senate, or council of the Church, whom the bishops consulted and advised with upon all occasions.*

5. This honour was done them in regard to their authority in the Church, wherein they were considered as a sort of ecclesiastical senate or council to the bishop, who scarce did anything of great weight and moment without asking their advice and taking their consent, to give the greater force and authority to all public acts done in the name of the Church. Upon which account, St. Chrysostom and Synesius style them the court or sanhedrim of the presbyters; and Cyprian, the sacred and venerable bench of the clergy (11. 28); St. Jerome and others, the Church's senate, and the senate of Christ. (29. 42.) Origen and the author of the *Constitutions*, the bishop's counsellors, and the council of the Church: because, though the bishop was prince and head of this ecclesiastical senate, and nothing could regularly be done without him, yet neither did he ordinarily do any public act, relating to the government and discipline of the Church, without their advice and assistance.

Sect. viii.—*Some evidences out of Ignatius and Cyprian, of the power and prerogatives of presbyters in conjunction with the bishop.*

6. The first ages afford the most pregnant proofs of this Divine harmony between the bishop and his presbyters. For anyone that ever looked into the writings of Cyprian must acknowledge that at Rome and Carthage, the two great Churches of the West, all things were thus transacted by joint consent. The bishop, with his clergy, did *communi consilio ponderare*, weigh things by common advice and deliberation; whether it was in the ordinations of the clergy: for Cyprian would not so much as ordain a subdeacon or a reader without their consent (11. 18): or whether it was in the exercise of discipline and reconciliation of penitents: Cyprian declares his resolution to do all by common consent. Cyprian, in several other of his epistles, speaks of the same deference paid to his presbytery, and in one place he more particularly tells them that it was a law and rule that he had laid to himself from the first entrance on his bishopric that he would do nothing without their advice and the consent of the people. (11. 11.) Epiphanius observes the same practice at Ephesus in the condemnation of Noëtus. For first, he says, he was convened before the presbytery, and then, again, upon a relapse by them expelled the Church; which at least must mean that the bishop and his presbyters joined together in this ecclesiastical censure.

7. In like manner, speaking of the first condemnation of Arius, he says, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, called a presbytery against him, before whom, and some bishops then present, he examined him, and expelled him. Cotelerius, in his *Notes upon the Constitutions*, has published, from an ancient manuscript, one of the forms of Arius' deposition, which may give some light to this matter. For thereby it appears that, when Alexander sent forth his circular letters to all other bishops against Arius, he first summoned all the presbyters and deacons of Alexandria, and region of Mareotes, not only to hear what he had written, but also to testify their consent to it, and to declare that they

agreed with him in the condemnation of Arius. From whence we learn that, though the deposition was probably the bishop's act, yet to have it done with the greater solemnity, the consent both of the presbyters and deacons was required to it. And thus it was also in the condemnation of Origen.

8. The council of Alexandria, which expelled him the city, was composed both of bishops and presbyters, who decreed that he should remove from Alexandria, and neither teach nor inhabit there, as Pamphilus relates in the second book of his *Apology for Origen*, some fragments of which are preserved in Photius. The council of Rome, that was gathered against Novatian, consisted of sixty bishops, and many more presbyters and deacons. The first council of Antioch, that was held against Paulus Samosatensis, had also presbyters and deacons in it; the name of one of them, Malchion, a presbyter of Antioch, is still remaining in the synodical epistle among the bishops in the inscription. From all which it appears that this was an ancient privilege of presbyters to sit and deliberate with bishops, both in their consistorial and provincial councils.

9. And if we ascend yet higher, we shall find matters always thus transacted in the Church *ab origine*; as appears from Ignatius, whose writings, as a learned man observes (Pearson), speak as much for the honour of the presbytery as they do for the superiority of episcopacy: no ancient author having given so many great and noble characters of the presbytery as he does. For which reason it concerns those who are most zealous for the honour and authority of presbyters to look upon Ignatius as one of the best asserters and defenders of their power and reputation. For he always joins the bishop and presbyters together, as presiding over the Church, the one in the place of God and Jesus Christ, and the other as the Great Council of God, in the room of the apostles. Thus, in his epistle to the Ephesians, he bids them to be subject to the bishop and the presbytery. (3. 10, 11.) And in his epistle to the Magnesians, he commends Sotion the deacon, because he was subject to the bishop, as the gift of God, and to the presbytery, as the law of Christ. And a little after, in the same epistle, he speaks of the bishop as presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the council of apostles. (23, 24.) So in his epistle to the Trallians, he bids them be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ; and, again, 'Reverence the presbyters, as the council of God, and the united company of the apostles; without which no church is called a church.' (31-36.) Several other passages of the same importance may be seen in his epistles to Polycarp and the Church of Smyrna. (4-6, 49-52.)

Sect. ix.—*The power of presbyters thought by some to be a little diminished in the fourth century.*

10. And indeed all his epistles are so full of great eulogiums of the presbyters, as acting in the nature of an ecclesiastical senate, together with the bishop, that our learned defender of those epistles thence concludes that the power and privileges of presbyteries was greater in the second century, when Ignatius lived, than in the fourth age of the

Church, when he thinks the power and authority of presbyteries was a little sunk and diminished over all the world, and even at Alexandria itself, where it had most of all flourished. And this he makes an argument of the antiquity of those epistles, that they were the genuine product of Ignatius, because no one of the fourth age would have given such encomiums of the presbytery, or armed them with so great authority and power. I shall not dispute this matter, nor enter upon any nice comparison of the different powers of presbyters in these two ages, but only represent to the reader what privileges still remained to them in the fourth century.

Sect. x.—*Yet still they were admitted to join with the bishops in the imposition of hands in the ordination of presbyters.*

11. And here it cannot be denied but that in this age, in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters that were present were allowed, nay, even required, to join with the bishop in imposition of hands upon the party to be ordained. That it was so in the African Churches is beyond all dispute. For in the fourth council of Carthage there is a canon expressly enjoining it. When a presbyter is ordained, while the bishop pronounces the benediction, and lays his hands upon his head, all the presbyters that are present shall lay their hands by the bishop's hand upon his head also. And this, in all likelihood, was the universal practice of the Church. For in the constitutions of the Church of Alexandria there is a rule to the same purpose. In the Latin Church the decree of the council of Carthage seems also to have prevailed, because it is inserted into their canon-law by Gratian and other collectors, from whence it became the common practice of our own Church, which is continued to this day. (Ch. IV. 254; VI. 11, 12.)

Sect. xiv.—*Of the titles of honour given to presbyters, as well as bishops, &c.*

12. These prerogatives of presbyters, being thus allowed in so many cases to act in conjunction with their bishops, advanced their character and reputation very high, and made them of great esteem in the Church: insomuch that many of the same titles of honour, which were given to bishops, were with a little variation given to presbyters also. Hence they are called *πρόεδροι*, by Synesius and Eusebius; *προεστῶτες*, by Nazianzen and Basil; *προσάται*, by Chrysostom, and Nazianzen likewise: which names answer to the titles of *præpositi* and *antistites* in Latin, and signify presidents, or rulers and governors of the people. . . .

Sect. xvii.—*The ancient form and manner of ordaining presbyters.*

13. But there is one thing the reader may be desirous to know further, viz. what form of words the consecration prayer was conceived in? To which I must answer, as I have done before about bishops, that there was no such general form then extant, but every bishop having liberty to frame his own Liturgy, he used such a form as he thought convenient in his own church; it being a thing indifferent,

as a learned person (Bishop Burnet) observes, so the substance of the blessing were preserved. The only form now remaining is that which is extant in the *Constitutions*, which, because it will show the reader what was then the substance of the benediction, I will here insert the words of it, which are these:—

14. ‘Look, O Lord, upon this thy servant, who is chosen into the presbytery by the suffrage and judgment of all the clergy, and fill him with the spirit of grace and council, that he may help and govern thy people with a pure heart: in like manner as thou hadst respect to thy chosen people, commanding Moses to make choice of elders, whom thou didst replenish with thy Spirit. And now, Lord, do the same thing, preserving in us the never-failing Spirit of thy grace: that he, being full of healing powers and instructive discourse, may with meekness teach thy people, and serve thee sincerely with a pure mind and willing soul, and unblamably perform the sacred services for thy people, through Christ, &c.’ Where we may observe that it was not then thought necessary to express all or any of the offices of a presbyter in particular, but only in general to pray for grace to be given to the priest then ordained, whereby he might be enabled to perform them. And this, with a solemn imposition of hands, was reckoned a sufficient form of consecration.

15. Which I note for the instruction of those who may be apt to think that modern forms of ordination are in every circumstance like the primitive ones; whereas, if Morinus say true, the words which are now most in use, viz. Receive the Holy Ghost, were not in the Roman Pontifical above four hundred years ago. Which makes good the observation of a learned person (Bishop Burnet), that the Church Catholic did never agree to one uniform ritual, or book of ordination, but that was still left to the freedom of particular churches, and so the Church of England had as much power to make or alter rituals as any other had.

A Scholastic History of the Practice of the Church in reference to the administration of Baptism, &c. part i. ch. i. sect. xxiii.

16. If it be enquired now how the Reformed Church of England comes to have full and ample authority to baptise, which before was an heretical and schismatical church, under the slavery of the Romish yoke, I answer, by shaking off that yoke and reforming her errors, and returning to the unity of the Catholic Church, which was the ancient method for schismatical and heretical bishops and other clergy, to gain that lawful authority that empowered them to officiate legally, which they had not and could not have whilst they continued in their errors, and out of the unity of the Holy Catholic Church. Thus the great council of Nice decreed in the case of the Novatians ‘that upon their return to the Church they should continue in the same station and clerical degrees they were in before, only receiving a reconciliatory imposition of hands by way of absolution.’ And by virtue of this they had now the full power and license of the Church to authorise them to officiate, which they certainly had not before. And this was the case

of the Donatists in the time of St. Austin, as appears from the writings of that Father, and several canons in the African code, of which I have given a particular account in another place. The same rule and method, then, which was used and allowed in the primitive Church, was that which authorised the English bishops and priests to officiate legally upon their reforming from their heretical and schismatical errors and corruptions, and returning to the strict and perfect unity of the Holy Catholic Church. And so those persons who could only give valid baptism before, as heretics and schismatics may do by a kind of usurpation, were now qualified authoritatively to give it every way legal, perfect, and authentic.

17. But some will be ready to ask, where was that holy Catholic Church to which our first Reformers are supposed to return? Which is much such another question as that other, where was your Church before Luther? To which I answer, It was where the holy catholic faith and doctrine of the Creed and Scriptures were maintained, without the addition of the Romish errors and corruptions: and though there had been no visible professors of that faith and doctrine entirely pure yet it had been sufficient for the first Reformers to have returned to the profession of the faith itself, which, in effect, is returning to the unity of the Holy Catholic Church, the chief and principal part of whose unity is the sincere faith of the Creed and Scriptures.

18. But we can show also where there were visible professors of this faith in every age, perhaps, who always opposed the corruptions of the Romish Church, and kept themselves free from her heretical stains and pollutions. And why might not our first Reformers, by joining themselves to the faith and communion of those visible professors, be said to return to the unity of the Holy Catholic Church in the strictest and most perfect notion of the unity thereof? Some of those noble professors were the Waldenses or the Albigenses, and the *Fratres Bohemi* (Moravians), whose history is so famous in latter ages; and many worthy writers have deserved excellently of the Church of God who have endeavoured to preserve their memory, and writings, and confessions of faith, as standing monuments and lasting evidences of their religion; and also to clear their character of the black and odious imputations which their adversaries have falsely and industriously thrown upon them. Such are the learned labours of Archbishop Usher, &c. . . .

19. So then, without further enquiry, there were numbers enough of catholic professors for the Church of England to join with at the Reformation from her former errors and heresies of Rome.

Ibid. part ii. chap. vi. sects. iii. v. vi.

20. Indeed, the name of *indelible character* occurs never so much as once expressly in any act or canon of an ancient council. And they who have been most inquisitive after its synodical establishment are at a loss to find it anywhere else but in the council of Florence, or the council of Trent, which is an argument that the ancient councils knew nothing of it. . . .

As to the character of a priest given him in his ordination, they seem

still to recede further from the doctrine of the ancients. For it does not suffice them to say it is such an indelible character as may qualify a degraded priest to officiate again without a new ordination, if the Church think fit to recall him to his station; but they will have it to be 'a perpetual spiritual power or authority impressed upon the soul of a priest, which no removal from his office can take from him;' for so Bellarmine, the great oracle of the Romish Church, in express terms delivers it as the catholic opinion, which is as contrary to the common sentiments of the ancient Church as the doctrine of the council of Trent is contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the first six general councils, which take away all power and authority from degraded clerks till the Church thinks fit to restore them to their authority again by a relaxation of her censures. There is a plain opposition and contrariety in the style and language of the ancient Church to this modern new doctrine. . . .

21. But in the gross sense of the words, it is not more contrary to the doctrine and practice of the ancient Church than it is the general stream and current of Protestant writers. Bellarmine himself owns this, for he says 'all the heretics of these times (by whom he means all the Protestants from the days of Wicliffe to his own time) deny this character (as he describes it), for they will have the ecclesiastical ministry to be only a simple office, which may be given and taken away again; so that a man may be to-morrow a layman who to-day is a minister and a pastor.' This was then the general sense of the Protestants about this new Roman character, if Bellarmine does not misrepresent them. And that he did not much wrong them appears from the opposition which they presently made to the council of Trent, as soon as she had framed her canon about this indelible character with an *anathema*, as if it had been the greatest point of faith against those that did not believe it.

22. Calvin wrote his *Antidotè*, and Chemnitius his *Examen*, of the Council of Trent, and they both reject and refute it as a modern fiction. Calvin says, 'It was a fable first invented in the schools of the ignorant monks, and that the ancients were altogether strangers to it; and that it had more of the nature of a magical enchantment than of the sound doctrine of the Gospel in it.' And therefore it might be rejected with the same facility that it was invented.

Chap. vii. sect. iv.

The last and greatest difficulties seem to be about the ordinations of heretics and schismatics, and such degraded bishops as are divested of their authority to ordain.

23. For, if they are not true authorised ministers in that state, but at the best only in lay-communion, as they have no authority to baptise so neither can they have any just authority in such a state to ordain. But then the question is, What if they do ordain in such a state? Of what force are their ordinations? How did the Church receive pretended clerks so ordained? Did she wholly disannul their ordinations, and give them a new ordination, or only supply what was deficient in

them by adding her own authority and confirmation? To this I answer the Church used her liberty in this matter, to receive or reject such ordinations as she thought expedient, and judged most necessary in the present exigency of affairs. She received the ordinations of the Novatians and the Donatists without re-ordaining, at the same time that she rejected the ordinations of the Meletians, and would admit none of their clergy to officiate in the Church without a new ordination. And yet Meletius, the Father of the Meletians, was once a regular archbishop in the Church, if that had been sufficient to have given a perpetual authority to his ordinations; but Novatian, the Father of the Novatians, and Majorinus, the first founder of the Donatists, were never truly ordained bishops in the Church, and consequently never had true and lawful authority to ordain others.

The French Church's Apology for the Church of England, book ii. ch. ii. sect. xiv.

24. Mr. Baxter's next exception is in favour of the churchmen, who 'like not the description given of the visible Church in the nineteenth article, and think that the Church of Rome never erred in matters of faith, contrary to what is there asserted.' But what is that description of the visible Church which they dislike? Why, 'that it is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' And are there any churchmen that dislike this? Yes; because there is no mention of bishops or their government in it. And would Mr. Baxter have liked it better if there had been? No, but he is concerned for the churchmen who cannot subscribe this article but contrary to their judgment. But these episcopal churchmen have often told him and others that it is not contrary to their judgment to subscribe this article.

25. For in all their disputes with the papists they never require more than these two notes of a church. They say, with Bishop Andrewes, 'that, though episcopal government be of Divine institution, yet it is not so absolutely necessary as that there can be no church, nor sacraments, nor salvation without it. He is blind that sees not many Churches flourishing without it; and he must have a heart as hard as iron that will deny them salvation. Something may be wanting, that is of Divine right, in the exterior regimen of the Church, and yet salvation be obtained therein.' Now this is the case of the French Church, which Bishop Andrewes and his followers allow to have all the necessary and essential notes of a true church, though episcopal government was never settled among them.

92.

SHARP, ARCHBISHOP.

Life of Abp. Sharp, vol. i. p. 377.

In the debate on *Occasional Conformity*, in 1702, Dr. Sharp, Arch-

bishop of York, stated that, 'if he were abroad, he would willingly communicate with the Protestant Churches where he should happen to be.'

93.

WAKE, ARCHBISHOP.

*Letter to Father Courayer, dated from Croydon House, July 9, 1724.—
Mosheim Cent. xviii. ch. xxiii.*

1. I bless God that I was born and have been bred in an episcopal church, which I am convinced has been the government established in the Christian Church from the very time of the apostles. But I should be unwilling to affirm that, where the ministry is not episcopal, there is no church, nor any true administration of the sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry.

*Extract of a Letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Le Clerc,
April, 1719.—Mosheim Appen. iii. No. xix.*

2. The Reformed Churches, though in some things differing from our English Church, I willingly embrace. I could have wished, indeed, that the episcopal form of church government had been retained by all of them. In the meanwhile be it far from me to be so iron-hearted that on account of a defect of this kind (such I may be permitted without offence to call it) I should believe that some of them are to be broken off from our communion, or, with certain insane writers (*furiosis scriptoribus*) among us, should assert that they have no true and valid sacraments, and thus are scarcely Christians.

94.

HORSLEY, BISHOP.

Sermon on Matt. xvi. 18, 19.—Sermons, vol. i. pp. 292–296.

1. The promise to St. Peter consists of these two articles: that the keys of the kingdom of heaven should be given to him; and that whatsoever he should bind or loose on earth should be bound or loosed in heaven. . . . It was a temporary, not a perpetual authority; its object was not individuals, but the whole human race. The kingdom of heaven upon earth is the true Church of God. It is now, therefore, the Christian Church; formerly the Jewish Church was that kingdom. The true Church is represented in this text, as in many passages of Holy Writ, under the image of a walled city, to be entered only at the gates. Under the Mosaic economy these gates were shut, and particular persons only could obtain admittance: Israelites by birth, or by legal

incorporation. The locks of these gates were the rites of the Mosaic law, which obstructed the entrance of aliens. But, after our Lord's Ascension and the descent of the Holy Ghost, the keys of the city were given to St. Peter, by that vision which taught him, and authorised him to teach others, that all distinctions of one nation from another were at an end. By virtue of this special commission, the great apostle applied the key, pushed back the bolt of the lock, and threw the gates of the city open for the admission of the whole Gentile world, in the instance of Cornelius and his family. To this, and to this only, our Lord prophetically alludes, when He promises to St. Peter the custody of the keys. (8. 19.)

2. With this, the second article of the promise, the authority to loose and bind, is closely connected. St. Peter was the first instrument of Providence in dissolving the obligation of the Mosaic law in the ceremonial and of binding it in the moral part. The rescript indeed for that purpose was drawn by St. James, and confirmed by the authority of the apostles in general, under the direction of the Holy Ghost; but the Holy Ghost moved the apostles to this great business by the suggestion and the persuasion of St. Peter, as we read in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. And this was his particular and personal commission to bind and loose.

3. I must not quit this part of my subject without observing that no authority over the rest of the apostles was given to St. Peter, by the promise made to him, in either or in both its branches; nor was any right conveyed to him which could descend from him to his successors in any see. The promise was indeed simply a prediction that he would be selected to be the first instrument in a great work of Providence, which was of such a nature as to be done once for all; and, being done, it cannot be repeated. The great apostle fulfilled his commission in his lifetime: he applied his key, he turned back the lock, he loosed and he bound. The gates of the kingdom of heaven *are* thrown open, the ceremonial law *is* abrogated, the moral law *is* confirmed.

95.

BILSON, BISHOP.

Catena Patrum on Apostolical Succession. No. 74, p. 3, *Tracts for the Times.*

It will happily be granted the apostles had their prerogative and pre-eminence above others in the Church of Christ; but that limited to their persons and during their lives, and, therefore, no reason can be made for their superiority, to force the like to be received and established in the Church of Christ for all ages and places; since their office and function are long since ceased, and no like power reserved to their successors after them.

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- Gregory Nazianzen*, teaches that the consecration of a priest and a high-priest is the same, iii. 12; **25. 2, 8.** 'Chair' signifies doctrine, iv. 127; **25. 6.** Applies the same titles to bishops and presbyters, and describes bishops and presbyters as sitting on thrones, iv. 190; **25. 1, 13.** Represents the consecration of a bishop after the manner of the installing of a Jewish high-priest, iv. 195; **25. 3.** The depreciatory style in which he speaks of consecrated bishops and their assemblies, iv. 195; **25. 11, 12.** Describes Peter, James, and John as leading apostles, iv. 262; **25. 8.**
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- Hall, Bishop*, recognises the non-episcopal Churches as 'dearest sisters,' and states that 'there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation,' and that 'we do love and honour those, our sister churches, as the dear spouse of Christ,' **85. 1-3**; ix. 16. His testimony misapplied by Tractarians to support their doctrine on apostolical succession, viii. 11.
- Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury*, seeks the union of the Church of England with the Church of Rome, ix. 34, 35.
- Hammond* considers that we are wholly dependent on the Latin and Greek Fathers for the kind of powers exercised by those who succeeded the apostles, i. 4.
- Hermas*, short account of his writings, iv. 25. Speaks of a plurality of persons presiding over the Church of Rome, and of two orders only in the Church, iv. 25; **2. 1-4.**
- Hilary, Bishop*, applies Matt. xxviii. 20 to all believers, i. 49; **19. 6, 7.** Describes the foundation of the Church, iv. 134, 180; **19. 7.** Describes those who called themselves the Catholic Church as priests of antichrist, &c., iv. 167; **19. 2, 4.**

Hilary, Deacon, makes a general application of John xx. 21, ii. 24; **31. 14**. Teaches that all Christians are sacrificing priests, iii. 21; **31. 14**. The character of his writings, iv. 232. Thinks that the evangelists of the New Testament were deacons, states that there was but one ordination of a bishop and a presbyter, and that in every synod of presbyters there was a first presbyter, who was called bishop, 232. States that in the commencement of the Christian Church all were teachers, and all baptised. His silence on modern Anglican notions of succession, and his ignoring the order supposed to convey it, 233. States that nothing was done at the beginning of the Church without the counsel of presbyters, and regrets that so primitive a practice had ceased, 232.

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- ticular class of men have the prerogative of interpreting Scripture, **65**. 2, 3. The teaching of Scripture to be preferred to that of the church, 4, 5. Church not bound to any order of men, 6-8 ; vii. 13.
- Horsley, Bishop*, considers the keys of the kingdom of heaven to have been entrusted to Peter only, and that their use ceased after he had planted the church among the Jews and Gentiles, **94**. 1-3 ; iv. 54, 128. His application of Matt. xxviii. 20, fatal to the modern Anglican perversion of it. A misplaced link in the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession, and one whose presence there renders worthless several other links of the chain, viiii. 13, 14, 22.
- Ignatius*, some account of his writings, iv. 26 ; **3**. (at the beginning). One of the three orders only as described by him accords with the three orders of certain Anglicans, iii. 3 ; iv. 27-30. Assigns to the bishops the place of God and to the presbyters the place of the apostles, iv. 27 ; **3**. 23, 24, 33-36, 49, 50. The churches he describes appear to have been congregational, iv. 31. A bishop with his fellow-presbyters made a council, iv. 36. Appears, like Cyprian, Jerome, and other Fathers, to represent bishops and presbyters, as in the place of the seventy disciples, **3**. 20. Enjoins subjection to the bishop, **3**. 18, 19, 22-24, 26-28, 31, 32, 35-38, 40-43, 51, 52.
- Intention, doctrine of*, if true, fatal to certain Anglican notions of succession, iv. 244.
- Ireneus* states that all Christians have the priestly order, iii. 21 ; **6**. 10. Calls the same persons both bishops and presbyters, iv. 44, 45 ; **6**. 3, 4, 11, 16, 17. Difficult to learn from him what difference there was in his day between a bishop and a presbyter, iv. 45 ; **6**. 9. Speaks of presbyters as successors of apostles, iv. 26 ; **6**. 3, 11, 12, 16, 17. Succession of whatever kind worthless without sound doctrine, iv. 50 ; **6**. 12. Speaks of the succession of the church from the apostles in the same style as he does of the succession of bishops or presbyters, iv. 50 ; **6**. 13. His list of the names of those persons who were supposed to be the first presbyters or bishops of Rome, **6**. 6, 7.
- James I. King*, his praise of the Church of Scotland, v. 13. His hatred of a certain class of Puritans and his approval and love of Presbyterians, 12, 14. Compares certain English Puritans to Scottish Highland or border thieves, 15. His State Declaration that he did not intend to change the Presbyterian Government of the Scottish Church years after the bidding prayer was framed, 16-18.
- Jerome* applies Matt. xxviii. 20 to all believers, i. 49 ; **29**. 62. Considered the seventy disciples or apostles to have had successors, but not the twelve, ii. 17 ; **29**. 32. Holds that the authority of the twelve apostles is transmitted only in their writings, ii. 24 ; **29**. 52-54. Viewed the Jewish and Christian orders as analogous, iii. 5, 14 ; **29**. 4, 5, 30. Represents all Christians as priests, iii. 21 ; **29**. 18, 19, 45, 49. Explains the term 'chair' as denoting doctrine, iv. 127 ; **29**. 60. Some account of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, iv. 22. Foolishly charged with ignorance and bad temper ; his knowledge of Hebrew and great learning ; his rude treatment by Ruffinus ; the discouragement his version of the Scriptures had to encounter at first, and its ultimate success. The high testimony given to him by Augustine, iv. 199. Taught that presbyters were successors of apostles, 200, 221 ; **29**. 1, 46, 73. Gives a very full account of the origin of bishops as they existed in his day, iv. 201 ; **29**. 24-30, 68-82. Does not even appear to teach as Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Rose represent him—viz. that bishops in the modern sense of the term were instituted immediately after the Corinthian schism, iv. 212-214. Teaches that from the time of the apostles there has been a *primus inter pares* among the presbyters, 215-217. Represents the clergy of Rome in his day as a congregation of Pharisees, and Rome itself as the Scarlet Whore, and complains generally of the corruption of the clergy and bishops, iv. 222, 223. Maintained that the authority of the apostles was in their writings, and not in any successors, 224 ; **29**. 47, 48, 52-54, 61. Did not consider the kind of authority exercised by bishops in his day to be wrong, but urged that they should make

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- Jewel, Bishop*, holds the opinion of Jerome, that 'bishops are greater than presbyters, more of custom than of the truth of God's ordinance,' vi. 44; **73.** 1-4, 10, 11. Maintains, on the authority of Jerome, that the 'power of all priests by the authority of God's Word be one and equal,' **73.** 3. States that both Cyprian and Jerome teach 'that by good policy' a bishop was appointed in every diocese, &c., 4, iv. 209. Says that the Romans have gone from the apostles, **73.** 5. Considers the Church of Rome to be wolves rather than sheep, and that the Church of God can be proved only by the Scriptures, and quotes St. Paul, Irenæus, Augustine, and Chrysostom to that effect, 6-9; ix. 7, 13. Describes the apostacy of the Church of Rome, **73.** 14; iv. 58. Maintains that, of all the early bishops of Rome, there was not one could be found who agreed with the Papists in saying *ma's*, **73.** 15. Holds that the truth is not known by the church, but the church by the truth, and quotes Augustine and Chrysostom in proof of it, 16. Describes the confusion of the succession of the Roman bishops, 17. Affirms that the Church of England does not depend upon those who were once bishops of the Romish Church, and if not one of them were alive the English Church would not flee to Lovaine, 19. Considers, with Tertullian, that the church made the difference between the laity and the clergy, 19; iv. 58; vii. 13. Regards all Christians as priests, and maintains that this was held by all the early Fathers, **73.** 20-22; iii. 23. Gives a black catalogue of the bishops of Rome, **73.** 23, 24. Shows that succession of place is of no importance if there be not succession of doctrine, and quotes Bernard, Augustine, Irenæus, and Cyprian to that effect, 25; ix. 13. States that, as in the Church of Rome truth had failed, they returned to the teaching of our Lord, following the advice of Cyprian, **73.** 26. Maintains, on the teaching of Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, that originally there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, 27. Shows that, as in the New Testament presbyters took part in council with apostles, so they took part in councils in subsequent times, 28, 29. States that, as wicked Manasses succeeded David, so may antichrist easily sit in Peter's chair, 30; iv. 246. Speaks of ancient churches as built the reverse of modern ones, iv. 101. Represents Liberius, an early bishop of Rome, as an Arian heretic, iv. 177.
- Justin Martyr* did not consider the apostleship of the twelve to be delegated, ii. 22; **5.** 4. Represents all Christians as priests, iii. 21; **5.** 6, 7. Speaks only of two orders of the Christian Church, iv. 38. Account of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, **5.** 3.
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- Keys*, those of Peter not transferred to others, iv. 54; **8.** 15; viii. 22; **94.** 1-3.
- Lactantius* considers the twelve apostles to have been succeeded only by their writings, ii. 23; **15.** 2. Represents the presiding presbyter as being similar to a Jewish high-priest, iii. 13; **15.** 3. Did not magnify and extol a clerical sacerdotalism, but the inherent force and saving efficacy of Divine truth, iv. 158; **15.** 1. Describes the Millennium, i. 29.
- Lambert* describes the Christian orders as being two only, **60.** 1-3. His examination before Henry VIII. and Cranmer; his condemnation for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and his horrible martyrdom, 4-8; vi. 40.
- Latimer, Bishop*, represents the Romish Church as diabolic, ix. 12; **63.** 1. Considers the Church to consist not so much of an external hierarchy as the confession of a true faith, 2, 3.
- Laud, Archbishop*, states that the Reformed non-episcopal Churches agree with the

- Church of England, and all disagree with the Romish Church, viii. 15; **89. 1.** His teaching on Matt. xxviii. 20, as partially given by the Tractarians, and the whole as recorded by himself, 2, 3, 5; vii. 2, 14; viii. 12, 13. Acknowledges the Church of Rome to be a church in the same sense as a man may be a man, though practically a monster, **89. 4;** viii. 15. Does not think local succession of bishops any necessary mark of a Church, and quotes the Fathers to the effect that there must be a succession of Scriptural doctrine, which he believes the Romish bishops did not possess, **89. 6, 7;** viii. 15. His testimony garbled by Tractarians, and misapplied to support their doctrine of apostolical succession, viii. 12-15.
- Leo I.* applies Matt. xxviii. 20, and John xx. 21, 22, to all Christians, i. 49; **44. 3-5;** ii. 27; **44. 6.** Condemns the practice of Christians worshipping towards the sun, iv. 100. Prepared the way for the papal supremacy, iv. 268. Appears to exalt Peter into a divine person, 268; **44. 1, 8.** Claims rather to have been inspired by Peter than to have inherited his power, 268; **44. 9.**
- Liberius*, a heretical pope of Rome of the fourth century, iv. 174, 177; **82. 32.**
- Lightfoot* quoted in relation to the term 'stone' as a title of Christ, iv. 133. The term 'rock' in relation to Peter, iv. 134. His account of the manner of Jewish ordinations, vi. 71.
- Lyra, Nicolas*, considers Matt. xxviii. 20 to have been spoken to a multitude of disciples, i. 52. No difference between the priesthood of a high-priest and an ordinary one, iii. 11. His commentary much valued and used by the reformers, vi. 38. Explains presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14) to denote the office of a presbyter, vi. 38.
- Macarius* applies Matt. xxviii. 20 generally to all Christians, i. 49; **28. 2, 3.** Did not believe that the apostleship of the twelve was transmissible, ii. 24; **28. 2.**
- Maimonides*, his account of the Jewish sanhedrims, iv. 191; and Jewish ordinations, vi. 71.
- Mason* describes the part the laity took in ordinations immediately after the apostles, iv. 87. Appears to teach that there is no substantial difference between a bishop and a presbyter as of Divine appointment, and maintains that 'a presbyter is equal to a bishop in the power of order, and hath equally intrinsic power to give orders,' viii. 17; **87. 1.** States that, if the bishops of Rome are successors of the apostles, so are the bishops of the Church of England. Shows that the Romanists admit of an interruption in 'the line of Constantinople; be it so: and hath not the Roman been so likewise?' And gives what he considers proofs of it: that a mere line of succession of bishops without Scriptural doctrine, as he considered the Romish bishops to be, was worthless, 2-7; viii. 17. Contrary to Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Wordsworth, he maintains that Paul and Barnabas were not ordained to the apostleship of the twelve by the teachers at Antioch, but by them sent on a missionary tour, vi. 59. A misplaced and destructive link in the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession, viii. 17.
- Newman, Dr.*, appears to sanction the practice of writing deceitfully when the object to be gained is good, iv. 255.
- Novatian* applies Matt. xxviii. 20, and John xx. 21, to all Christians, i. 49; **14. 1;** ii. 23; **14. 2.** His character as described by Cyprian; was no heretic, iv. 117, 138, 157.
- Nowell, Dean*, describes the necessary marks of a church, **72. 1, 2;** ix. 7, 13. Represents elders as being the original governors of the Church, **72. 3;** vi. 44; ix. 13.
- Optatus* describes three Christian orders, iii. 3; **22. 1, 2.** Speaks of Peter as head of all the apostles, and from that circumstance thinks he was called Cephas, as if Cephas was derived from the Latin term *caput* (head); gives the line of succession of the first bishops of Rome down to his own time, **22. 2.**
- Orders, Christian*, but two in the early Church, **59. 11;** iii. 4, 7-14; **1. 2, 3;** iv. 24, 25; **2. 9;** iv. 37; **4. iv. 38, 39;** **5. 2, 3;** iv. 60; **9. 5;** iv. 64; **10. 9;**

- 60.** 1. Cranmer and other bishops and doctors represent the orders as two only of Divine appointment, **61.** 1, 4-8; **64.** 2; vi. 39-41.
- Ordinal.* The first applies, John xx. 21, and Matt. xxviii. 20, to presbyters, i. 53. The first and second compared, vi. 3-16. The texts for a priest in the first ordinal compared with those given in the second ordinal for a bishop, 17-26. The ordination of bishop and presbyter one and the same in the first ordinal, 27, 33, 34, 37. The term 'grace' or 'gift' explained in relation to the ordinal, and as interpreted by the Fathers in general to denote the office of a presbyter or bishop, 38. The phrase, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' not found in the early ordinals, vi. 66, 67.
- Ordination, the power of,* in presbyters, according to Mason, viii. 17; **87.** 1. Durandus and Field, **84.** 8, 11, 12. Hooker, **83.** 14, 15. Chrysostom, iv. 210; **34.** 45. Imposition of hands is not necessary, vi. 50. The laying on of hands in ordination a sign of grace, not the means of conveying it, 51. The part the laity took therein, **16.** 3; iv. 77-84, 87, 88, 91, 92; **1.** 6; **11.** 13, 18-21, 24, 26, 34; **61.** 9-11. Ancient forms of, vi. 66-69. Ceremonial borrowed from Jewish sources, 70, 71.
- Origen* applies Matt. xxviii. 20 to all believers, i. 49; **10.** 8. Represents the Church as the successor to Peter, ii. 22; **10.** 4, 6. Teaches that the distinction between a high-priest and an ordinary one denotes the difference between a duly qualified Christian minister and another not so, iii. 13; **10.** 1. While a catechist delivered discourses on Holy Scripture in the presence of bishops, iv. 62. Obtained the first and highest honour when he was ordained a presbyter, 62. Speaks of himself, though a presbyter, as a successor to apostles, and as a guardian of the Church, 63; **10.** 12. Represents presbyters as having the chief seats, iv. 64; **10.** 9. His exposition of the term 'rock' opposed to popish and modern Anglican assumptions, iv. 65, 66.
- Pacian.* The grounds on which he rests the power of bishops in the fourth century singularly against certain Anglo-catholics, iv. 197, 198; **27.**
- Palmer* endeavours to make Jerome contradict himself, iv. 215, 218, 219. His extraordinary concessions respecting what he considers to be the distinction as of Divine appointment between a bishop and a presbyter, viz. the bishop only having the power to ordain. The adroit manner in which he represents a list of authorities as maintaining this view of the case, whereas they do no such thing, 253-255, 257. So gives notes of the Church of Christ as to include the corrupt systems of Christianity of Greece and Rome, and to exclude the greater part of Evangelical Christendom, ix. 3. Denies the Church of Scotland and churches similarly constituted to be Churches of Christ, but admits the Churches of Greece and Rome to be such, 22. The way in which he numbers the members of Christ's Church compared with Athanasius and others, ix. 23. His violation of the canon of interpretation of his school in the misapplication of Matt. xxviii. 20, and John xx. 21; i. 18.
- Papias* on the personal reign of a thousand years of Christ on earth, **6.** 15; i. 29.
- Paschasius* much thought of by Gregory the Great. Considered it a blasphemous persuasion to believe in a church, vii. 5, 8; **48.**
- Passover.* The term misinterpreted as suffering by Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, i. 25.
- Pearson, Bishop,* says, 'The apostles are continued to us only in their writings,' **88.** A misplaced link in the Tractarian Catena Patrum on apostolical succession, viii. 17.
- Perceval,* his doctrine on apostolical succession, i. 12. Misapplies what Clement of Rome states respecting the three Jewish orders to the Christian orders, iii. 2, 4. Evidence adduced from the Fathers to prove his doctrine of apostolical succession, iv. 11-20. The evidence of Irenæus and Tertullian unfairly treated, 49, 57. Rebuked, by anticipation, by Fulke, 58; **75.** 9, 10. Regards Cyprian as referring to a fact of a local succession of persons from Peter, whereas Cyprian only founds a doctrine upon what our Lord said to Peter, iv. 108. His unsuccessful travail, 155. Fruitless attempt to make Jerome

- contradict himself, 215. His unfair treatment of historical records, and the misapplication of the term Protestant to believers in the doctrine of transubstantiation, &c. vi. 40.
- Peter the Apostle* represents the body of believers rather than any individual personal successor, ii. 25. Peter in relation to the term rock, iv. 128-136. The titles, prerogatives, and pre-eminence, claimed for Peter by the Fathers, iv. 69, 97, 123; x. 2; **8.** 19; **11.** 2, 3, 15, 21, 36, 38; **18.** 3; **19.** 2; **20.** 2; **22.** 2; **23.** 4, 5, 7; **29.** 9, 13, 14, 56, 76; **30.** 2, 11, 19; **33.** 24, 54, 62, 64, 66, 70, 71, 80; **34.** 4, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 32, 35, 42; **35.**; **37.** 1, 8, 13; **39.** 12, 15, 18, 19; **44.** 1, 7, 8; **47.** 7; **54.** 8, 23-25, 29.
- Phillipots, Bishop*, his doctrine of apostolical succession, i. 15, 53.
- Philpot, Presbyter and Martyr*, considers a succession of bishops no necessary mark of a church, vii. 13; **66.** 1-4.
- Pilkington* teaches that the distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, as it now exists, is founded on expediency, rather than on God's Word, **69.** 1-4; vi. 44. No unbroken succession of bishops in any part of the world; a black catalogue of Roman bishops, **69.** 5-11. Successor of Judas, 10, 11; iv. 238.
- Polycarp*, when writing to the Church at Philippi in his day, exhorted them to be subject to their presbyters, iv. 37; **4.**
- Pope*, his supremacy without foundation, iv. 129. The history of its origin, 117, 194. Liberius and Felix, rivals and heretics, 173-177.
- Potter, Archbishop*, his vain and foolish attempt to account for the uniform teaching of Jerome, respecting the office of a bishop and presbyter, on the grounds of his bad temper, iv. 220. Maintains, contrary to Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Wordsworth, that Paul and Barnabas were not ordained by the teachers of Antioch to the apostleship of the twelve, but commended to the grace of God for missionary work, vi. 59.
- Presbyters, the early*, had an episcopate, iv. 49, 107; **1.** 6; **6.** 11; **31.** 8, 9; **33.** 21. Were called successors of apostles, iv. 26, 36; **3.** 23, 24, 33-36, 49, 50; **6.** 3, 11; iv. 63; **10.** 12; iv. 103-107; ii. 14, 15. Presided with the bishop, and had the same priestly honour, iv. 190; **3.** 29, 30, 39; **11.** 19, 22, 28, 29; **21.** 1; **29.** 37, 41, 42; **31.** 12. Had a place in councils, iv. 211; **13.** 1, **16.** 4, 5, 7; **38.** 1; **39.** 31; **42.** 1; **91.** 6.
- Presbytery*, sometimes understood by the Fathers and the Reformers of the English Church as denoting the office of a presbyter, vi. 34-37; **41.** 6, 7; **61.** 12.
- Priest, High*, the first among equals in regard to his fellow-priests, and the anointing one and the same, iii. 6-14.
- Priesthood, Christian*, alike common to the laity and clergy, iii. 21-23; **73.** 20-22.
- Primacius* speaks of the twelve apostles as not having any successors to their office, ii. 27; **51.** 2, 9. Describes the foundation of the Church, iv. 135; **51.** 9. 'Chair' denotes doctrine, iv. 127; **51.** 7.
- Pusey, Dr.*, states that Justin made no mention of bishops, &c. iv. 39. His extraordinary claims for the power and authority of Cyprian, 68, 70. His unjustifiable change of Cyprian's language, 73. Ascribes an absolute authority to the episcopal power of Cyprian, which is nowhere stated in his writings, 94. His mistake in making it appear that Cyprian was referring to a succession of persons from the time of Peter, whereas Cyprian only founds a doctrine upon what our Lord said to Peter, 108-111. Accepts the conclusion of Cyprian that the Church should be built on bishops, but denies the premisses on which he founds his conclusion, viz. that the Church was built on Peter, 111, 124, 125. His extraordinary credulity, 137, 139. His apparent Donatism, and his ascription of it to the English Church, with an answer, 140-142. States that both Tertullian and Jerome admitted the maxim that what a man has received that also he may impart, and that such a maxim would justify presbyterian ordination, 210.
- Raynolds*, his answer to Bancroft's sermon, in which answer he maintains that Bancroft had introduced views, respecting the office of a bishop, contrary to those of the Reformers and nearly all the leading divines of the Church of

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Rodgers gives an account of the origin of the confessions of faith, and the great interest Cranmer took to bring about such a work, and its completion at a subsequent period, v. 8; ix. 5, 29. Represents the Church of England as in agreement with all Reformed Churches, but regrets the disagreement of some Puritans in a few non-essential things, **82.** 1-22; v. 8, 9. Shows that all God's people agree with the Church of England as to what are the marks of a church, but states that Papists and some other religionists do not agree on this truth, **82.** 23-26; ix. 7. Proves that 'the Word of God must be afore the Church for time, as likewise for authority,' and adds, 'of this judgment be the churches Reformed;' but represents certain Roman Catholic writers as adversaries of this truth, **82.** 27-29; vii. 18. Shows wherein the Roman Church has erred, and mentions the names of certain popes who were heretics and idolaters, &c. and gives a dark history of the papacy, and states that the pope is antichrist, **82.** 30-33. Maintains that men ought to have a proper call to the Christian ministry, and that certain orders were divinely ordained, and remarks, 'And all this is acknowledged by the Reformed Churches,' and proofs are given from their several confessions, but speaks of papists as adversaries to this truth, 34-42. States that those who are called to the ministry are bound to preach, and must not be silent; gives proofs from Scripture, and the consent of 'all the Churches of God which be purged from superstition and errors,' 43. In proof that 'the sacraments may not be administered in the congregation, but by a lawful minister,' he adduces God's Word, adding, 'And hereunto do the Churches of God subscribe,' and refers to the confessions of six different churches, but remarks that 'they do not think as some do, that the very being of the sacraments dependeth upon this point, viz. whether the administrator be a minister or no,' 44-47. Holds that there is a lawful ministry in the Church, and adduces the Word of God in proof, and remarks, 'A truth also approved by the churches,' which he confirms by references to their several confessions, 48-52. Shows on the authority of God's Word that 'they are lawful ministers which be ordained by men lawfully appointed for the calling and sending forth ministers,' and adds, 'So testify with us the true churches elsewhere in the world,' and gives proof of it from their authentic confessions. Represents papists as 'adversaries to this truth,' and remarks that the 'antichristian bishop of the Romish synagogue' regards men so called as 'wolves, hirelings, laymen, and intruders,' 53-56. 'Before ministers are to be ordained, they are to be chosen and called.' This he holds to be scriptural, and states, 'And this do the Churches Protestant by their confessions approve,' and then gives proofs therefrom, 57; ix. 29.

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- Simony,* gross instances thereof in the fourth century, iv. 222; **30.** 14.
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- Sozomen,* his account of the council of Nice, **42.** 1. Describes the customs of different churches, 6. His account of the election and ordination of Ambrose, Nectarius, and Chrysostom, as bishops, 2-5, 7.
- Stillingfleet, Bishop,* shows what he considered to be the error of *Ærius*, and maintains that 'Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primacius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact, were all of *Ærius*' judgment,' **90.** 1; iv. 186. Thinks it is only a conjecture that Peter was ever at Rome, and that he never was bishop there, **90.** 2-5. Shows how great is the confusion in the order of the succession of the first Roman bishops, 6. States that Archbishop Whitgift and his chancellor, Dr. Cosins, maintained, against Cartwright, that no form of church government was appointed in Scripture. He represents this as being the general opinion of the early divines of the Reformed English Church, and continued to be so in the reign of James I., 7-12; vi. 45; ix. 16. States that the stoutest champions for episcopacy held that ordination performed by presbyters is valid, and adduces a long list of authors in proof of his statement, **90.** 12. A forged and very destructive link in the Catena Patrum of the Tractarians on apostolical succession, viii. 18.
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- Syriac version* of Scripture, quoted in explaining the term 'Rock,' iv. 131-134; in relation to the Jewish high-priest, iii. 9; and concerning the term 'presbytery,' vi. 37.

- Tertullian* represents the churches, and not the bishops, as receiving their doctrine from the apostles, i. 39; **8.** 6. Does not regard the twelve apostles as having successors, but rather the seventy disciples or apostles, ii. 17, 22; **8.** 10, 13, 14. Usually calls the presiding presbyter, or bishop, high-priest, iii. 13; **8.** 11. Teaches that all Christians are priests, iii. 21; **8.** 16. Holds that the distinction between clergy and laity is of human origin, and that exclusive privileges are granted to the bishop for the sake of his honour, and on the ground of expediency, and that succession is no necessary mark of a church, iv. 53-55; **8.** 11, 16-19. Teaches that Peter did not leave his keys to any official person or persons, but to the Christian Church generally, iv. 54. Teaches that what Christians have received they may communicate to others, as baptism, &c. iv. 53; **8.** 11. By the term *order* of bishops does not mean the order of bishops as distinct from priests and deacons, vi. 63.
- Theodoret* considered Epaphroditus to be the bishop of bishops at Philippi, from the circumstance of his being called an apostle, ii. 6-9. Applied Matt. xxviii. 20 indiscriminately to the whole Church, i. 49; **39.** 6. Calls the seventy disciples and the five hundred brethren apostles, and numbers apostles by myriads, and speaks of the twelve apostles as if their doctrine only, and not their apostleship, was transmissible, ii. 26; **39.** 2, 3, 5, 11, 13, 16, 17, 20. Found the correspondence of the Jewish high-priest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the other priests in all Christians, iii. 13; **39.** 8. Taught that Christians generally, and not the ministers exclusively, offer a sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, iii. 22; **39.** 8, 9, 25, 26. Represented Christ and His apostles as the foundation of the Church, iv. 135; **39.** 7, 15. Describes the twelve apostles as being still the governors of the Church, and as having no successors to their authority, iv. 242; **39.** 5. A sober-minded commentator, iv. 266. His account of the council of Nice, and the election of Ambrose to be bishop, **39.** 31-34.
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