

saith he, the Church of Alexandria did always keep, till in Heraclas and Dionysius they began to do otherwise. These two were the very first not chosen out of their college of presbyters.

The drift and purpose of St. Jerome's speech doth plainly shew what his meaning was : for whereas some did over extol the office of the deacon in the church of Rome, where deacons being grown great, through wealth, challenged place above presbyters ; St. Jerome to abate this insolency, writing to Evagrius diminisheth by all means the deacon's estimation, and lifteth up presbyters as far as possible the truth might bear¹. "An attendant," saith he, "upon tables and widows" "proudly to exalt himself above them at whose prayers is" "made the Body and Blood of Christ ; above them, between" "whom and bishops there was at the first for a time no difference neither in authority nor in title. And whereas" "afterward schisms and contentions made it necessary that" "some one should be placed over them, by which occasion" "the title of bishop became proper unto that one, yet was that" "one chosen out of the presbyters, as being the chiefest, the" "highest, the worthiest degree of the clergy, and not out of" "deacons : in which consideration also it seemeth that in

¹ [Ep. cxlvi. ad Evag. "Quid patitur mensarum ac viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur? . . . Manifestissime comprobatur, eundem esse episcopum atque presbyterum. Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est. . . Nam et Alexandria . . . presbyteri semper unum ex se electum . . . episcopum nominabant . . . Nec altera Romanæ urbis ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Gallia, et Britannia, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandria, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum et pau-

"pertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem
"vel inferiorem episcopum non facit
" . . . Sed dices, quomodo Romæ ad
"testimonium diaconi presbyter ordinatur? Quid mihi profers unius
"urbis consuetudinem? Quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium, in leges Ecclesiæ vindicas?
" . . . Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit. Cæterum etiam in ecclesia Romæ, presbyteri sedent et stant diaconi. . . . Qui provehitur, de minori ad majus provehitur. Aut igitur ex presbytero ordinetur diaconus, ut presbyter minor diacono comprobetur; aut si ex diacono ordinatur presbyter, noverit se lucris minore, sacerdotio esse majorem. Et ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumtas de veteri Testamento; quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia." t. i. 1074-77, ed. Vallars.]

"Alexandria even from St. Mark to Heraclas and Dionysius" "bishops there, the presbyters evermore have chosen one of" "themselves, and not a deacon at any time, to be their bishop." "Nor let any man think that Christ hath one church in Rome" "and another in the rest of the world ; that in Rome he alloweth deacons to be honoured above presbyters, and otherwise" "will have them to be in the next degree to the bishop. If it" "be deemed that abroad where bishops are poorer, the presbyters under them may be the next unto them in honour," "but at Rome where the bishop hath ample revenues, the" "deacons whose estate is nearest for wealth, may be also for" "estimation the next unto him : we must know that a bishop" "in the meanest city is no less a bishop than he who is seated" "in the greatest ; the countenance of a rich and the meanness" "of a poor estate doth make no odds between bishops : and therefore, if a presbyter at Eugubium be the next in" "degree to a bishop, surely, even at Rome it ought in reason" "to be so likewise, and not a deacon for wealth's sake only to" "be above, who by order should be, and elsewhere is, underneath a presbyter. But ye will say that according to the" "custom of Rome a deacon presenteth unto the bishop him" "which standeth to be ordained presbyter, and upon the" "deacon's testimony given concerning his fitness, he receiveth" "at the Bishop's hands ordination : so that in Rome the deacon" "having this special preeminence, the presbyter ought there" "to give place unto him. Wherefore is the custom of one" "city brought against the practice of the whole world ? The" "paucity of deacons in the church of Rome hath gotten the" "[them ?] credit ; as unto presbyters their multitude hath been" "cause of contempt : howbeit even in the Church of Rome," "presbyters sit, and deacons stand ; an argument as strong" "against the superiority of deacons, as the fore-alleged reason" "doth seem for it. Besides, whosoever is promoted must" "needs be raised from a lower degree to an higher ; wherefore" "either let him which is presbyter be made a deacon, that" "so the deacon may appear to be the greater ; or if of deacons" "presbyters be made, let them know themselves to be in" "regard of deacons, though below in gain, yet above in office." "And to the end we may understand that those apostolical" "orders are taken out of the Old Testament, what Aaron

"and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, the same
"in the Church may bishops and presbyters and deacons
"challenge unto themselves."

[7.] This is the very drift and substance, this the true construction and sense of St. Jerome's whole discourse in that epistle: which I have therefore endeavoured the more at large to explain, because no one thing is less effectual or more usual to be alleged against the ancient authority of bishops; concerning whose government St. Jerome's own words elsewhere are sufficient to shew his opinion, that this order was not only in Alexandria so ancient, but even as ancient in other churches. We have before alleged his testimony touching James the bishop of Jerusalem. As for bishops in other churches, on the first of the Epistle to Titus thus he speaketh¹, "Till through instinct of the Devil there
"grew in the Church factions, and among the people it began
"to be professed, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of
"Cephas², churches were governed by the common advice

¹ V. 5. [t. vii. 694 E. "Ante-
"quam Diaboli instinctu studia in
"ecclesia [religione] fierent, et di-
"ceretur in populis, Ego sum
"Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem
"Cephæ; communi presbyterorum
"consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur.
"Postquam vero unusquisque eos
"quos baptizaverat suos putabat
"esse, non Christi, in toto orbe
"decretum est, ut unus de presby-
"teris electus superponeretur cæte-
"ris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura
"pertineret, et schismatum semina
"tollerentur." Saravia remarks on
"this passage, "Quod hic dicitur
"communi presbyterorum consilio
"ecclesias in principio fuisse gu-
"bernatas, non diffiteor: sed hoc
"non arguit dominicæ institutionis
"episcopos non fuisse postea præ-
"positos ecclesiæ, non magis quam
"presbyteros et diaconos non ex
"ordinatione divina creatos ab
"Apostolis, quia ecclesiæ absque
"presbyteris et diaconis sub apo-
"stolis regebantur, antequam crea-
"rentur diaconi et presbyteri." c. 23. p. 51. "Inde non sequitur,
"ab apostolis, ubi viros idoneos
"Deus dederit, non fuisse præfectos

"singulis ecclesiis singulos episco-
"pos supra ipsos presbyteros, qui
"in apostolorum locum succede-
"rent, et illa eadem præstarent,
"quæ ipsi præstitissent, si ubique
"semper præsentibus ecclesiis adesse,
"aut semper vivere potuissent." p. 52.]

² [Sarav. Tract on diverse De-
"grees of Ministers, Eng. Transl. p.
"65. Lond. 1591. "But now those
"factions begun under the apostles,
"and therefore that custom began
"in good time, and the Apostles
"themselves for the avoiding of
"schism altered (if not abrogated)
"the Lord's institution. The which,
"methinks, were more than absurd
"to say. Our Saviour, no doubt,
"who is the wisdom of His Father,
"knew much better than the Apo-
"stles what was needful and com-
"modious for the preventing of
"schism. Whom as it did not
"beseem to seem more wise than
"their master, so was it not
"their parts for the default of one
"church to alter God's institution.
"Again, how knew Hierome, that
"before those schisms brake forth
"the church of Corinth had their

"of presbyters; but when every one began to reckon those
"whom himself had baptized his own and not Christ's, it
"was decreed *in the whole world* that one chosen out of the
"presbyters should be placed above the rest, to whom all
"care of the Church should belong, and so the seeds of
"schism be removed." If it be so, that by St. Jerome's own
"confession this order was not then begun when people in the
"apostles' absence began to be divided into factions by their
"teachers, and to rehearse, "I am of Paul," but that even at
"the very first appointment thereof [it] was agreed upon and
"received throughout the world; how shall a man be per-
"suaded that the same Jerome thought it so ancient no where
"saving in Alexandria, one only church of the whole world?

[8.] A sentence there is indeed of St. Jerome's, which being
"not thoroughly considered and weighed may cause his mean-
"ing so to be taken, as if he judged episcopal regiment to have
"been the Church's invention long after, and not the apostles'
"own institution; as namely, when he admonisheth bishops in
"this manner¹: "As therefore presbyters do know that the
"custom of the Church makes them subject to the Bishop
"which is set over them; so let bishops know² that custom,
"rather than the truth of any ordinance of the Lord's maketh

"elders, by whose council they
"were ruled . . . Neither do we read
"at any time that the elders of the
"church of Corinth gave the occa-
"sion of this schism, but that it
"was taken of the people by reason
"of that opinion they had of their
"pastors and elders . . . They for
"whose sake this schism was set
"abroad at Corinth were not at
"Corinth: so that for the avoiding
"of this schism the elders which
"were to be set in some better
"order under one bishop were Paul
"himself and Apollos and Cephas,"
&c. And p. 67. "The error of
"Hierom and Aërius grew of the . . .
"confused use of these titles (a
"*Bishop* and an *Elder*) as they were
"then in use. But when the same
"thing befalleth the title of an
"*Apostle* also, is it not strange that
"they should rather err in the
"one than the other? For where-
"as Barnabas, Epaphroditus, and

"many others are called apostles;
"yet no man thereby ever thought
"that there was no difference be-
"tween them and the twelve apo-
"stles."

¹ Ibid. v. 5. [vii. 695 E. "Sicut
"ergo Presbyteri sciunt se ex Eccle-
"siæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præ-
"positus fuerit, esse subjectos; ita
"episcopi noverint se magis con-
"suetudine, quam dispositionis Do-
"minicæ veritate, Presbyteris esse
"majores, et in commune debere
"Ecclesiam regere."]

² Bishops he meaneth by re-
"straint; for episcopal power was
"always in the Church instituted by
"Christ himself, the apostles being in
"government bishops at large; as no
"man will deny;—having received
"from Christ himself that episcopal
"authority. For which cause Cyprian
"hath said of them: "Meminisse
"diaconi debent quoniam apostolos,
"id est episcopos et præpositos,

“them greater than the rest, and that with common advice they ought to govern the Church.”

To clear the sense of these words therefore, as we have done already the former: laws which the Church from the beginning universally hath observed were some delivered by Christ himself, with a charge to keep them to the world's end, as the law of baptizing and administering the holy eucharist; some brought in afterwards by the apostles, yet not without the special direction of the Holy Ghost, as occasions did arise. Of this sort are those apostolical orders and laws whereby deacons, widows, virgins, were first appointed in the Church. *[This answer to St. Jerome seemeth dangerous¹; I have qualified it as I may by addition of some words of restraint: yet I satisfy not myself, in my judgment it would be altered.] “Now whereas Jerome doth term the government of bishops by restraint an apostolical tradition, acknowledging thereby the same to have been of the apostles' own institution, it may be demanded how these two will stand together; namely, that the apostles by divine instinct should be, as Jerome confesseth, the authors of that regiment; and yet the custom of the Church be accounted (for so by Jerome it may seem to be in this place accounted) the chiefest prop that upholdeth the same? To this we answer, That forasmuch as the whole body of the Church hath power to alter, with general consent and upon necessary occasions, even the positive laws of the apostles, if there be no command to the contrary, and it manifestly appears to her, that change of times have clearly taken away the very reasons of God's first institution; as by sundry examples may be most clearly proved: what laws the universal Church might

* [A new paragraph begins here in Gauden's ed.]

“Dominus elegit: diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cœlos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministros.” Lib. iii. Ep. 9. [al. Ep. 3. c. 2.]
¹ [It is obvious that this sentence is an insertion by mistake into the text of a note on the rough draft of the work, either by Hooker or by some friend (most probably the latter): according to the remark of Dr. Mac Crie, *Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 462. The following sentences, down to “perpetual continuance thereof,” are by Gauden printed in Italics, probably because he found them underscored in Hooker's MS. But the sense, it is apprehended, will be more exactly given by omitting the Italics, (which were probably an insertion of the critic,) and reading the whole as one paragraph with the exception of the supposed marginal note.]

“change, and doth not, if they have long continued without any alteration, it seemeth that St. Jerome ascribeth the continuance of such positive laws, though instituted by God himself, to the judgment of the Church. For they which might abrogate a law and do not, are properly said to uphold, to establish it, and to give it being. The regiment therefore whereof Jerome speaketh being positive, and consequently not absolutely necessary, but of a changeable nature, because there is no divine voice which in express words forbiddeth it to be changed; he might imagine both that it came by the apostles by very divine appointment at the first, and notwithstanding be, after a sort, said to stand in force, rather by the custom of the Church, choosing to continue in it, than by the necessary constraint of any commandment from the word, requiring perpetual continuance thereof.” So that St. Jerome's admonition is reasonable, sensible, and plain, being contrived to this effect: The ruling superiority of one bishop over many presbyters in each church, is an order descended from Christ to the Apostles, who were themselves bishops at large, and from the Apostles to those whom they in their steads appointed bishops over particular countries and cities; and even from those ancient times, universally established, thus many years it hath continued throughout the world; for which cause presbyters must not grudge to continue subject unto their bishops, unless they will proudly oppose themselves against that which God himself ordained by his apostles, and the whole Church of Christ approveth and judgeth most convenient. On the other side bishops, albeit they may avouch with conformity of truth that their authority hath 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. 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 shewed, 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, 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. In all this there is no let why St. Jerome might not think the authors of episcopal regiment to have been the very blessed apostles themselves, directed therein by the special motion of the Holy Ghost, which the ancients all before and besides him and himself also elsewhere being known to hold, we are not without better evidence than this to think him in judgment divided both from himself and from them¹.

[9.] Another argument that the regiment of churches by one Bishop over many presbyters hath been always held apostolical, may be this. We find that throughout all those cities where the apostles did plant Christianity, the history of times hath noted succession of pastors in the seat of one, not of many (there being in every such Church evermore many pastors), and the first one in every rank of succession we find to have been, if not some Apostle, yet some Apostle's disciple. By Epiphanius² the bishops of Jerusalem are reckoned down from James to Hilarion then Bishop. Of them which boasted that they held the same things which they received of such as lived with the apostles themselves, Tertullian speaketh after this sort³: "Let them therefore

¹ [Saravia's remark however is, "Privatam fuisse Hieronymi opinionem, consentaneam cum Aërio, et Dei verbo contrariam." c. 23.]

² Lib. ii. Hæres. 66. [c. 20.]
³ De Præscript. advers. Hæret. [c. 32. "Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem,

"ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesie apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert."]

"shew the beginnings of their churches, let them recite their bishops one by one, each in such sort succeeding other, that the first bishop of them have had for his author and predecessor some Apostle, or at least some apostolical person who persevered with the apostles. For so apostolical churches are wont to bring forth the evidence of their estates. So doth the Church of Smyrna, having Polycarp whom John did consecrate." Catalogues of bishops in a number of other churches, *(bishops, and succeeding one another) from the very apostles' times, are by Eusebius and Socrates collected; whereby it appeareth so clear, as nothing in the world more, that under them and by their appointment this order began, which maketh many presbyters subject unto the regiment of some one bishop. For as in Rome while the civil ordering of the commonwealth was jointly and equally in the hands of two consuls, historical records concerning them did evermore mention them both, and note which two as colleagues succeeded from time to time; so there is no doubt but ecclesiastical antiquity had done the very like, had not one pastor's place and calling been always so eminent above the rest in the same church.

[10.] And what need we to seek far for proofs that the apostles, who began this order of regiment of bishops, did it not but by divine instinct, when without such direction things of far less weight and moment they attempted not? Paul and Barnabas did not open their mouths to the Gentiles, till the Spirit had said¹, "Separate me Paul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have sent them." The eunuch by Philip² was neither baptized nor instructed before the angel of God was sent to give him notice that so it pleased the Most High. In Asia³, Paul and the rest were silent, because the Spirit forbade them to speak. When they intended to have seen Bithynia⁴ they stayed their journey, the Spirit not giving them leave to go. Before Timothy⁵ was employed in those episcopal affairs of the Church, about which the Apostle St. Paul used him, the Holy Ghost gave special charge for his ordination, and prophetic intelligence

* [So printed, as a parenthesis, in Gauden's ed.]

¹ Acts xiii. 2.

² Acts viii. 26.

³ Acts xvi. 6.

⁴ Ver. 7.

⁵ 1 Tim. i. 18.

more than once, what success the same would have. And shall we think that James was made bishop of Jerusalem, Evodius bishop of the church of Antioch, the Angels in the churches of Asia bishops, that bishops every where were appointed to take away factions, contentions, and schisms, without some like divine instigation and direction of the Holy Ghost? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that if any thing in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God, the Holy Ghost was the author of it¹.

What manner of power Bishops from the first beginning have had.

VI. "A Bishop," saith St. Augustine², "is a Presbyter's superior:" but the question is now, wherein that superiority did consist. The Bishop's preeminence we say therefore was twofold. First he excelled in latitude of the power of order, secondly in that kind of power which belongeth unto jurisdiction. Priests in the law had authority and power to do greater things than Levites, the high-priest greater than inferior priests might do; therefore Levites were beneath priests, and priests inferior to the high-priest, by reason of the very degree of dignity, and of worthiness in the nature of those functions which they did execute, and not only for that the one had power to command and control the other. In like sort presbyters having a weightier and a worthier charge than deacons had, the deacon was in this sort the presbyter's inferior; and where we say that a bishop was likewise ever accounted a presbyter's superior, even according unto his very power of order, we must of necessity declare what principal duties belonging unto that kind of power a bishop might perform, and not a presbyter.

[2.] The custom of the primitive Church in consecrating holy virgins and widows unto the service of God and his Church, is a thing not obscure, but easy to be known, both

¹ [Sutcliffe de Presbyt. 119. "Ex istis hæ eliciuntur conclusiones: "episcoporum supra presbyteros gradum, cum a synodis confirmetur, a Patribus tanquam divina probetur, cœperitque Apostolorum temporibus, et nunquam nisi nuper, a nuper exortis tenebrionibus condemnata fuerit, omnesque qui contra senserunt pro hæreticis habiti sint: divinam esse ejusdem originem; presbyterium vero, cum

"a synodis et Patribus ignoretur, "figmentum esse humanum."]

² Aug. Ep. 19. [al. 82. c. 4. fin.] ad Hieron. [t. ii. 202. "Quanquam secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est."] et de Hæres. 53. [t. viii. 18. "Aërius . . . dicebat "etiam presbyterum ab episcopo "nulla differentia debere discerni."]

by that which St. Paul himself¹ concerning them hath, and by the latter consonant evidence of other men's² writings. Now a part of the preeminence which bishops had in their power of order, was that by them only such were consecrated.

[3.] Again, the power of ordaining both deacons and presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this also hath been always peculiar unto bishops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior presbyters were ever authorized to ordain. And concerning ordination, so great force and dignity it hath, that whereas presbyters, by such power as they have received for administration of the sacraments, are able only to beget children unto God; bishops having power to ordain, do by virtue thereof create fathers to the people of God, as Epiphanius³ fitly disputeth. There are which hold that between a bishop and a presbyter, touching power of order, there is no difference. The reason of which conceit is, for that they see presbyters no less than bishops authorized to offer up the prayers of the Church, to preach the gospel, to baptize, to administer the holy Eucharist; but they considered not withal as they should, that the presbyter's authority to do these things is derived from the bishop which doth ordain him thereunto, so that even in those things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the others' lamp. The apostles being bishops at large, ordained every where⁴ presbyters. Titus and Timothy having received episcopal power, as apostolic ambassadors or legates, the one in Greece⁵ [Crete], the other in Ephesus⁶, they both did by virtue thereof likewise ordain throughout all churches deacons and presbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for bishops by restraint, their power this way incommunicable unto presbyters which of the ancients do not acknowledge?

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 25; 1 Tim. v. 9.

² Tertull. de vel. Virg. [c. 9. "Scio alicubi virginem in viduatu "ab annis nondum viginti collocatam; cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique "salvo respectu disciplinæ præstare "potuisset."]

³ Epiph. lib. iii. Hær. 75. [c. 4. speaking of Aërius. "Οτι μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐμπλεων, τοῖς

σύνεσιν κεκτημένοις, τοῦτο δὴλον τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἴσον εἶναι καὶ πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο δυνατόν; ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένῃ γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας, ἢ διδασκάλους."]

⁴ Acts xiv. 23.

⁵ Tit. i. 5.

⁶ 1 Tim. v. 22.