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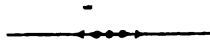
APRIL, MDCCCLX.

ARTICLE I.

A FEW MORE WORDS ON THE REVISED BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

From recent indications we are inclined to think that the tide of prejudice which, at first, set so violently against the Revised Book of Discipline, has begun to ebb, and that the current is now changing in its favor. Objections are daily losing their force, misapprehensions quietly subsiding, and the propriety of the changes becoming more obvious; and although the mind of the Church is not yet fully prepared to adopt the book, yet, the estimate which is now formed of it is very different from that which prevailed a year ago. Even the tone of its assailants is significantly changed; instead of the bold shout of confident defiance with which they at first rushed to the assault, as if victory were as sure as the attack, they have come at length to perceive that there are weapons on the other side as bright and as keen as their own, and that if they succeed in achieving a triumph it will be after a hard conflict, and with strong misgivings as to the inherent righteousness of their cause. In this posture of affairs we have thought that

that which is fed with the dainty provisions of literature. The man whose attention is awake to nothing else, is wide awake to small departures from the standards of correct taste. If invited to a literary banquet, he expects the courses to be served artistically. If invited to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb, he is not likely to employ his imagination with the viands of earth.



ARTICLE V.

The Ancient Church: its History, Doctrine, Worship and Constitution, traced for the first three hundred years. By W. D. KILLEN, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God."—Ps. lxxxvii: 3. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand Street. 1859; pp. 656, 8vo.

This work is distinguished from all other modern contributions to Church History known to us, by the attention which its author gives to the polity of the Apostolic and Primitive Church. Fully one-third of the whole volume is devoted to the direct discussion of these topics, and they are also incidentally referred to, very often, in the other portions of the volume. The Father of modern Church History himself employs far less than a tythe of his large first volume in the elucidation of these themes. Schaff, in his *Apostolic History*, gives to these topics about one-sixteenth part of the whole volume; in his elegant first volume on the *Christian Church*, he despatches these questions in about fifty pages. But when we take up, for example, Gieseler or Guericke, Waddington, Milman or Robertson, all they have to say upon these points is contained in a very few pages, or even paragraphs.

Not only do all the modern Church historians treat these subjects briefly, but some of them are of a very doubtful mind respecting Church Polity. Milman says:

“The primitive constitution of these Churches is a subject which it is impossible to decline, though few points in Christian history rest on more dubious and imperfect—in general, on inferential evidence.”*

Schaff, who has had the advantage of all that “bold and searching criticism of the modern German historians, as applied to the Apostolic and post-Apostolic literature, which has done good service by removing old prejudices and placing many things in a new light;” and who, in his last work, has made “large use of the new sources of information recently brought to light, such as the Syriac and Armenian Ignatius, and especially the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus,”† seems to have ended all his researches in a state of considerable doubt regarding some of the main questions of the Prelatic controversy. “The most important and also the most difficult phenomenon of our period (A. D. 100—311), in the department of Church organization, is the rise and developement of the Episcopate.” “There is large room here for critical research and combination.” “Whatever may be thought of the origin and Divine right of the Episcopate,”‡ &c. In his previous work, Dr. Schaff’s position on these subjects was the same equivocal position, although his testimony is, on many points, as clear for Presbyterian principles as it must be admitted to be impartial. Thus, he tells us:

“Church government was instituted by Christ himself in person.” “Church officers were not creatures of the congregations,” “although the people participated in the government of the Church.” “These Church officers are so related to one another that the higher include in themselves the lower, but not the reverse.” “With all their comprehensive authority, the Apostles still regarded themselves always as a collegiate body,” and as “personally representing the Church.” And thus the Apostles, as well as the Presbyters, “controlled the

* *History of Christianity*, Vol. II., p. 274.

† *Preface to Christian History*, p. vi.

‡ *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 414, 415, 421.

people not by force of law, but through their own free conviction." "They never forced any measure upon the Church, but administered the government in active sympathy with them and by their full consent." "In the whole company of saints they saw a family of free children of God." "Primitive Christianity sanctions the *synodical* form of government in which all orders of the Church are represented." "From all tyranny over conscience, from all arbitrary hierarchical despotism, they were infinitely removed." "The name Presbyters or Elders is, no doubt, of Jewish-Christian origin, a translation of the Hebrew זְקֵנִים." "The Bishops of the New Testament are not diocesan Bishops, like those of a later period, but simply congregational officers. This is placed beyond question in every passage in which we meet this title." And "this identity of Presbyters and Bishops was acknowledged by the most learned Church fathers on exegetical grounds,"* &c.

Yet he elsewhere says :

"If we consider that in the second century the Episcopal system existed as a historical fact in the whole Church, East and West, and was unresistingly acknowledged, nay universally regarded, as, at least indirectly, of Divine appointment, we can hardly escape the conclusion that this form of government naturally grew out of the circumstances and wants of the Church at the end of the Apostolic period, and could not have been so quickly and so generally introduced without the sanction, or at least acquiescence, of the surviving Apostles; especially of John, who labored on the very threshold of the second century, and left behind him a number of venerable disciples. At all events, it needs a strong infusion of skepticism, or of traditional prejudice, to enable one, in the face of all these facts and witnesses, to pronounce the Episcopal government of the ancient Church a sheer apostasy from the Apostolic form, and a radical revolution."†

He adds in a note :

"Our position is not dogmatical and sectarian at all, but entirely historical. The high antiquity, the usefulness, and the necessity of the Episcopal form of government in the times before the Reformation, does not necessarily make it of force for all succeeding ages. For we have no passage in the New Testament which presents three orders, or any particular form of Church government (excepting the ministry itself) as essential to the existence of the Church."

Waddington's position may be expressed in two sentences :

"Neither our Saviour nor His Apostles have left any express and

* History of the Apostolic Church, pp. 497, 499, 506, 507, 515, 516, 522, 523.

† Apost. Church, pp. 540, 541.

positive ordinances for the administration of the Church, desiring, perhaps, that that which was intended for every age and condition of man, to be the associate and guardian of every form of civil government, should have the means of accommodating its external and earthly shape to the various modifications of human polity."

This is one of Waddington's principles, or fundamental facts. The other is this :

"It is certain that from the moment in which the early Churches attained a definite shape and consistency, and assumed a permanent form of discipline ; as soon as the death of the last of the Apostles had deprived them of the more immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, and left them, under God's especial care and providence, to the uninspired direction of mere men, so soon had every Church, respecting which we possess any express information, adopted the Episcopal form of government."*

Robertson, who himself speaks of himself as "an advocate of the Episcopal theory of Apostolical succession," and who is the latest writer on Church History belonging to the established Church of England, devotes just one page and a half to all the questions of the original polity. His position is that

"The Apostles having been, at first, the sole depositaries of their Lord's commission, with all the powers which it conferred, afterwards delegated to others, as their substitutes, assistants or successors, such portions of their powers as were capable of being transmitted, and were necessary for the continuance of the Church." "Those to whom the Apostles conveyed the full powers of the Christian ministry were not the Deacons, nor the Presbyters, but (in the later meaning of the word) the Bishops ; and the existence of the inferior orders, as subject to these, is a simple matter of history."

This is Robertson's theory. He seems to scorn, as quite needless, any attempt to establish it. All that he offers of that sort is contained in the following paragraph :

"Resting on the fact that the Apostles were, during their lives on earth, the supreme regulating authorities of the Church, we may disregard a multitude of questions which have been made to tell against the theories of an Episcopal polity, of a triple ministry, or of any ministry whatever, as distinguished from the great body of Christians. We need not here inquire at what time, and by what steps, the title

* Waddington's History of the Church, vol. I., p. 85.

of *Bishop*, which had at first been common to the highest and the second orders, came to be applied exclusively to the former; nor whether functions, originally open to all Christian men, were afterwards restricted to a particular class; nor in how far the inferior orders of the clergy, or the whole body of the faithful, may have shared in the administration of government and discipline; nor whether the commissions given by St. Paul to Timothy and to Titus were permanent or only occasional; nor at what time the system of fixed diocesan Bishops was introduced. We do not refuse to acknowledge that the organization of the Church was gradual; we are only concerned to maintain that it was directed by the Apostles, and that in all essential points it was completed before their departure." *

Gieseler's discussion of this topic is very short, but not very unsatisfactory. He is clear, that in the Apostolic Church,

"The Elders, (called both Presbyters and Bishops) were officially of equal rank; that the duty of teaching, as an office, was by no means incumbent on them, but the capacity of instructing was a free gift of the Spirit to certain individuals; that there was no longer to be a distinct priestly order; that the idea set forth by Christ of the union of His people with Himself, and with one another, in one joint body, was kept alive by the Apostles; that these Apostles were the external centre point of this unity; that they exercised a general survey over all the Churches, and were co-overseers in every single Church; that the first arrangements in the newly planted Churches, even the appointment of Elders in them, was made by the Apostles themselves; that afterwards the Elders nominated officers with the consent of the Churches; that in newly established Churches Paul sometimes transferred his power to an assistant, and that James stood in Jerusalem quite in the relation of a later Bishop, but without the appellation." †

Neander's position on this subject is that of a very decided support to the *jus Divinum* of Presbyterian Church government, and Guericke follows very closely in his tracks. The former says, that

"A guild of priests having the exclusive care of providing for the religious wants of other men—such a priestly caste, could find no place within Christianity; that no one individual was to be the preëminent organ of the Holy Ghost for the guidance of the whole, but that all were to coöperate, each in his own sphere; that every man who felt an inward call to it might, under the transient inspiration, give utterance to the word in the assembled Church; but that not all the mem-

* History of the Christian Church, by James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Vicar of Bekebourne, in the Diocese of Canterbury, vol. I., p. 7.

† Gieseler's Eccl. History, vol. I., pp. 88-93.

bers of a community were fitted for the ordinary and regular office of teaching; that the inner fellowship demanded for its exhibition an external organization; that some of the members received the gift (charism) of government; that their guidance of the community was performed as a council of Elders, called Presbyters, and also Bishops; that in each town, from the beginning onwards, one single community formed itself under the guidance of a senate of Elders; that the function of teaching, and that of Church government, and the gifts requisite for each, were originally distinguished and held separate from each other; that these functions, however, were united often, but not necessarily and always in the same individual, so that some Presbyters were worthy of double honor; that these rulers were not masters of the community, but conducted all things as their ministers and with their coöperation; that they were elected by the people; that even the Apostles, whose office was peculiar and not transferable, were far from lording it over the faith of which the foundation had once been laid, and which was now to develop itself with freedom, and give shape to every thing by its own inherent power alone."

So much of a constitution for the Church does Neander find in the Scriptures, and the considerate reader will feel the definiteness of these views, and the completeness of the system they summarily set forth. Then Neander tells us that

"After the age of the Apostles, there occur three changes in the constitution of the Church, as follows: 1. The distinction of Bishops from Presbyters, and the developement of the Monarchical-Episcopal Church government: 2. The distinction of the clergy from the laity, and the formation of a sacerdotal caste: 3. The multiplication of Church offices."

Now, taking these seven modern Church historians as specimens of the whole body, let us look again, for one moment, at their various positions regarding Church government. Two of the German writers hold clearly to a system of Church government distinctly revealed in the New Testament, and that system is the Presbyterian, received by them both in considerable fullness. The other two German authors clearly hold to the Apostolic origin of certain principles, which logically conduct to the Presbyterian system, but, strangely enough, they add their historical judgment, also, in favor of diocesan episcopacy as at least indirectly of Divine appointment. Of the English writers, Robertson "rests on the fact that the Apos-

ties were, during their lives on earth, the supreme regulating authorities of the Church," and on the bare averment, without the least attempt at proof, that although "the organization of the Church was gradual," yet it was "directed by the Apostles through Bishops (in the later meaning of the word), to whom the Apostles conveyed the full powers of the Christian ministry." But, on the other hand, Milman holds that the whole question rests on the most dubious grounds; and Waddington, that the Saviour and His Apostles established nothing, but that we find the whole Church to have been episcopally governed from the time of her being first left to the uninspired direction of mere men.

It is not amongst writers of Church History alone that doubt and uncertainty of mind prevail, respecting the whole subject of the order of the kingdom set up on earth by Jesus Christ. Many theologians, and whole schools of theology, also are in doubt about it. The theory of Erastus is, indeed, a definite one, viz.: that all Church power rests in the Christian magistrate, who appoints the form of government for the Church according to his pleasure, and holds in his hands the keys of discipline. So, indeed, the Roman Catholic position (held likewise by some Prelatists) is also a definite one, viz.: that one particular form of Church government is not only appointed, but is appointed as being essential, so that there can be no Church where that form of government is not. This is the theory of the *jus Divinum, with a vengeance*—and the vengeance has always been felt under its sway wherever there was power to inflict it. But there is another theory of the *jus Divinum*, in which there is inherent no vengeance and no spite, and it also is, nevertheless, a definite theory of Church government. It is, that the substantial of Church order are all laid down in Scripture, in particular rules respecting officers, ordinances, courts and discipline, while the circumstantial are also laid down in Scripture, but in general rules of order, decency and edification. This is the *jus Divinum* theory of Church government as distinctly held forth in our

standards.* According to this view of the subject, a Church government is revealed in the Scriptures, just as the other great doctrines of Christianity are revealed there. But the truth on this subject may be discerned by different minds with more or with less clearness, and may accordingly be followed out in practice with a more or less complete obedience by different Churches. A Church may, therefore, hold erroneous views on this subject, leading to erroneous practice, and still be a true Church. Not to receive and practice the doctrine of Church government laid down in the Scriptures, makes an imperfect Church—it does not destroy its title to be considered a true Church of Christ, and to be acknowledged as such by us. We must acknowledge all whom we believe Christ acknowledges, and fellowship all whom He receives. We must be in communion with all who hold the Head, or be guilty of the sin of schism.

But there are other theories held by many which may be called *indefinite*—as, that “God has instituted government for the Church only as He has for the State, having simply forbidden anarchy, but leaving the form of government to the discretion of men.” In other words, that “Christ has left the matter of Church government undetermined, so that Christian societies have a discretionary power of modeling the government of the Church in such a manner as the circumstantial reasons of times and places may require; and that, therefore, the *wisest* government of the Church, for any given age or country, is the best and the most divine.” Again, it is held by many, that the germs of Church order are given in the New Testament, and the early fathers were allowed to fill up the outline. This is a prevailing form of opinion among Episcopalians. Not very different from this is an indefinite theory prevailing extensively amongst Presbyterians, even of the Old School, and which is found to be as much of *jure Divino* Presbyterianism as some of those who hold high places in our Church

* See Confession of Faith, chap. I: 6. Form of Government, chap. I: 3, 6, 7; chap. VIII: 1.

are able to swallow and digest, viz: the theory that the essentials are laid down in the Scriptures, but the details left to be filled up by the Church at her discretion. This theory, like the other two, we call indefinite, for it defines nothing. It does not tell us what are these divine essentials, and what these human details. Can it, indeed, be so that a root shall be divine and the branches, twigs and leaves growing out of it human? Or can it be that the main branches, as well as the root, shall be divine, but the twigs and leaves human?

Now, where this indefinite Presbyterian theory prevails, there is usually felt a great horror of what is called "*High Church* Presbyterianism," which is described as

"A disposition to attribute undue importance to the external organization of the Church—the desire to make every thing relating thereto a matter of divine right, and to insist that no society, however orthodox and pure, can be a Church unless organized in one particular form."

It is argued that

"The institutions of the Christian Church are designed for all nations, ages and portions of the globe. It is inconceivable that any one outward form of the Church can be suited for all these different circumstances. We can readily believe that one style of building and one mode of dress might suit all parts of Palestine, but who can believe that God would prescribe the same garments for the Arabs and the Laplanders? * * * * When we open the New Testament the first thing that strikes the reader is its comparative silence on this subject. * * * * Those Protestants who adopt the *jus Divinum* principle are obliged to substitute conjectures as to what was done in place of positive commands as to what we should do."

And it is declared that

"Not only in Romanists and Prelatists, but even in Presbyterians and Independents, we see manifestations of this disposition, which has a deep root in human nature, to let the external and the visible overshadow the spiritual; to make obligatory what God has left indifferent: to regard as essential, points which are unimportant or injurious; to subject the conscience to human authority; to alienate those who ought to be united; and impede the Church's progress by afflictive and disgraceful schisms." *

* See Bib. Repertory for Jan. 1849, pp. 6, 7.

It has never fallen to our lot to see any such Presbyterians as are here described, nor do we know of any persons in any branch of the Presbyterian Church to whom this description applies. Most especially, did we never hear of any Presbyterians so holding to the *jus Divinum Presbyterii* as to maintain that "no society, however orthodox and pure, can be a Church, unless organized in one particular form." This must be viewed, we suppose, simply as one of those exaggerations of statement to which the wisest men are liable in the heat of argument, or in the haste of composition. We submit, with great respect, the enquiry whether, after all, the evil which calls for rebuke be not really the very opposite of that over-zealous regard for Presbyterian Church government which is thus ridiculed and denounced. Does there not prevail generally amongst Presbyterians too little confidence in the Scriptural authority of the Church polity handed down to them from their fathers in Scotland, who received it from Geneva fresh exhumed by Calvin from that grave where Prelates and Popes had so long kept it buried?

In view of this unsettled state of the question of Church polity especially, we hail Dr. Killen's "Ancient Church" with great delight. We hail the appearance of it, because of the decided views he expresses on all these questions, and because of the full and complete and able discussion of them, with which God has enabled him to favor the Church. Dr. Schaff says that "Presbyterians of the Scotch *jure Divino* school are one-sided and pedantic, too little regarding even many important facts of the New Testament, and either entirely rejecting or distorting the weighty testimony of Church antiquity."* But here is a writer of that one-sided school who ventures to think, alluding, doubtless, amongst others, to Dr. Schaff himself, that the "progress of the Christian commonwealth, for the first three hundred years, recently described by British, German and American writers of eminent ability, is not yet an exhausted subject." "Several documents lately

*Apostolic History, p. 541.

discovered have thrown fresh light on the transactions of the ancient Church. There are, besides, points of view disclosing unexplored fields for thought, from which the ecclesiastical landscape has never yet been contemplated.* We believe this. We are satisfied there yet remains much land to be possessed in this quarter. The field of research has by no means been fully explored. And precisely because we are satisfied that Dr. Killen neither "regards too little" any "important facts of the New Testament," nor "neglects" nor "distorts the weighty testimony of Church antiquity"—precisely for these reasons we are sure his book will be read with advantage by all impartial enquirers. The value of his argument is due to its being derived so entirely from Scripture, and so strikingly confirmed by the most recently discovered illustrations of primitive Church history.

As to one of these, viz.: that of the new recension of the Ignatian Letters, we are confident that every honest mind will acknowledge the ability and thoroughness of Dr. Killen's investigations. In 1845 a new turn was given to the Ignatian controversy, by the publication of a Syriac version of three of the Letters. In 1846, Dr. Cureton, of the British Museum, their editor in England, published his "*Vindiciæ Ignatiæ, or the Genuine Writings of St. Ignatius,*" &c.; and in 1849 his more full discussion of the subject in his *Corpus Ignatianum*, in which he maintains that only the three are genuine. His views are understood to have the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the English metropolitan, to whom his work is dedicated, by permission. Bishop Pearson's celebrated book in defence of the authority of all the seven epistles, which (says Killen) "few have ever read, but under the shadow of the reputation of which Prelatists have for two centuries been reposing quietly," is thus abandoned by the highest representatives of Prelacy in our day. They are compelled, by the investigations of the British Museum, to confess that about three-fourths of the matter which the Bishop of Chester spent

* Preface of Dr. Killen, p. v.

six years of his mature age in attempting to prove genuine, is the work of an impostor. In 1847 appears Bunsen's work, in letters addressed to Neander, in which the three recensions of the Ignatian letters, Greek, Latin and Syriac, are elaborately compared. He also maintains that the three are the only genuine. His work produces a profound impression, and is considered by many to have settled the question. But our author thoroughly investigates anew this old controversy, and sheds a flood of new light upon it. So far as we can judge, Dr. Killen goes to the very root of the matter, and we strongly incline to say that he takes the only consistent ground. Very significant, indeed, is the past history of these letters. In the sixteenth century, fifteen of them were offered to the world as from the pen of the Pastor of Antioch, but scholars refused to receive them all as genuine, and immediately eight of them were admitted to be forgeries; and then,—as in the case of that other forgery, the Sybilline letters,—a smaller number of them is proposed to our confidence. In the seventeenth century, the seven letters appear in a somewhat altered form, and claim to be the genuine and original copies; but discerning critics again refuse to acknowledge their pretensions. This second apparition, however, piques the curiosity of scholars, and they ransack Greece, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, till at length, in the Nitrian Desert, three letters are found, written in Syriac. There is a new era in the controversy now. It is confessed, even by Prelatists, that four of the seven so long insisted to be genuine are apocryphal, but it is boldly said that the remaining three are above challenge. Bunsen himself acknowledges them, and even Presbyterians of learning acquiesce in his conclusions.* But, says Killen:

“Truth still refuses to be compromised, and sternly disowns these claimants for her approbation. The internal evidence of these three epistles abundantly attests that, like the last three books of the Sybil, they are only the last shifts of a grave imposture.” “Ignatius, in his new dress, has lost nothing of his absurdity and extravagance. The passages formerly felt to be so objectionable, are yet found here in all

* *Biblical Repertory*, for July, 1849.

their unmitigated folly. Ignatius is still the same anti-evangelical formalist, the same puerile boaster, the same dreaming mystic, and the same crazy fanatic. These are weighty charges, and yet they can be substantiated." "It is truly wonderful that men, such as Dr. Cureton, have permitted themselves to be be-fooled by these Syriac manuscripts. It is still more extraordinary, that writers, such as the amiable and pious Milner, have published, with all gravity, the rhapsodies of Ignatius for the edification of their readers. It would almost appear as if the name of *Bishop* has such a magic influence on some honest and enlightened Episcopalians, that when the interests of their denomination are supposed to be concerned, they can be induced to close their eyes against the plainest dictates of common sense, and the clearest light of historical demonstration." "Bunsen rather reluctantly admits that the highest literary authority of the present century, the late Dr. Neander, declined to recognize even the Syriac version of the Ignatian epistles." "And it is no mean proof of the sagacity of the great Calvin, that, upwards of three hundred years ago, he passed a sweeping sentence of condemnation on these Ignatian epistles. At the time, many were startled by the boldness of his language, and it was thought he was somewhat precipitate in pronouncing such a decisive judgment. But he saw distinctly, and he spoke, therefore, fearlessly. There is a far more intimate connection than many are disposed to believe between sound theology and sound criticism; for a right knowledge of the Word of God strengthens the intellectual vision, and assists in the detection of error wherever it may reveal itself. Had Pearson enjoyed the same clear views of Gospel truth as the Reformer of Geneva, he would not have wasted so many precious years in writing a learned vindication of the nonsense attributed to Ignatius. Calvin knew that an Apostolic man must have been acquainted with Apostolic doctrine, and he saw that these letters must have been the production of an age when the pure light of Christianity was greatly obscured. Hence he denounced them so emphatically: and time has verified his deliverance. His language respecting them has been often quoted, but we feel we cannot more appropriately close our observations on this subject than by another repetition of it. 'There is nothing more abominable than that trash which is in circulation under the name of Ignatius.'"—*Instit. Lib. I., c. xiii., § 29.**

We propose, very briefly, to state to our readers the substance of our author's argument on this subject.

According to the current accounts, Ignatius was the second Bishop of Antioch at the time of his martyrdom, and was probably far advanced in life. When Trajan visited the capital of Syria, A. D. 107, Ignatius voluntarily presented himself before him and avowed his Christianity. In consequence, he

* Killen's Ancient Ch., p. 427.

was condemned to be carried to Rome and consigned to the wild beasts for the entertainment of the populace. On his way thither he stopped at Smyrna. The legend represents Polycarp as then chief Pastor of that city. There Ignatius received deputations from the neighboring Churches, and thence he wrote them several letters. From Smyrna he goes to Troas, and thence writes other epistles, including one to Polycarp.

Now, there is every reason to believe that, in the second century, Ignatius was connected with the Church at Antioch, and about the same period suffered unto death for the cause of Christianity; and possibly, also, he was sent to Rome by the chief magistrate of Syria, for Pliny, in Bithynia, was accustomed, at the beginning of the persecution of Trajan, to send Roman citizens who were accused of Christianity to the Emperor himself. Upon some such substratum of facts as this is, has been erected a huge mass of incongruous fictions. For it is much to be doubted if Trajan's visit took place so early as the legend states. It is also difficult to discover any reasonable apology for the fool-hardiness ascribed to Ignatius, of appearing of his own accord before Trajan to proclaim his Christianity. Moreover, the report of his behaviour before the Emperor represents the martyr as totally wanting in the humility of a Christian. And then the story of his transmission to Rome is full of difficulties. He is sent thither that the sight of such a distinguished victim passing through so many cities might terrify the Christians. But we are told he went from Syria to Smyrna *by water*; and then, had he gone by land, the lesson designed for the Christians would have been just one with which they were unhappily already quite familiar. He is represented as being hurried along violently and barbarously from East to West, and yet as remaining many days together in the same place, receiving deputations and writing magniloquent epistles.* And then, strangest of all, though pressed hastily

* The author falls into a small error, in his remarks here, regarding the time Ignatius must have remained at Smyrna in order to have received a deputation from

forwards by the soldiers, and the vessel speedily carried to Italy by prosperous winds, yet is one of these same letters supposed to outstrip the fast-sailing ship, and to reach Rome before himself and his impatient escort!

As to the testimony which accredits these letters, it is not necessary to examine any later witness than Eusebius. But his acknowledgment of the genuineness of the seven letters is of doubtful value, because the correspondence in question bears date two hundred years before his own appearance as an author. Nor is his judgment in such matters acknowledged to have been a very critical one; he published as genuine the correspondence between Abgarus and our Saviour!

Before the fourth century there is only one authority that notices those letters, and that is Origen, who quotes twice, evidently from the Syriac version. Probably Origen first met with them when visiting Antioch, on the invitation of the Emperor's mother, Julia Mammœa, and probably, too, they had just then been fabricated. The epistles wear all the characteristics of the former part of the third century. Ritualism

Magnesia. "Had notice been sent to them immediately on his arrival at Smyrna, the messenger must have required three days to perform the journey, and had the Magnesians set out immediately they must have occupied three days more in travelling to him. And so, with all the precipitation with which he was hurried along, he could scarcely have been less than a week in Smyrna!" We have, ourselves, more than once, travelled the whole distance in seven or eight hours moderate riding.

He elsewhere falls into an error on another subject which we may as well refer to here. "A slave owner (he says) might belong to a congregation of which his slave was the teacher, and thus, whilst in the household the servant was bound to obey his master according to the flesh, in the Church the master was required to remember that his minister was worthy of double honor."—p. 324. Dr. Killen quotes no authority for this statement, and we suppose no authority exists for it, as he makes the statement. Such cases, no doubt, must have sometimes occurred, or that kind of ordinations would not have required to be forbidden as they were in different early councils. The ground on which the prohibition is placed was *that very subordination to the will of another*, which Dr. Killen speaks of, and which the early Church considered to be inconsistent with the duties and obligations assumed by ministers of the Gospel. But his statement seems to imply that such ordinations of slaves were approved and regular, and had the sanction of the primitive Church as such, which, we think, cannot be shewn.

had then supplanted the freedom of evangelical worship; baptism was beginning to be viewed as an "armour" of marvellous potency; the tradition of Peter's founding the great Church of the West was now extensively propagated, and there was an increasing disposition to yield precedence to Rome. It was the greatest virtue then to be subject to the *Bishop*; to maintain uniformity was more than to maintain truth. Celibacy was then confounded with chastity, and mysticism was in place of the knowledge of the Word. Above all, the admiration of martyrdom, which in these epistles presents itself in so startling a form, characterized that period. If presented to Origen by parties interested in the recognition of their claims, these epistles were exactly the documents to impose upon Origen. The student of Philo, and the author of "Exhortations to Martyrdom," could not but admire such writings as these. Moreover, there are other apocryphal writings noticed by Origen, with no intimations of their being spurious works.

It has been attempted to show that both Irenæus and Polycarp, before Origen, noticed these letters; but the author most conclusively disposes of this pretence: and then he dwells upon the strangeness of the fact that no other writer has mentioned them. Asia Minor is moved by the presence of the martyr on his way to Rome, there to die,—Greece catches the infection of the excitement,—the capital itself, with breathless anxiety waits the coming of the illustrious Bishop,—yet no Western father mentions even his letter to the Romans for two or three hundred years after the time of its assumed publication! Where was Tertullian, the scholar and the Montanist too, a resident also for years of the city of Rome, that this document should have escaped his notice? And how is it that Hippolytus, of Portus, within a few miles of the city, conversant with the history of the Church there, and likely to sympathize as much as Tertullian with the rugged and ascetic spirit pervading this correspondence, has no testimony from these letters respecting any one of all the heresies he writes against?

The positive arguments adduced by Dr. Killen against all these epistles, we must merely mention, without stating them fully. They are as follows :

“First. The style is suspicious.

Secondly. They ignore God’s word, which never characterizes any of the early fathers.

Thirdly. The chronological blunders in these epistles betray their forgery.

Fourthly. Various words in them have a meaning which they did not acquire until long after the time of Ignatius.

Fifthly. The puerilities, vapouring and mysticism of these letters betray their forgery.

Sixthly. The unhallowed and insane anxiety for martyrdom, which appears throughout these letters, is a decisive proof of their fabrication.”

We have dwelt at length upon our author’s discussion of this subject because of the great importance which the advocates of the hierarchy have always attached to the testimonies they have quoted from these epistles ; testimonies which now would seem the “worthless coinage of pious fraud.” When Episcopalians are asked to explain by what steps Prelacy (which many of them, like Waddington, admit was not the original form of government for the Church of Christ) came to be established, as we find it was in the latter part of the second and in the third centuries, Ignatius is their great resource. It is he who makes out that the Apostles, or such of them as survived the destruction of Jerusalem, placed a Bishop at the head of each Church, with peculiar powers, as the representative of the unity of the Church ; and so it is he who exhibits Prelates as the true and only successors of the Apostles. And we have, therefore, sketched at some length our author’s argument, in order that the reader may see how little it avails our prelatie brethren to appeal to the first century for any support to their cause. It is not Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, the second of the Apostolic fathers, a disciple and companion of the very Apostles, whose long life closing, indeed, early in the second century, did yet as to its labours and its testimony run

far back into the first century ; it is not this father of the first century from whom they get the testimony they quote so often, but it is from some one of the numerous forgers and falsifiers of the third century !

If Dr. Killen's discussion of the Ignatian letters be an important service for the cause of truth in the Prelatic controversy, his discussion of the primitive constitution of the Church is entitled to be considered such, also, as regards both the Prelatic and the Popish controversies. Let the reader recall the acknowledgement of Milman, (himself a Churchman, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster,) that "the primitive constitution of the Church rests on dubious and mere inferential evidence ;"—and that of Waddington, (another Churchman, Vicar of Masham and Prebendary of Chichester,) that "neither Christ nor his Apostles left any positive ordinances for the administration of the Church government ;"—and also that of Schaff, not a Churchman himself, but standing (if it can be called *standing*) on the fence between Presbytery and Prelacy, that "the most difficult, as well as important, phenomenon of the primitive period, in respect to Church organization, is the rise and development of the Episcopate." Now, Dr. Killen solves this difficult problem. He explains how the Presbyterian principles, that Schaff finds in the New Testament, give place gradually to the Prelatical ideas whose introduction and progress are such a puzzle for Dr. Schaff. Killen, having recourse constantly to original authorities, traces definitely the rise of the Episcopate, out of which the Papacy was naturally and necessarily developed. And he thus furnishes a fresh, and we think a complete, demonstration of the utter weakness of the historical basis on which the Church of Rome rests her claims.

Upon this point, also, let us present the reader a brief sketch of the course of his narrative and argument.

Two documents of extreme antiquity, and universally acknowledged to be genuine, show to us what was the kind of Church government existing from the close of the first century

to the middle of the second—these documents dating one at each of these periods. The first is the letter of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians; the second is the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians. Both these letters refer often and plainly to the government of those Churches by *Elders*, and neither of them hints at a government by one man. Had there been a diocesan Bishop either at Rome or Corinth, at the close of the first century, Clement must have alluded to him. Again, had there been one half a century later, either at Smyrna or Philippi, Polycarp must have alluded to him. In Clement, especially, we see a Presbyter of Rome, on the verge of the Apostolic age, personally conversant perhaps with some of the Apostles, honored exceedingly by the Church of Rome, who yet comes forward, and by a silence more expressive than words, contradicts both her assumptions and the less developed ones of Prelacy.

But of course, from the beginning, that all things might be done decently and in order, it was indispensable to have some presiding officer in every Church assembly of the Elders. Starting out with that parity which the Saviour himself ordained amongst them, it was natural that they should preside in turn. And that the Elders in each Church did preside in turn, seems to be indicated in the striking fact of the confusion which exists in the so-called Episcopal succession just where it needs to be sustained, if it is to have any value, by the most decisive and perspicuous evidence. The lists of Bishops, commencing with the ministry of the Apostles, and extending over the latter half of the first century, are little better than a mass of contradictions. The compilers seem to have set down, almost at random, the names of some distinguished men whom they found connected with some of the different Churches, and thus the discrepancies are nearly as numerous as the catalogues.*

* "At Antioch some, as Origen and Eusebius, make Ignatius to succeed Peter. Jerome maketh him the third Bishop, and placeth Evodius before him. Others make them contemporary Bishops. * * * Come we to Rome, and here the succes-

Now, the first step towards a change of the original constitution was to make the oldest Elder successively the permanent Moderator. Hilary, a Roman Deacon of the fourth century, whose works are commonly appended to those of Ambrose, and who is one of the best commentators of the ancient Church, bears explicit testimony to the existence of such an arrangement. His statement is variously confirmed. 1st. The language of the most ancient documents, applied to the primitive Presidents, confirms it. The Bishop is called *ὁ παλαιὸς βίσις*, "the old man." 2d. In none of the great Sees, before the close of the second century, do we find any trace of a young or even middle-aged Bishop; they are usually four-score years old and more. 3d. The wonderful rapidity with which Bishop succeeds Bishop, especially in the earlier part of the second century (long a difficulty with many students of Church history), may perhaps be best accounted for by this theory of the Presidency.

The second step towards Prelacy is taken first at Rome, just before the middle of the second century, when they depart from this rule of seniority, and elect the ablest and most vigorous-minded Presbyter to be their standing President. Valentinus, Cerdo, and other Gnostic Heretics, appear there at that time and give rise to great distractions, and it is suggested that greater powers be given to the central officer, so as to enable him better to cope with these new and dangerous foes. Upon the death of Telesphorus, A. D. 139, who had been President of the Roman Presbytery, Hyginus appears to have succeeded him with new powers. But, beginning at Rome, so far as we can discover, this change appears to have been imitated elsewhere. The same necessity for a stronger ecclesiastical administration appears to have arisen simultaneously at Lyons,

sion is as muddy as the Tyber itself, for here Tertullian, Rufinus, and several others, place Clement next to Peter. Irenæus and Eusebius set Anacletus before him; Epiphanius and Optatus both Anacletus and Cletus; Augustinus 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?"—*Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, quoted by Killen, p. 506.

Corinth, Athens, Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria, for the errorists seem to have commenced their discussions at all these points as if on a pre-concerted signal. If in these few leading cities the new system inaugurated at Rome were approved, its general adoption would gradually, but surely, follow.

Thus, in an evil hour, the dominant party is tempted to change the constitution of the Church, and to aim at putting down heresy and disturbance by ecclesiastical innovation. Believing, as many do now, that "parity breedeth confusion," and expecting that the "seeds of schism"* might thus be destroyed, they sought to invigorate the administration by giving the presiding officer authority over his brethren—themselves in some cases tainted with the new heresies. Accordingly, also, the principle is now adopted that he should be cast out who would not submit to the Bishop.

The steps of the progress of this modified Prelacy, beginning in the days of Hyginus, are clearly traced by our author from original authorities. The power passes from the Presbyters to their President. He is dignified with additional authority and invested with peculiar privileges, and in a new sense he receives the name *Bishop*, henceforth appropriated solely to him. Amongst many proofs of this kind of change commencing in the time of Hyginus, one of the most striking is from the *Pontifical Book*, a document of great weight in the Romish Church, and ascribed to Damasus, Bishop of Rome in the fourth century. It is a curious passage, out of keeping with much that is in the Book, as it contradicts rather awkwardly the pretensions of the Papacy, and has been, therefore, very puzzling to commentators. Damasus testifies that Hyginus "arranged the clergy and distributed the gradations."

* Killen quotes from Jerome's commentary on Titus these two passages :

"Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."

"Paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum, omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam."

Dr. Killen, taking Hilary and Jerome for the interpreters of this passage, understands it as proving that Hyginus was the real framer of the hierarchy. At a Synod in Rome, he brought under the notice of the meeting the confusion and scandal created by the movements of the errorists, and with a view to correct these disorders, the council agreed to invest the Moderator of each Presbytery with increased authority, to give him discretionary power as the general superintendent of the Church, and to require the other Elders, as well as the Deacons, to act under his advice and direction. Thus a new functionary begins to be created under an old name, and thus a third order begins to be added to the ecclesiastical brotherhood.

This change in the government of the Church, perhaps, gave rise to the journey which Polycarp made to Rome. But although it encountered opposition and remonstrance, the innovation exerted, without doubt, a most extensive influence. For many reasons, such a change at Rome would work powerfully all over the Church. And so, *little by little*, as Jerome testifies, this modified prelacy increased and spread itself. In Smyrna, in Cesarea and in Jerusalem, we know that the senior Presbyter was the President until about the close of the second century, and the Church was there still governed, it would seem, by the "common council of the Presbyters." In many other places, even at a later period, the Episcopal system was still unknown. But its advocates were active and influential. The very efforts of heretics to create division in the Church, helped on these plans and arrangements for strong government and visible union. The *Catholic* system is first heard of towards the end of the second century. Those in communion with the Bishop were the "Catholics;" those out of communion with him were "sectaries" and "schismatics." This Catholic system was an integral part of the policy which invested the presiding minister with additional authority, and arose contemporaneously with Prelacy. At the head of this Catholic system which, of course, could not be a local system, but must spread rapidly over the whole Church—at the head

of it, the Bishop of Rome soon found himself placed by uncontrollable and imperious influences. There is no doubt that by the close of the second century he was acknowledged as the chief pastor of Christendom. Victor, in his dealing with Asiatic Bishops, concerning the Paschal festival, was only striving to realize this idea of the unity of the Church—and it was still this same idea of visible unity which Stephen, sixty years afterwards, was endeavoring to work out in his conflict with the Bishop of Carthage.

Pursuing the history from the second into the third century as it gradually develops itself into the rising Papacy, we come to the time when was written a work of the early church, long lost, but lately discovered, which not only sheds light upon the ancient heresies and the history of philosophy, but also contributes by a few most important testimonies to our better understanding of the condition of the Roman Church in the third century, and also of the state of the Church doctrine at that time.

“In A. D., 1551, as some workmen in the neighborhood of Rome were employed in clearing away the ruins of a dilapidated chapel, they found a broken mass of sculptured marble among the rubbish. The fragments, when put together, proved to be a statue representing a person of venerable aspect sitting in a chair, on the back of which were the names of various publications. It was ascertained, on more minute examination, that some time after the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, this monument had been erected in honor of Hippolytus—a learned and able controversialist, who had been Bishop of Portus in the early part of the third century, and who had finished his career by martyrdom, about A. D. 236, during the persecution under the Emperor Maximin. Hippolytus is commemorated as a Saint in the Romish breviary; and the resurrection of his statue after it had been buried for perhaps a thousand years, created quite a sensation among his Papal admirers. Experienced sculptors, under the auspices of the Pontiff, Pius IV., restored the fragments to nearly their previous condition; and the renovated statue was then duly honored with a place in the Library of the Vatican.

“Nearly three hundred years afterwards, or in 1842, a manuscript which had been found in a Greek Monastery, at Mt. Athos, was deposited in the Royal Library at Paris. This work, which has since been published, and which is entitled “Philosophoumena, or a refutation of all Heresies,” has been identified as the production of Hippolytus. It does not appear in the list of his writings mentioned on the

back of the marble chair; but any one who inspects its contents can satisfactorily account for its exclusion from that catalogue. It reflects strongly on the character and principles of some of the early Roman Bishops; and as the Papal See was fast rising into power when the statue was erected, it was obviously deemed prudent to omit an invidious publication. The writer of the *Philosophumena* declares that he is the author of one of the books named on that piece of ancient sculpture, and various other facts amply corroborate his testimony. There is, therefore, no good reason to doubt that a Christian Bishop who lived about fifteen miles from Rome, and who flourished little more than one hundred years after the death of the Apostle John, composed the newly discovered Treatise."—pp. 344, 345.

This treatise of Hippolytus lets us into the secret that Victor, Bishop of Rome A. D. 192–201, had countenanced the errors of Montanus, and that his two successors, Zephyrinus (A. D. 201–219) and Callistus (A. D. 219–223), held unsound views respecting the Trinity. Callistus, as well as Hippolytus, is a Saint in the Romish breviary; yet the latter describes the former as both a schemer and a heretic. It is very clear, also, that Hippolytus never dreamed of acknowledging Callistus as his metropolitan; but that all Bishops were then on a level as to equality of power. Hippolytus says Callistus was afraid of him, as well indeed he might be of such a man, possessing co-ordinate authority with himself. Yet still it is plain, from various admissions in the *Philosophumena*, that the Bishop of Rome was beginning to presume upon his position.

Dr. Killen makes, also, very good and full use of the discoveries made since the sixteenth century in those long labyrinths under the ground around the city of Rome, called the Catacombs.* These streets, all taken together, are supposed to be nine hundred miles long. The galleries are often found two or three stories deep. They were originally stone-quarries or gravel-pits and were commenced long before the time of Augustus. During the frequent proscriptions of the second and third centuries these "dens and caves of the earth" supplied shelter oftentimes to the Christians at Rome. As early as the second century these vaults became the great cemetery

*From *κατά*, down, and *κύβος*, a cavity.

of the Church. Many of the memorials of the dead which they contained have long since been transferred to the Lapidarian Gallery in the Vatican, and there in the Palace of the Pope these venerable tomb-stones testify to all who will consult them how much modern Romanism differs from ancient Christianity. These inscriptions know no worship of the Virgin. They point only to Jesus. Their tone is eminently cheerful. They speak not of purgatory or of masses for the dead, but describe the believer as having entered immediately into rest. And they give clear proof also that the early Church of Rome did not impose celibacy on her Ministers, for they refer constantly to different Presbyters as holding to the various deceased the relations of husband and of father.

It is not necessary to follow the author through all the testimonies he adduces, from Jerome and others, to the antiquity of the Presbyterian polity. We have sufficiently indicated how he makes good his allegation that the Presbyterial government existed in all its integrity during the whole course of the second century. At the close of that period we meet with a wide spread of Prelacy; and the principle of a permanent priority having been once introduced amongst the originally equal brethren, it was necessarily developed in a still wider departure from the simplicity of the divine constitution of the Church. One brother having become superior to the rest, at several different points, these superiors must needs again contend together for supremacy. And, thus, finally emerges from the din of this unholy strife a supreme Pontiff and a Bishop of Bishops in the capital of Christendom.

But the most valuable service performed for the cause of truth, in this volume, is done in those chapters where Dr. Killen proves that the Presbyterian system is contained in the Scriptures, and was instituted by Christ and His Apostles.

The author remarks, in his preface, that "one of the most hopeful signs of the times is the increasing charity of evangelical Christians." Yet he maintains that no apology is due for the free utterance of his sentiments upon the important questions he discusses. The divided state of the Christian

Church is indeed to be deplored. Barriers to mutual fellowship, and to a real and visible unity amongst the disciples of a common Saviour, are a reproach to the Gospel. We thank God that Presbyterians generally do not set up any such barriers; introduce no tests of communion not ordained by the Lord; acknowledge as true ministers of Jesus Christ all who are called and ordained by any evangelical Church, according to its own rules; and fellowship every Church which holds the Head. We look with intensest satisfaction upon all efforts at union of prayer amongst the different branches of the Church of Christ—and wherever a union of active effort, likewise, is possible, without a forbidden sacrifice on either or both sides, we rejoice, also, in such displays of the charity of the Gospel. Yet, we have no faith in compromises of principle respecting the government of the Church, any more than the doctrine, for we believe both to be divine. Neither would it be a possible thing now, any more than it was in Baxter's day, to unite Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Independency together, so as to form one common religious government and discipline;* because the principles on which each is founded are diverse. The believers of each must "agree to differ" about this doctrine, as about others, and they must wait and pray for more light from above. In the meanwhile they may kindly and faithfully reason with one another out of the Scriptures, with a view to a better understanding of each other's real position. Every honest effort of this kind is entitled to kind and candid consideration.

When we take up the three forms of Church government above named for a comparison of them together, we find Prelacy standing at one extreme and Independency at the other.

* Owen long and attentively considered Baxter's scheme for uniting all parties in one, and then returned the papers with these words: "I am still a well-wisher to these mathematics:" a reply sufficiently laconic—expressive of his general approbation of the scheme (considered as an effort for peace and harmony), but of his doubts, also, about the calculating process of his ingenious correspondent.—*See Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 237.

To the former there arises at once, and we cannot help feeling it, a very weighty objection, viz.: that it seems to destroy the brotherhood Christ established amongst His ministers, and thus to form just a resting-point on the road towards Popery. Leaving this extreme and glancing at Independency, two things appear to be very plainly made known in the Scriptures, viz.: *first*, that the whole Church of Christ is one body; and, *secondly*, that our Lord, by His Apostles, instituted certain offices, and attached to these offices the powers belonging to them; so that the Church is not immediately to direct her own affairs, but she is directed and ruled by her representatives, her chosen rulers, who are officers ordained of God.

In the middle, between these two extremes, just where truth always lies, you find what is called Presbyterianism—the Scriptural form of Church government. We call it the Scriptural form, because it seems to us that the Scriptures directly reveal all the main features of it, out of which necessarily flow the secondary features. As we said before, the *substantials* of the system are laid down in Scripture, in *particular rules*, respecting the Church herself, her officers, her courts and her discipline; whilst the *circumstantials*, also, are there laid down in *general rules* of order, decency and edification.

First, *as to the Church herself*, the Scriptures plainly teach that she is one body. The Church of the Old Testament was one body, having one worship, one High Priest, and one place of sacrifice. And Paul describes the New Testament Church not as “a loose mass of independent congregations,” but a body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth. Dr. Killen well remarks that,

“While the Apostle does, indeed, here refer to the vital union of believers, he seems, also, to allude to those *bands* of outward ordinances by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and those *joints* of visible confederation, by which their communion is upheld, for were the Church split up into an indefinite number of insulated congregations, even the unity of the Spirit could neither be distinctly ascertained, nor properly cultivated.”—p. 250.

Accordingly, Dr. Killen regards the Twelve as

“Representatives of the doctrine of ecclesiastical confederation—

for though commanded to go into all the world and preach to every creature, yet, as long as circumstances permitted, they continued to coöperate. 'When the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, *they sent* unto them Peter and John,' and, at a subsequent period, they concurred in *sending* 'forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as unto Antioch.' These facts distinctly prove that they had a common interest in every thing pertaining to the well-being of the whole Christian commonwealth."—pp. 250, 251.

This unity of the Church in adjoining provinces was maintained by meetings together of the delegates of the Churches. As to different countries, the communion of saints was kept up also by deputations and letters.* During the lives of the Apostles, there were preachers in whom they had no confidence, managing, by *letters of commendation*, to get access to Apostolic Churches.† All the Churches of that day were, perhaps, more really united than they have ever been since.

So far from all the Churches being independent, we read of all the congregations in Jerusalem, where were myriads of believing Jews, as *the Church in Jerusalem*.‡ So we read of the Christians at Antioch, to whom so many "prophets and teachers ministered," as *the Church of Antioch*. Probably, also, the true reading of the passage in Acts ix.: 31—"Then had the Churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria"—is, "then had *the Church* rest," referring to the Church of Palestine.

So much for the Scripture representation of the Church as not a number of separate congregations, but one united body.

Secondly, *as to officers of the Church*. There are two lists of these officers in two of Paul's Epistles, as follows:

1. Christ "gave some, Apostles; and some, Prophets; and some, Evangelists; and some, Pastors and Teachers."—Eph. iv.: 11.

2. "God hath set some in the Church, first, Apostles; secondarily, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; after that, miracles; then, gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."—1 Cor. xii.: 28.

* See 2 Cor. viii.: 4, 18, 22. Phil. ii.: 25, 28. Col. iv.: 7-9. 2 Tim. iv.: 9-12.

† See 2 John, verse 10. 1 John, iv.: 1. Phil. i.: 15-18.

‡ The expression is *πῶσαι μυριάδες*, how many ten thousands.—Acts xxi.: 20. See, also, Acts xi.: 22; and xv.: 4.

Now these passages evidently mention both ordinary and extraordinary functionaries. When the helps (that is, the Deacons) and the extraordinary officers are left out of these Apostolic catalogues, "it is rather singular (says Dr. Killen) that in the passage addressed to the Ephesians we have nothing remaining but 'PASTORS AND TEACHERS,' and in that to the Corinthians nothing but 'TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENTS.' There are good grounds for believing that these two residuary elements are identical—the pastors mentioned before the teachers in one text being equivalent to the governments mentioned after them in the other." We have long been convinced that this is the true interpretation of the expression "and some, Pastors and Teachers." If the Apostle did not intend to put these into one order, why did he not repeat *some* before *Teachers*, as before all the other officers he names? It is plain, in our apprehension, that he designed to speak separately; first of the *extraordinary* functionaries, that is, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists; and then, under one category, of the *ordinary*, that is, Pastors and Teachers, or Ruling Elders and Teaching Elders. The ordinary office-bearers of the Apostolic Church, then, were Pastors, Teachers and Helps—or, reversing the order a little, Teachers, Rulers, Deacons.

Again, we read of Elders and Bishops, and these names are interchangeably applied. These are the same officers as the Pastors. There were generally a plurality of Elders as well as of Deacons in every Church or congregation.* But it is by no means correct to say that all the primitive Elders or Bishops were preachers. The Elders were appointed simply to "take care of the Church of God," to be "overseers of the flock," its shepherds, guardians, rulers, its head-men and guides. It was not necessary all of them should have the *charism* of teaching, and they did not all have it; for Paul's language to Timothy shows plainly that there were Elders who did not labour in the word, and yet were worthy of honor, because faithful to their sole duty of ruling. And it is indeed

* Acts vi. : 3; xiv. : 23. Titus i. : 5. James v. : 14.

remarkable, as the reader has probably noticed, how the Apostle, when enumerating the qualifications of a Bishop or Elder, scarcely refers at all to any oratorical endowments. Only one word of that sort is used by him, rendered in English by the phrase *apt to teach*. This does not imply that he must be qualified to preach, for *teaching* and *preaching* are repeatedly distinguished in the New Testament;—but only that he must be able and willing, as opportunity occurs, to communicate sound instruction, and that from house to house. The aged women Paul required to be *Teachers* of good things. All believers are to *teach* and admonish one another. The description which Paul gives of the qualifications of a Bishop or Elder is evidently a description of one called to *rule*.

Still, preaching is the grand ordinance of God to edify saints as well as to convert sinners, and therefore God gave some teachers as well as rulers, and these held the most honorable position in the Church. In the courts of the Church, however, which are assemblies of Rulers, and nothing else, both these classes of Rulers stand on a level, just as in official position and power, each individual of each class is equal to every other of the same class.

All these officers are to be elected by the free choice of the people. Yet, when elected, they have authority in the Lord, and obedience is due to them by the people. They are the Lord's ministers, as well as the chosen rulers of the Church.

Such is the Scriptural account of the officers of the Church.

Thirdly, *as to the courts of the Church*. The Scriptures show that the ruling of the Elders was not singly, as individuals, but jointly, as courts—not as Presbyters, but as Presbyteries. They also show that these courts were some lower and some higher, and, therefore courts of appeal.

The Elders of the Jews had always acted as a body, and appeals from the inferior tribunals to that at Jerusalem were explicitly enjoined.* And obedience was actually rendered

* See Deut. xvii. : 8-10. 2 Chron. xix. : 8-11. Ps. cxxii. : 5

by foreign Synagogues to the orders of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem.*

Every one of the Apostolic Churches, like every Synagogue of the Jews, had its Elders, and every city had its Presbytery, consisting of the spiritual rulers of the district. Repeatedly, in the Acts, we find "the Apostles" acting together as a court, as "the Presbytery of Jerusalem," ordaining Deacons, exercising discipline, and sending forth missionaries.† Obviously, the same functions were performed by the prophets and teachers at Antioch.‡ Titus is instructed to have Elders ordained—that is, a Presbytery established—in every city. Timothy was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. Thus did the Eldership—that is, the Parochial Presbytery, or the Session, the most ancient court of the Church—arise with the first preaching of the Gospel. And the classical Presbytery is also found at Jerusalem and Antioch, and elsewhere, even at the beginning, and this manifestly was a higher court than the former. But can we find any court that was higher still than the classical Presbytery? When at Antioch arose the discussion about circumcising the Gentile converts, there were individuals there present as competent to decide that question, we should say, as any that could be found anywhere—for example, Paul and the Prophets that ministered in that Church. Yet the Christians there acted as the Jews before them would have done—they sent the case up to Jerusalem. There was to be found not only the Presbytery of Jerusalem, but also all the virtual rulers of the universal Church, the Apostles—and also Elders from every country, resorting, as did the Jews from of old, to the Holy City. It is to this body the appeal comes, and is determined by them as the highest court of the Christian Church.

Dr. Killen argues with great force that the Elders of the Church, called together at Miletus by Paul, were not the

* Acts ix. : 1, 2, 14

† Acts ii. : 14, 41, 42; iv. : 4, 32, 33, 35; v. : 14, 42; vi. : 6, 7; viii. : 14.

‡ Acts xiii. : 1, 3.

Elders of Ephesus alone, but of the district around, called together as a Synod or a Classical Presbytery. He reasons from the cause assigned for this calling of them together. Paul would not spend the time in Asia, but was hastening to Jerusalem. Had he merely wished to see the Elders of the metropolis he might have gone to them as rapidly as his messenger could travel. But he was unwilling to offend the other Churches, and he would see them all together by their representatives, and so he sends to Ephesus, and thence by a second set of messages he calls all the Elders of the province together. Our author reasons, also, from the opening words of Paul's address to them, "Ye know from the first day that I came *into Asia* after what manner I have been *with you* at all seasons." The Evangelist informs us that Paul spent only two years and three months at Ephesus, yet here Paul tells his audience that for the space of *three years* he had not ceased to warn, &c. He suggests some other considerations, confirming this view of the matter, but we shall only refer to his quotation from Irenæus. "In Mileto enim convocatis episcopis et Presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus."*

As to the fact that Scripture takes so little notice of Christian judicatories, let it be considered that the machinery of the Church's government (as Dr. Killen suggests) did not require to be written down for the heathen to read about, as much as the doctrines and the history of Christianity. It might thus have been only so much the more exposed to the attacks of enemies. Hence its courts probably assembled in secret, both during the very earliest days, and also afterwards, during the persecutions which preceded the second half of the second century.†

* Contra Hæres. iii., c. 14, §2.

† Neander has asserted, as Mosheim did before him, that Synods commenced not until the middle of the second century. The statement is unsupported (says Killen) by a particle of evidence, and a number of facts may be adduced to prove that it is altogether untenable. The earliest writers, who touch upon the subject, speak

But if there be few notices of these courts in the Scriptures, they are sufficiently numerous to give them a Divine warrant, for a single Scripture precedent is as decisive as a multitude. One solitary reference of an appeal from a lower to a higher court, in connection with the other concurrent revelations of Scripture, is all we need to establish the Christian doctrine of Church government by courts of review and control.

Now the power which belongs to these courts, from the highest down to the lowest, is all of it merely *declarative*. They cannot make any laws, they can only expound and declare the laws of Christ—for Jesus is the sole King and Head of His Church.

Moreover, this power is all of it *spiritual*, and none of it civil, or political, or temporal; for Christ's kingdom is not of this world. His Church, in her highest courts, can inflict no penalty but a spiritual one. Indeed, she can there handle no business but what is *spiritual*, that is, strictly *ecclesiastical* and belonging to them as *courts of the Lord's house*. There are to be discussed only those questions which arise out of the relations which men bear to men as members of Christ's Church.

of them as of Apostolic origin—witness the reference to the Synod at Miletus, just now quoted from Irenæus. Cyprian and Jerome are both quoted by Killen to the same effect. Our author also denies that Synods originated in Greece. He brings proof that there were councils held both at Carthage and Rome, before those Greek councils which Tertullian refers to as occasioned about the middle of the second century by the Montanistic troubles. Nor does Dr. Killen treat with any respect the idea that the once famous Amphictyonic Council suggested their establishment amongst Christians. In the second century of the Christian era the council of the Amphictyons was shorn of its glory, and though it then continued to meet, it had long ceased to be either an exponent of the national mind, or a free and independent assembly. And it is not to be imagined that the Christian community, in the full vigor of its early growth, would all at once have abandoned its Apostolic constitution and adopted a form of government borrowed from an effete institute. Synods, which now formed so prominent a part of the ecclesiastical polity, could claim a higher and holier origin. They were obviously nothing more than the legitimate development of the primitive structure of the Church, for they could be traced up to that meeting of the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, which relieved the Gentile converts from the observance of the rite of circumcision.—p. 615.

Yet, on the other hand, the power of these courts is a real and living power, given them of God—for they bind on earth and it is bound in Heaven;* and they have the promise of Divine guidance in their bindings.† So much the more ought it not to be prostituted to any but the affairs of Christ's House and Kingdom!

Such, we believe, is the doctrine revealed in Scripture respecting the courts of the Church.

Fourthly: All that has been said of the Scriptural exhibition of Church government, as to its substantial, leads to this final statement—that the system set up in the New Testament for the government of the Church is the *Representative system*. The whole Church is one body; this body is governed by officers of the people's own free choice; these officers meet together for consultation in all their ruling, and rule according to a revealed constitution and laws. They are chosen to act for the Church, but are left free to act according to their own judgment and conscience, guided solely by light from above. This is the *Representative system*, distinguished plainly from Congregationalism, or the direct and immediate government of the people themselves, and distinguished, also, quite as plainly from the government of Prelates.

This government, by representatives, is also to be distinguished from the Deputy system, which prevailed among all the nations arising out of the conquests by the Teutonic races, whereas, only in England and her colonies has the representative system prevailed. Congregationalists hold to popular government; but Presbyterians to government by representatives, who are not *deputies*, that is, as Leiber expresses it, (see *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, vol. ii., p. 181,) "Attorneys sent with *specific powers* of attorney to remedy *specific* grievances, but representatives, general representatives, that is *representatives from the body at large*, and with the general power of legislation. This is universally now acknowledged to be the

* Matt. xviii. : 17, 18.

† Matt. xxviii. : 19, 20.

most important of all the guarantees of civil liberty." This is the only contrivance which the highest political wisdom has ever found out for "organically passing over public opinion into public law;" for barring "against the absolutism of the executive on the one, and of the masses on the other hand;" for securing an essentially popular government, and yet the supremacy of law; in other words, for securing the united and harmonious existence of *liberty and order*. Milton (expounded in this Review, for June, 1848) "distinctly sets forth the peculiar value of the representative principle in political affairs, when he said it consists in the probability, which it furnishes, that *reason only shall sway*. The danger of democracy is from the ignorance and the passions of the people; of monarchy from the caprices, tyranny or ambition of kings; of an oligarchy, from the selfishness incident to privileged orders. Reason, whose voice is God's will, is much more likely to prevail in a deliberative assembly of men coming from the people, and knowing their real interests as well as their wishes. It is a great mistake to suppose that the end of government is to accomplish the will of the people. The State is a divine ordinance founded on justice, and having great moral ends to subserve. The will of the people is to be done only when the people will what is right. And the representative principle is both a check on their power and a bulwark of their freedom."

"Now these principles, which constitute the glory of modern politics, were found embedded in the Presbyterian system, ages before a representative republic, in the true sense of the term, existed on the earth." Our Church government is not in the hands of the mass of the people, nor yet in the hands of individual officers whom they have appointed, but in the hands of representative assemblies chosen by the people. This it is which distinguishes it from Prelacy on the one hand, and Congregationalism on the other. And it is worthy of special notice that in these free representative assemblies, instituted by Jesus Christ for the rule of His Church, there is provided an arrangement answering precisely to that most important check which, in the freest modern States, is imposed on their popu-

lar assemblies, viz: the principle of *two chambers*, composed of different persons, belonging to different classes or elected for different terms of service. Our courts have both Ministers and Elders, and the one class operates as a check upon the other. So, too, our higher courts are a check upon the lower. Thus is the discovery of truth promoted, and the probability diminished that party-interest or temporary prejudices shall predominate in the result.

We find in the 15th chapter of Acts (verses 4, 6, 13, 19, 22) this very picture of a representative assembly. The Apostles and Elders come together to consider of the matter referred to them from Antioch; all the multitude keep silence while James and the other representatives, after Paul and Barnabas have reported, give their sentence in judgment; and then it pleases the Apostles and Elders, with *the whole Church*, in whose name and on whose behalf they were acting, to send chosen men of their own company, viz: Judas and Silas, with their decree down to the lower court at Antioch. The people not only *could not* all meet for deciding such questions; they *must not*, if they could; they had *no right* thus to meet, or thus to decide. That is not the government set up by the Lord. He established His Church as an organized body, and not a mere crowd or mob of disciples; as an organized body, with her divinely authorized officers, through whom she must always act. It is the Church that does all, it is the Bride, the Lamb's wife, to whom all power is given; but it is not the individual, or private men and women that can tumultuously assemble and intrude themselves, without authority, into duties or work, not appointed of God to be done by them. And so, in like manner, there may not any man intrude himself into the representative assembly of the people, except he be strictly and really a chosen ruler of that people. That assembly is always an assembly of *rulers chosen*. The people may not be governed by any they have not chosen. On the other hand, they may not usurp the government themselves, nor refuse obedience to their chosen rulers.

Now, if the Scriptures do thus reveal that the Church is

one; that she is to be governed by Elders; that these Elders are Representatives; that these Representatives rule and govern her, not singly, but jointly, in free deliberative assemblies, which assemblies are of lower and higher grade, so as to constitute courts of appeal; if the Scriptures do reveal all these substantials of Presbyterian Church government in particular rules respecting officers, courts and discipline, is it a very *hard saying* that Presbyterian Church government is of Divine right? If these four heads of the doctrine of Church government be acknowledged must not the whole system be acknowledged? What more is there in the system besides these four main things? There are only some circumstantials; but these also are of Divine right, because they are necessary for *decency and order*, and we have the Divine command to do all things decently and in order. The government is specifically of deliberative assemblies representing the Church and acting for her edification. Of course it is their right and duty to make all mere circumstantial rules, and every one of those rules has the Divine sanction, if it accord with Scripture. The courts that make them are liable to err, and the Word is always the only standard whereby everything is to be tried. But, when agreeable to Scripture, those rules, even the minutest of them, are of Divine right. They are made by an authority which the Lord Himself set up, and which acts in His name. They proceed from Rulers that have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and have power to bind and to loose on earth, and it is bound or loosed accordingly in Heaven.

We earnestly commend these views to all our Ministerial brethren who have been disposed to make questions of Church government of secondary importance—also to all our brethren of the Ruling Eldership. We likewise commend them especially to all Candidates for the Ministry. If Jesus be our King, and if He have set up the Church as His Kingdom on earth, we may not construe the laws of that Kingdom into matters of minor moment. What we have said on this subject in the foregoing pages, and what Dr. Killen has taught in his book, is the doctrine of our fathers, as laid down in their Confession

of Faith and Form of Government. They confessed it because they found it in the Bible. If good enough for them, it ought to be good enough for any of us, who are in many things their inferiors. As for the charge that these views are bigoted or intolerant, it is a slander. They are perfectly consistent with the most expansive charity. To assert them is merely to assert that in our judgment such is the doctrine revealed in the Scriptures.

Having awarded nothing but praise to Dr. Killen's book thus far, we will say, in closing, that we think his arrangement would admit of more clearness and compactness, and with this solitary censure we commend the work to all our readers, of every class, as exceedingly well worthy of their careful study.

ARTICLE VI.

THE FIRST ADAM AND THE SECOND. *The Elohim Revealed in the Creation and Redemption of Man*: By SAMUEL J. BAIRD, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Woodbury, N. J. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1860; pp. 688, 8vo.

This book, as its title imports, covers the whole region of revealed Theology. It begins with the creation and ends with the consummation of all things. Exclusive of the Introduction, it consists of twenty-three chapters, and inclusive of the Index, of six hundred and eighty-eight octavo pages. A glance at the table of contents is sufficient to show, that the author deals in "thoughts more elevate," and that the high themes which he discusses, "providence, foreknowledge, will and fate," the primitive and fallen condition of mankind, the nature consequences and extent of sin, and the nature, consequences and extent of redemption, are not discussed in a spirit of vain