THE

WORKS

OF

THAT LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

CONTAINING

EIGHT BOOKS

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

ISAAC WALTON.

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OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VI.

Containing their fifth Assertion, that our Laws are corrupt and repugnant to the Laws of God, in matter belonging to the power of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in that we have not throughout all Churches certain Lay-Elders established for the exercise of that power.

THE same Men which in heat of contention, do hardly either speak or give ear to reason, being after sharp and bitter conflicts retired to a calm remembrance of all their former proceedings; the causes that brought them into quarrel, the course which their striving affections have followed, and the issue whereunto they are come, may peradventure as troubled waters, in small time of their own accord, by certain easy degrees settle themselves again; and so recover that clearness of well advised judgment whereby they shall stand at the length indifferent both to yield and admit any reasonable satisfaction, where before they could not endure

BOOK VI.

The question between us, whether all Congregations or Parishes ought to have Lay-Elders invested with power of Jurisdiction in spiritual causes.

BOOK VI. with patience to be gainſaid. Neither will I deſpair of the like ſucceſs in theſe unpleaſant controverſies touching Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the time of ſilence which both parts have willingly taken to breathe ſeeming now as it were a pledge of all Men's quiet contentment to hear with more indifferency the weightieſt and laſt remains of that cauſe, Juriſdiction, Dignity, Dominion Eccleſiaſtical. For, let not any imagine that the bare and naked difference of a few Ceremonies could either have kindled ſo much fire, or have cauſed it to flame ſo long; but that the parties which herein laboured mightily for change, and (as they ſay) for reformation, had ſomewhat more than this mark whereat to aim.

Lib. vi. Lib. vii. Lib. viii.

Having therefore drawn out a complete form, as they ſuppoſe, of publick ſervice to be done to God, and ſet down their plot for the office of the Miniſtry in that behalf; they very well knew how little their labours ſo forth beſtowed would avail them in the end, without a claim of Juriſdiction to uphold the fabrick which they had erected; and this neither likely to be obtained but by the ſtrong hand of the People, nor the People unlikely to favour it; the more, if overture were made of their own intereſt, right and title thereunto. Whereupon there are many which have conjectured this to be the cauſe, why in all their projects of their Diſcipline (it being manifeſt that their drift is to wreſt the key of ſpiritual authority out of the hands of former Governors, and equally to poſſeſs therewith the Paſtors of all ſeveral Congregations) the People firſt for ſurer accompliſhment, and then for better defence thereof, are pretended neceſſary actors in thoſe things, whereunto their ability for the moſt part is as ſlender as their title and challenge unjuſt.

Notwithſtanding (whether they ſaw it neceſſary for them to perſuade the People, without whoſe help they could do nothing, or elſe (which I rather think) the affection which they bear towards this new form of

of Government, made them to imagine it God's own Ordinance) their doctrine is, that, by the Law of God, there must be for ever in all Congregations certain Lay-Elders, Ministers of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, inasmuch as our Lord and Saviour by testament (for so they presume) hath left all Ministers or Pastors in the Church Executors equally to the whole power of Spiritual Jurisdiction, and with them hath joined the People as colleagues. By maintenance of which assertion there is unto that part apparently gained a twofold advantage, both because the People in this respect are much more easily drawn to favour it, as a matter of their own interest; and for that, if they chance to be crossed by such as oppose against them, the colour of divine authority, assumed for the grace and countenance of that power in the vulgar sort, furnisheth their Leaders with great abundance of matter behoveful for their encouragement to proceed always with hope of fortunate success in the end, considering their cause to be as David's was, a just defence of power given them from above, and consequently their Adversaries' quarrel the same with Saul's, by whom the Ordinance of God was withstood.

Now, on the contrary side, if their surmise prove false; if such, as in justification whereof no evidence sufficient either hath been or can be alledged (as I hope it shall clearly appear after due examination and trial) let them then consider whether those words of Corah, Dathan and Abiram against Moses and against Aaron, *It is too much that ye take upon you, seeing all the Congregation is holy*, be not the very true abstract and abridgment of all their published Admonitions, Demonstrations, Supplications, and Treatises whatsoever, whereby they have laboured to avoid the rooms of their spiritual Superiors before authorized, and to advance the new fancied sceptre of Lay-Presbyterial Power.

Numb. xvi.

The nature of ſpiritual Juriſdiction.

BOOK VI. BUT before there can be any ſettled determination, whether truth do reſt on their part or on ours, touching Lay-Elders; we are to prepare the way thereunto, by explication of ſome things requiſite and very needful to be conſidered; as, firſt, how beſides that ſpiritual Power which is of Order, and was inſtituted for performance of thoſe duties whereof there hath been ſpeech already had, there is in the Church no leſs neceſſary a ſecond kind, which we call the Power of Juriſdiction. When the Apoſtle doth ſpeak of ruling the Church of God, and of receiving accuſations, his words have evident reference to the Power of Juriſdiction. Our Saviour's words to the Power of Order, when he giveth his Diſciples charge, ſaying, *Preach*; *baptize*: *do this in remembrance of me*. Τιμᾶ μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων, καὶ κύριον. Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φερόντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν Χριστοῦ. *Epiſt. ad Smyrn.* A Biſhop (ſaith Ignatius) doth bear the image of God and of Chriſt; of God in ruling, of Chriſt in adminiſtering holy things. By this therefore we ſee a manifeſt difference acknowledged between the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Order, and the Power of Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical.

Acts xx. 28.
1 Tim. v. 19.
Mark vi. 15.
Mat. xxviii. 19.
1 Cor. xi. 24.

The ſpiritual Power of the Church being ſuch as neither can be challenged by right of Nature, nor could by human Authority be inſtituted, becauſe the forces and effects thereof are ſupernatural and divine, we are to make no doubt or queſtion but that from him which is the Head, it hath deſcended unto us that are the body now inveſted therewith. He gave it for the benefit and good of Souls, as a mean to keep them in the path which leadeth unto endleſs felicity, a bridle to hold them within their due and convenient bounds, and, if they do go aſtray, a forcible help to reclaim them. Now although there

there be no kind of ſpiritual Power, for which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did not give both commiſſion to exerciſe, and direction how to uſe the ſame, although his Laws in that behalf recorded by the holy Evangeliſts be the only ground and foundation, whereupon the practice of the Church muſt ſuſtain itſelf; yet, as all multitudes once grown to the form of Societies, are even thereby naturally warranted to enforce upon their own ſubjects particularly thoſe things which publick wiſdom ſhall judge expedient for the common good; ſo it were abſurd to imagine the Church itſelf, the moſt glorious amongſt them, abridged of this liberty, or to think that no Law, Conſtitution or Canon, can be further made either for limitation or amplification in the practice of our Saviour's Ordinances, whatſoever occaſion be offered through variety of times and things, during the ſtate of this inconſtant world, which bringeth forth daily ſuch new evils as muſt of neceſſity by new remedies be redreſſed, and did both of old enforce our venerable Predeceſſors, and will always conſtrain others, ſometime to make, ſometime to abrogate, ſometime to augment, and again to abridge ſometime; in ſum, often to vary, alter and change cuſtoms incident unto the manner of exerciſing that Power which doth itſelf continue always one and the ſame. I therefore conclude, that ſpiritual Authority is a Power which Chriſt hath given to be uſed over them which are ſubject unto it for the eternal good of their Souls, according to his own moſt ſacred Laws and the wholeſome poſitive Conſtitutions of his Church.

In doctrine referred unto action and practice, as this is which concerns ſpiritual Juriſdiction, the firſt ſound and perfect underſtanding is the knowledge of the end, becauſe thereby both uſe doth frame, and contemplation judge all things.

BOOK VI.

Of Penitency, the chiefeſt end propounded by ſpiritual Juriſdiction. Two kinds of Penitency, the one a private duty toward God, the other a duty of external Diſcipline. Of the virtue of Repentance from which the former duty proceedeth: and of Contrition the firſt part of that duty.

SEEING that the chiefeſt cauſe of ſpiritual Juriſdiction is to provide for the health and ſafety of Men's Souls, by bringing them to ſee and repent their grievous offences committed againſt God, as alſo to reform all injuries offered with the breach of Chriſtian Love and Charity toward their Brethren in matters of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance; the uſe of this Power ſhall by ſo much the plainlier appear, if firſt the nature of Repentance itſelf be known.

We are by Repentance to appeaſe whom we offend by ſin. For which cauſe, whereas all ſin deprives us of the favour of Almighty God, our way of reconciliation with him is the inward ſecret Repentance of the heart; which inward Repentance alone ſufficeth, unleſs ſome ſpecial thing, in the quality of ſin committed, or in the Party that hath done amiſs, require more. For beſides our ſubmiſſion in God's ſight, Repentance muſt not only proceed to the private contentation of Men, if the ſin be a crime injurious; but alſo farther, where the wholeſome Diſcipline of God's Church exacteth a more exemplary and open ſatisfaction. *Now the Church

* Pœnitentiæ ſecundæ, et unius, quanto in actu negotium eſt, tanto potior probatio eſt, ut non ſola conſcientia proferatur, ſed aliquo etiam actu adminiſtretur. Second Penitency, following that before Baptiſm, and being not more than once admitted in one Man, requireth by ſo much the greater labour to make it manifeſt, for that it is not a work which can come again in trial, but muſt be therefore with ſome open ſolemnity executed, and not to be diſcharged with the privity of conſcience alone. Tertul. de pœn.

being

being ſatisfied with outward Repentance, as God is with inward, it ſhall not be amiſs for more perſpicuity to term this latter always the virtue, that former the diſcipline of Repentance, which diſcipline hath two ſorts of Penitents to work upon, inaſmuch as it hath been accuſtomed to lay the offices of Repentance on ſome ſeeking, others ſhunning them; on ſome at their own voluntary requeſt, on others altogether againſt their wills, as ſhall hereafter appear by ſtore of ancient examples. Repentance being therefore either in the ſight of God alone, or elſe with the notice alſo of Men, without the one, ſometime throughly performed, but always practiſed more or leſs in our daily devotions and prayers, we can have no remedy for any fault; whereas the other is only required in ſins of a certain degree of quality; the one neceſſary for ever, the other ſo far forth as the Laws and Order of God's Church ſhall make it requiſite. The nature, parts and effects of the one always the ſame; the other limited, extended and varied by infinite occaſions.

The virtue of Repentance in the heart of Man is God's handy work, a fruit or effect of Divine Grace, which Grace continually offereth itſelf even unto them that have forſaken it, as may appear by the words of Chriſt in St. John's Revelation, *I ſtand at the door and knock*: nor doth he only knock without, but alſo within aſſiſt to open, whereby acceſs and entrance is given to the heavenly preſence of that ſaving power, which maketh Man a repaired temple for God's good Spirit again to inhabit. And albeit the whole train of virtues which are implied in the name of Grace be infuſed at one inſtant, yet becauſe when they meet and concur unto any effect in Man, they have their diſtinct operations riſing orderly one from another, it is no unneceſſary thing that we note the way or method of the Holy Ghoſt in framing Man's ſinful heart to Repentance. A work, the firſt foundation whereof is laid by opening and illu-

BOOK VI. minating the eye of Faith, becauſe by Faith are diſcovered the principles of this action, whereunto unleſs the underſtanding do firſt aſſent, there can follow in the will towards Penitency no inclination at all. Contrariwiſe, the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Judgment of the World to come, and the endleſs miſery of Sinners, being apprehended, this worketh fear; ſuch as theirs was, who feeling their own diſtreſs and perplexity in that paſſion beſought our Lord's Apoſtles earneſtly to give them counſel what they ſhould do. For fear is impotent and unable to adviſe itſelf; yet this good it hath, that Men are thereby made deſirous to prevent, if poſſible they may, whatſoever evil they dread. The firſt thing that wrought the Ninevites' Repentance, was fear of deſtruction within forty days; ſigns and miraculous works of God, being extraordinary repreſentations of divine power, are commonly wont to ſtir any the moſt wicked with terror, leſt the ſame power ſhould bend itſelf againſt them. And becauſe tractable minds, though guilty of much ſin, are hereby moved to forſake thoſe evil ways which make his power in ſuch ſort their aſtoniſhment and fear, therefore our Saviour denounced his curſe againſt Corazin and Bethſaida, ſaying, that, if Tyre and Sidon had ſeen that which they did, thoſe ſigns which prevailed little with the one would have brought the others to Repentance. As the like thereunto did in the Men given to curious arts, of whom the Apoſtolick Hiſtory ſaith, that *fear came upon them, and many which had followed vain ſciences, burnt openly the very books out of which they had learned the ſame.* As fear of contumely and diſgrace amongſt Men, together with other civil puniſhments, are a bridle to reſtrain from any heinous acts whereinto Men's outrage would otherwiſe break; ſo the fear of divine revenge and puniſhment, where it takes place, doth make men deſirous to be rid likewiſe from that inward guiltineſs of ſin wherein they would elſe ſecurely continue.

continue. Howbeit, when Faith hath wrought a fear of the event of ſin, yet Repentance hereupon enſueth not, unleſs our belief conceive both the poſſibility and means to avert evil: the poſſibility, inaſmuch as God is merciful, and moſt willing to have ſin cured: the means, becauſe he hath plainly taught what is requiſite and ſhall ſuffice unto that purpoſe. The nature of all wicked Men is, for fear of revenge to hate whom they moſt wrong; the nature of hatred, to wiſh that deſtroyed which it cannot brook; and from hence ariſe the furious endeavours of godleſs and obdurate Sinners to extinguiſh in themſelves the opinion of God, becauſe they would not have him to be, whom execution of endleſs woe doth not ſuffer them to love.

Every ſin againſt God abateth, and continuance in ſin extinguiſheth our love towards him. It was therefore ſaid to the Angel of Epheſus having ſinned, *Thou art fallen away from thy firſt love*; ſo that, as we never decay in love till we ſin, in like ſort neither can we poſſibly forſake ſin, unleſs we firſt began again to love. What is love towards God, but a deſire of union with God? And ſhall we imagine a Sinner converting himſelf to God, in whom there is no deſire of union with God preſuppoſed? I therefore conclude, that fear worketh no Man's inclination to Repentance, till ſomewhat elſe have wrought in us love alſo: our love and deſire of union with God ariſeth from the ſtrong conceit which we have of his admirable goodneſs: the goodneſs of God which particularly moveth unto Repentance, is his mercy towards Mankind, notwithſtanding ſin: for, let it once ſink deeply into the mind of Man, that howſoever we have injured God, his very nature is averſe from revenge, except unto ſin we add obſtinancy, otherwiſe always ready to accept our ſubmiſſion, as a full diſcharge or recompence for all wrongs; and can we chooſe but begin to love him whom we have offended? or can we but begin to grieve

BOOK VI. grieve that we have offended him whom we love? Repentance conſidereth ſin as a breach of the Law of God, an act obnoxious to that revenge, which notwithſtanding may be prevented if we pacify God in time.

The root and beginning of Penitency therefore is the conſideration of our own ſin, as a cauſe which hath procured the wrath, and a ſubject which doth need the mercy of God. For unto Man's underſtanding there being preſented, on the one ſide, tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul that doth evil; on the other, eternal life unto them which by continuance in well doing ſeek glory, and honour, and immortality; on the one hand a curſe to the children of diſobedience; on the other, to lovers of righteouſneſs all grace and benediction: yet between theſe extremes that eternal God, from whoſe unſpotted juſtice and undeſerved mercy the lot of each inheritance proceedeth, is ſo inclinable rather to ſhew compaſſion than to take revenge, that all his ſpeeches in holy Scripture are almoſt nothing elſe but entreaties of Men to prevent deſtruction by amendment of their wicked lives; all the works of his Providence little other than mere allurements of the Juſt to continue ſtedfaſt, and of the Unrighteous to change their courſe: all his dealings and proceedings towards true Converts, as have even filled the grave writings of holy Men with theſe and the like moſt ſweet ſentences: Repentance (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſtoppeth God in his way, when being provoked by crimes paſt he cometh to revenge them with moſt juſt puniſhments; yea, it tieth as it were the hands of the Avenger, and doth not ſuffer him to have his will. Again,

Caſſia. Col. 20. c. 4.

* The merciful eye of God towards Men hath no

* Baſil. Epiſt. Seleuc. p. 106. Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίεσαι αἰδεῖται μετάνοιαν. Chr. in 1 Cor. Hom. 8. Οὐ τὸ τρωθήναι ἔτω δεινὸν, ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βέλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι. Marc. Erem. Οὐδεὶς κατεκρίθε εἰ μὴ μετανοίας κατεφρόνησε, κὴ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης ἐπιμελῆ.

power

power to withſtand Penitency, at what time ſoever it comes in preſence. And again, BOOK VI.

God doth not take it ſo in evil part, though we wound that which he hath required us to keep whole, as that after we have taken hurt there ſhould be in us no deſire to receive his help. Finally, leſt I be carried too far in ſo large a ſea, there was never any Man condemned of God but for neglect; nor juſtified, except he had care of Repentance.

From theſe conſiderations, ſetting before our eyes our inexcuſable both unthankfulneſs in diſobeying ſo merciful, fooliſhneſs in provoking ſo powerful a God, there ariſeth neceſſarily a penſive and corroſive deſire that we had done otherwiſe; a deſire which ſuffereth us to foreſlow no time, to feel no quietneſs within ourſelves, to take neither ſleep nor food with contentment, never to give over ſupplications, confeſſions, and other penitent duties, till the light of God's reconciled favour ſhine in our darkened Soul.

Fulgentius aſking the queſtion, why David's confeſſion ſhould be held for effectual Penitence, and not Saul's; anſwereth, that the one hated ſin, the other feared only puniſhment in this world; Saul's acknowledgment of ſin, was fear; David's both fear and alſo love. Ful. de Remiſ. Peccat. lib. ii. cap. 15.

This was the fountain of Peter's tears, this the life and ſpirit of David's eloquence, in thoſe moſt admirable Hymns intituled Penitential, where the words of ſorrow for ſin do melt the very bowels of God remitting it; and the comforts of Grace in remitting ſin carry him which ſorrowed rapt as it were into Heaven, with ecſtaſies of joy and gladneſs. The firſt motive of the Ninevites unto Repentance, was their belief in a ſermon of fear; but the next and moſt immediate, an axiom of love; *Who can tell whether God will turn away his fierce wrath, that we periſh not?* No concluſion ſuch as theirs, Let every Man turn from his evil way, but out of premiſes ſuch as theirs were, fear and love. Jon. chap. iii. 9.

Wherefore

BOOK VI. Wherefore the well-ſpring of Repentance is Faith; firſt breeding fear, and then love; which love cauſes hope, hope reſolution of attempt; *I will go to my Father, and ſay, I have ſinned againſt Heaven, and againſt thee*; that is to ſay, I will do what the duty of a Convert requireth.

Now in a Penitent's or Convert's duty there are included; firſt, the averſion of the will from ſin; ſecondly, the ſubmiſſion of ourſelves to God by ſupplication and prayer; thirdly, the purpoſe of a new life, teſtified with preſent works of amendment: which three things do very well ſeem to be compriſed in one definition by them which handle Repentance, as a virtue that hateth, bewaileth and ſheweth a purpoſe to amend ſin: we offend God in thought, word, and deed; to the firſt of which three, they make Contrition; to the ſecond, Confeſſion; and to the laſt, our works of Satisfaction, anſwerable.

Contrition doth not here import thoſe ſudden pangs and convulſions of the Mind which cauſe ſometimes the moſt forſaken of God to retract their own doings; it is no natural paſſion, or anguiſh, which riſeth in us againſt our wills; but a deliberate averſion of the will of Man from ſin; which being always accompanied with grief, and grief oftentimes partly with tears, partly with other external ſigns, it hath been thought, that in theſe things Contrition doth chiefly conſiſt: whereas the chiefeſt thing in Contrition is, that alteration whereby the will which was before delighted with ſin, doth now abhor and ſhun nothing more. But foraſmuch as we cannot hate ſin in ourſelves without heavineſs and grief, that there ſhould be in us a thing of ſuch hateful quality, the will averted from ſin muſt needs make the affection ſuitable; yea, there is great reaſon why it ſhould ſo do: for ſince the will by conceiving ſin hath deprived the Soul of life; and of life there is not recovery without Repentance, the death of ſin; Repentance not able to kill ſin, but by withdrawing the

the will from it; the will unpoſſible to be withdrawn, unleſs it concur with a contrary affection to that which accompanied it before in evil; is it not clear that as an inordinate delight did firſt begin ſin, ſo Repentance muſt begin with a juſt ſorrow, a ſorrow of heart, and ſuch a ſorrow as renteth the heart; neither a feigned nor ſlight ſorrow; not feigned, leſt it increaſe ſin; nor ſlight, leſt the pleaſures of ſin overmatch it.

Wherefore of Grace, the higheſt cauſe from which Man's Penitency doth proceed; of Faith, Fear, Love, Hope, what force and efficiency they have in Repentance; of parts and duties thereunto belonging, comprehended in the Schoolmen's definitions; finally, of the firſt among thoſe duties, Contrition which diſliketh and bewaileth iniquity, let this ſuffice.

And becauſe God will have offences by Repentance, not only abhorred within ourſelves, but alſo with humble ſupplication diſplayed before him; and a teſtimony of amendment to be given, even by preſent works worthy Repentance, in that they are contrary to thoſe we renounce and diſclaim; although the virtue of Repentance do require that her other two parts, Confeſſion and Satisfaction, ſhould here follow; yet ſeeing they belong as well to the diſcipline as to the virtue of Repentance, and only differ for that in the one they are performed to Man, in the other to God alone, I had rather diſtinguiſh them in joint-handling, than handle them apart, becauſe in quality and manner of practice they are diſtinct.

Of

BOOK VI. *Of the Diſcipline of Repentance inſtituted by Chriſt, practiſed by the Fathers, converted by the Schoolmen into a Sacrament; and of Confeſſion, that which belongeth to the Virtue of Repentance, that which was uſed among the Jews, that which Papacy imagineth a Sacrament, and that which ancient Diſcipline practiſed.*

OUR Lord and Saviour in the ſixteenth of St. Matthew's Goſpel giveth his Apoſtles Regiment in general over God's Church. For they that have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, are thereby ſignified to be Stewards of the Houſe of God, under whom they guide, command, judge, and correct his Family. The Souls of Men are God's treaſure committed to the truſt and fidelity of ſuch as muſt render a ſtrict account for the very leaſt which is under their cuſtody. God hath not inveſted them with power to make a revenue thereof, but to uſe it for the good of them whom Jeſus Chriſt hath moſt dearly bought.

Matt. xvi. 19.

And becauſe their office therein conſiſteth of ſundry functions, ſome belonging to Doctrine, ſome to Diſcipline, all contained in the name of the Keys, they have for matters of Diſcipline, as well litigious as criminal, their Courts and Conſiſtories erected by the heavenly authority of his moſt ſacred voice, who hath ſaid *Dic Eccleſiæ*, Tell the Church; againſt rebellious and contumacious Perſons which refuſe to obey their ſentence, armed they are with power to eject ſuch out of the Church, to deprive them of the honours, rights, and privileges of Chriſtian Men, to make them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom Society was hateful.

Matt. xviii. 17.

Matt. xviii. 18.
John xx. 23.
1 Cor. v. 3.
2 Cor. ii. 6.

Furthermore, leſt their acts ſhould be ſlenderly accounted of, or had in contempt, whether they admit to the Fellowſhip of Saints, or ſeclude from it, whether they bind Offenders, or ſet them again

at

at liberty, whether they remit, or retain ſins, whatſoever is done by way of orderly and lawful proceeding, the Lord himſelf hath promiſed to ratify. This is that grand original Warrant, by force whereof the Guides and Prelates in God's Church, firſt his Apoſtles, and afterwards others following them ſucceſſively, did both uſe and uphold that Diſcipline, the end whereof is to heal Men's conſciences, to cure their ſins, to reclaim Offenders from iniquity, and to make them by Repentance juſt. 1 Tim. i. 20.

Neither hath it of ancient time, for any other reſpect, been accuſtomed to bind by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to retain ſo bound till tokens of manifeſt Repentance appeared, and upon apparent Repentance to releaſe, ſaving only becauſe this was received as a moſt expedient method for the cure of ſin.

The courſe of Diſcipline in former ages reformed open Tranſgreſſors by putting them into offices of open Penitence, eſpecially Confeſſion, whereby they declared their own crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their firſt convention capable of the holy Myſteries of Chriſt, till they had ſolemnly diſcharged this duty.

Offenders in ſecret knowing themſelves altogether as unworthy to be admitted to the Lord's Table, as the other which were withheld, being alſo perſuaded, that if the Church did direct them in the offices of their Penitency, and aſſiſt them with publick prayers, they ſhould more eaſily obtain that they ſought, than by truſting wholly to their own endeavours; finally, having no impediment to ſtay them from it but baſhfulneſs, which countervailed not the former inducements; and, beſides, was greatly eaſed by the good conſtruction, which the charity of thoſe times gave to ſuch actions, wherein Men's piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God did purchaſe them much more love than their faults (the teſtimonies of common frailty) were able to procure

BOOK VI. procure disgrace, they made it not nice to use some one of the Ministers of God, by whom the rest might take notice of their faults, prescribe them convenient remedies, and in the end, after publick Confession, all join in prayer unto God for them.

The first beginner of this custom had the more followers by means of that special favour which always was with good consideration shewed towards voluntary Penitents above the rest.

But as professors of Christian belief grew more in number, so they waxed worse; when Kings and Princes had submitted their dominions unto the sceptre of Jesus Christ, by means whereof persecution ceasing, the Church immediately became subject to those evils which peace and security bringeth forth, there was not now that love which before kept all things in tune, but every where Schisms, Discords, Dissensions amongst Men, Conventicles of Hereticks, bent more vehemently against the sounder and better sort than very Infidels and Heathens themselves; faults not corrected in charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to use when the deadliest opportunities should be offered.

Whereupon, forasmuch as publick Confessions became dangerous and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded Men, and in divers respects advantageous to the Enemies of God's Church, it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite that voluntary Penitents should surcease from open Confession.

Instead whereof, when once private and secret Confession had taken place with the Latins, it continued as a profitable ordinance till the Lateran Council had decreed that all Men once in a year at the least should confess themselves to the Priest.

So that being a thing thus made both general and also necessary, the next degree of estimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and lifted up to the nature of a Sacrament; that as Christ did institute

ſtitute Baptiſm to give life, and the Euchariſt to nouriſh liſe, ſo Penitence might be thought a Sacrament ordained to recover life, and Confeſſion a part of the Sacrament. BOOK VI.

They define therefore their private Penitency to be a Sacrament of remitting ſins after Baptiſm: the virtue of Repentance, a deteſtation of wickedneſs with full purpoſe to amend the ſame, and with hope to obtain pardon at God's hands. Scoto in iv. ſent. d. 14. q. i. art. 1.

Whereſoever the Prophets cry *repent*, and in the Goſpel Saint Peter maketh the ſame exhortation to the Jews as yet unbaptized, they would have the virtue of Repentance only to be underſtood; the Sacrament, where he adviſeth Simon Magus to repent, becauſe the ſin of Simon Magus was after Baptiſm. In cad. diſt. q. ii. art. 1.

Now although they have only external Repentance for a Sacrament, internal for a Virtue, yet make they ſacramental Repentance nevertheleſs to be compoſed of three parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction. Which is abſurd; becauſe Contrition being an inward thing, belongeth to the Virtue and not to the Sacrament of Repentance, which muſt conſiſt of external parts, if the nature thereof be external. Beſides, which is more abſurd, they leave out Abſolution, whereas ſome of their School-Divines, handling Penance in the nature of a Sacrament, and being not able to eſpy the leaſt reſemblance of a Sacrament ſave only in Abſolution (for a Sacrament by their doctrine muſt both ſignify and alſo confer or beſtow ſome ſpecial divine Grace) reſolved themſelves, that the duties of the Penitent could be but mere preparations to the Sacrament, and that the Sacrament itſelf was wholly in Abſolution.* And albeit Thomas with his Followers Scot. ſent. l. iv. d. 14. q. 4.

* Sect. xiv. c. 3. Docet ſancta Synodus Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ formam, in qua præcipue ipſius vis ſita eſt, in illis Miniſtri verbis poſitam eſſe, Ego te abſolvo. Sunt autem quaſi materia hujus Sacramenti ipſius pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confeſſio, et Satisfactio.

BOOK VI. have thought it safer to maintain as well the services of the Penitent, as the words of the Minister necessary unto the essence of their Sacrament; the services of the Penitent, as a cause material; the words of Absolution, as a formal; for that by them all things else are perfected to the taking away of sin; which opinion now reigneth in all their Schools, since the time that the Council of Trent gave it solemn approbation, seeing they all make Absolution, if not the whole essence, yet the very form whereunto they ascribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their Sacrament; surely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath small congruity with reason.

Again, forasmuch as a Sacrament is complete, having the matter and form which it ought, what should lead them to set down any other parts of sacramental Repentance, than Confession and Absolution, as Durandus hath done?

For touching Satisfaction, the end thereof, as they understand it, is a further matter which resteth after the Sacrament administered, and therefore can be no part of the Sacrament.

Will they draw in Contrition with Satisfaction, which are no parts, and exclude Absolution (a principal part), yea, the very complement, form and perfection of the rest, as themselves account it? But for their breach of Precepts in art it skilleth not, if their doctrine otherwise concerning Penitency, and in Penitency touching Confession, might be found true.

We say, let no Man look for Pardon, which doth smother and conceal sin where in duty it should be revealed.

The cause why God requireth Confession to be made to him is, that thereby testifying a deep hatred of our own iniquity, the only cause of his hatred and wrath towards us, we might, because we are humble, be so much the more capable of that compassion and tender mercy which knoweth not how to condemn sinners that condemn themselves.

If

If it be our Saviour's own principle, that the conceit we have of our debt forgiven, proportioneth our thankfulneſs and love to him at whoſe hands we receive Pardon; doth not God foreſee that they which with ill-adviſed modeſty ſeek to hide their ſin like Adam, that they which rake it up under aſhes, and confeſs it not, are very unlikely to requite with offices of love afterwards the grace which they ſhew themſelves unwilling to prize at the very time when they ſue for it; inaſmuch as their not confeſſing what crimes they have committed is a plain ſignification how loth they are that the benefit of God's moſt gracious pardon ſhould ſeem great? Nothing more true than that of Tertullian,* *Confeſſion doth as much abate the weight of Men's offences, as concealment doth make them heavier.* For he which confeſſeth hath purpoſe to appeaſe God; he, a determination to perſiſt and continue obſtinate, which keeps them ſecret to himſelf. St. Chryſoſtom almoſt in the ſame words, *Wickedneſs is by being acknowledged leſſened, and doth but grow by being hid.* If Men having done amiſs let it ſlip as though they knew no ſuch matter, what is there to ſtay them from falling into one and the ſame evil? To call ourſelves Sinners availeth nothing, except we lay our faults in the balance, and take the weight of them one by one. Confeſs thy crimes to God, diſcloſe thy tranſgreſſions before thy Judge by way of humble ſupplication and ſuit, if not with tongue, at the leaſt with heart, and in this ſort ſeek mercy. A general perſuaſion that thou art a Sinner will neither ſo humble, nor bridle thy ſoul, as if the catalogue of thy ſins examined ſeverally be continually kept in mind.

Luke vii. 47.

This ſhall make thee lowly in thine own eyes;

* Tantum relevat Confeſſio derelictorum, quantum diſſimulatio exaggerat. Confeſſio autem ſatisfactionis conſilium eſt, diſſimulatio contumaciæ. Tert. de pœn. Chryſ. hom. 30. in Epiſt. ad Heb.

BOOK VI. this ſhall preſerve thy feet from falling, and ſharpen thy deſires towards all good things. The mind, I know, doth hardly admit ſuch unpleaſant remembrances; but we muſt force it; we muſt conſtrain it thereunto.

It is ſafer now to be bitten with the memory, than hereafter with the torment of ſin.

Lev. xvi. 21. The Jews with whom no repentance for ſin is available without Confeſſion either conceived in mind or uttered (which latter kind they call uſually ודוי Confeſſion delivered by word of mouth) had firſt that general Confeſſion which once every year was made both ſeverally by each of the People for himſelf upon the day of expiation, and by the Prieſt for them all.* On the day of expiation the high Prieſt maketh three expreſs Confeſſions, acknowledging unto God the manifold tranſgreſſions of the whole Nation, his own perſonal offences likewiſe, together with the ſins as well of his Family, as of the reſt of his rank and order.

They had again their voluntary Confeſſions, at the times and ſeaſons when Men, bethinking themſelves of their wicked converſation paſt, were reſolved to change their courſe, the beginning of which alteration was ſtill Confeſſion of ſins.

Thirdly, over and beſides theſe, the Law impoſed upon them alſo that ſpecial Confeſſion, which they in their book call ודוי על עון כויהוד Confeſſion of that particular fault for which we namely ſeek pardon at God's hands.

Num. v. 6. The words of the Law concerning Confeſſion in this kind are as followeth: when a Man or Woman ſhall commit any ſin that Men commit and tranſgreſs againſt the Lord, their ſin which they have done (that is to ſay, the very deed itſelf in particular) they ſhall acknowledge.

* All Iſrael is bound on the day of expiation to repent and confeſs. R. Moſ. in lib. Mitſworth. haggadol. par. ii. præ. 16.

In

In Leviticus after certain tranſgreſſions there mentioned, we read the like: when a Man hath ſinned in any one of theſe things, he ſhall then confeſs, how in that thing he hath offended. For ſuch kind of ſpecial ſins they had alſo ſpecial Sacrifices; wherein the manner was, that the Offender ſhould lay his hands on the head of the Sacrifice which he brought, and ſhould there make Confeſſion to God, ſaying; *Now, O Lord, that I have offended, committed ſin, and done wickedly in thy ſight, this or this being my fault; behold I repent me, and am utterly aſhamed of my doings; my purpoſe is, never to return more to the ſame crime.* BOOK VI. Lev. v. 5. Miſne Tora Tractatu Teſhuba cap. 1. & R. M. in lib. Miſnoth. par ii. chap. 6.

None of them, whom either the houſe of judgment had condemned to die, or of them which are to be puniſhed with ſtripes, can be clear by being executed or ſcourged, till they repent and confeſs their faults. Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. ii. præ. 16.

* Finally there was no Man amongſt them at any time, either condemned to ſuffer death or corrected, or chaſtiſed with ſtripes, none ever ſick and near his end, but they called upon him to repent and confeſs his ſins.

Of Malefactors convict by Witneſſes, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or otherwiſe chaſtiſed, their cuſtom was to exact, as Joſhua did of Achan, open confeſſion; *My Son, now give glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, confeſs unto him, and declare unto me what thou haſt committed, conceal it not from me.* Joſh. vii. 19.

Concerning injuries and treſpaſſes which happen between Men, they highly commend ſuch as will acknowledge before many.

It is in him which repenteth accepted as an high Sacrifice, if he will confeſs before many, make them acquainted with his overſights, and reveal the tranſgreſſions which have paſſed between him and any of his brethren; ſaying, I have verily offended

* To him which is ſick and draweth towards death, they ſay, Confeſs. Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. ii. præ. 16.

BOOK VI.

this Man, thus and thus I have done unto him; but behold I do now repent and am ſorry. Contrariwiſe, whoſoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect Repentance; for ſo it is written; *He that hides his ſins ſhall not proſper:* which words of Solomon they do not further extend, than only to ſins committed againſt Men, which are in that reſpect meet before Men to be acknowledged particularly. But in ſins between Man and God, there is no neceſſity that Man ſhould himſelf make any ſuch open and particular recital of them; to God they are known, and of us it is required that we caſt not the memory of them careleſsly and looſely behind our backs, but keep in mind, as near as we can, both our own debt, and his grace which remitteth the ſame.

Wherefore to let paſs Jewiſh Confeſſion, and to come unto them which hold Confeſſion in the ear of the Prieſt commanded; yea, commanded in the nature of a Sacrament, and thereby ſo neceſſary that ſin without it cannot be pardoned; let them find ſuch a Commandment in holy Scripture, and we aſk no more.

John the Baptiſt was an extraordinary perſon, his birth, his actions of life, his office extraordinary. It is therefore recorded for the ſtrangeneſs of the act, but not to ſet down as an everlaſting Law for the

Mat. iii. 6. World, *That to him Jeruſalem and all Judea made confeſſion of their ſins*; beſides, at the time of this confeſſion, their pretended Sacrament of Repentance, as they grant, was not yet inſtituted; neither was it ſin after Baptiſm which Penitents did there confeſs. When that which befel the ſeven ſons of Sceva for uſing the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in their

Acts xix. 18. conjurations, was notified to Jews and Grecians in Epheſus, it brought an univerſal fear upon them, inſomuch that divers of them which had believed before, but not obeyed the Laws of Chriſt as they ſhould

ſhould have done, being terrified by this example, came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed their wicked deeds. Which good and virtuous act no wiſe Man, as I ſuppoſe, will diſallow, but commend highly in them, whom God's good Spirit ſhall move to do the like when need requireth. Yet neither hath this example the force of any general Commandment, or Law to make it neceſſary for every Man to pour into the ears of the Prieſt whatſoever hath been done amiſs, or elſe to remain everlaſtingly culpable and guilty of ſin; in a word, it proveth Confeſſion practiſed as a virtuous act, but not commanded as a Sacrament.

Now concerning St. James his Exhortation, whether the former branch be conſidered, which ſaith, *Is any ſick among you? let him call for the Ancients of the Church, and let them make their prayers for him*; or the latter, which ſtirreth up all Chriſtian Men unto mutual acknowledgment of faults amongſt themſelves; *Lay open your minds, make your confeſſions one to another*; is it not plain, that the one hath relation to that gift of healing, which our Saviour promiſed his Church, ſaying, *They ſhall lay their hands on the ſick, and the ſick ſhall recover health?* relation to that gift of healing, whereby the Apoſtle impoſed his hands on the Father of Publius, and made him miraculouſly a ſound Man? relation finally to that gift of healing, which ſo long continued in practice after the Apoſtles' times, that whereas the Novatianiſts denied the power of the Church of God in curing ſin after Baptiſm, St. Ambroſe aſked them again, *Why it might not as well prevail with God for ſpiritual, as for corporal and bodily health*; *yea wherefore* (ſaith he) *do ye yourſelves lay hands on the diſeaſed, and believe it to be a work of benediction or prayer, if haply the ſick perſon be reſtored to his former ſafety?* And of the other member which toucheth mutual Confeſſion, do not ſome of themſelves, as namely Cajetan, deny that any other Confeſſion is

Jam. v. 16.

Mar. xvi. 18.

Acts xxviii. 8.

Amb. de pœn. lib. i. c. 7.

BOOK VI.

Annot. Rhem. in Jac. 5.

meant, than only that *which ſeeketh either aſſociation of prayers, or reconciliation; or pardon of wrongs?* Is it not confeſſed by the greateſt part of their own retinue, that we cannot certainly affirm ſacramental Confeſſion to have been meant or ſpoken of in this place? Howbeit, Bellarmine, delighted to run a courſe by himſelf where colourable ſhifts of wit will but make the way paſſable, ſtandeth as formally for this place, and not leſs for that in St. John, than for this: St. John ſaith, *If we confeſs our ſins, God is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all*

1 John i. 9. *unrighteouſneſs*; doth St. John ſay, If we confeſs to the Prieſt, God is righteous to forgive; and if not, that our ſins are unpardonable? No, but the titles of God *juſt* and *righteous* do import that he pardoneth ſin only for his promiſe ſake; *And there is not* (they ſay) *any promiſe of forgiveneſs upon Confeſſion made to God without the Prieſt*; not any promiſe, but with this condition, and yet this condition no where expreſſed.

Is it not ſtrange, that the Scripture, ſpeaking ſo much of Repentance and of the ſeveral duties which appertain thereunto, ſhould ever mean, and no where mention that one condition, without which all the reſt is utterly of none effect? or will they ſay, becauſe our Saviour hath ſaid to his Miniſters, *Whoſe ſins ye retain, &c.* and becauſe they can remit no more that what the offenders have confeſſed, that therefore, by the virtue of his promiſe, it ſtandeth with the righteouſneſs of God to take away no Man's ſins until by auricular Confeſſion they be opened unto the Prieſt?

They are Men that would ſeem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Chriſt the Fathers held no ſuch opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour's words any ſuch neceſſity of ſeeking the Prieſt's Abſolution from ſin by ſecret and (as they now term it) ſacramental

ſacramental Confeſſion. Publick Confeſſion they thought neceſſary by way of diſcipline, not private Confeſſion, as in the nature of a ſacrament, neceſſary.

For to begin with the pureſt times, it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing moſt clear, that the ancient ἐξομολογήσις or Confeſſion, deſigned by Tertullian to be a diſcipline of humiliation and ſubmiſſion, framing Men's behaviour in ſuch ſort as may be fitteſt to move pity; the Confeſſion which they uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of Repentance was made openly in the hearing of the whole, both Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory and Aſſembly.

* This is the reaſon wherefore he perceiving that divers were better content their ſores ſhould ſecretly feſter and eat inward, than be laid ſo open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwiſe baſhfulneſs; and to reform the ſame, perſuadeth with them, ſaying, *Amongſt thy Brethren and Fellow-ſervants which are partakers with thee of one and the ſame nature, fear, joy, grief, ſufferings (for of one common Lord and Father we have all received one ſpirit), why ſhouldeſt thou not think with thyſelf, that they are but thine own-ſelf? wherefore doſt thou avoid them, as likely to inſult over thee, whom thou knoweſt ſubject to the ſame haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoice, it muſt needs be that the whole will labour and ſtrive to help that wherewith a part of itſelf is moleſted.*

St. Cyprian being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of perſecution had through fear betrayed their faith, and notwithſtanding thought by ſhift to avoid in that caſe the neceſſary diſcipline of the Church, wrote for their better inſtruction the

* Pleroſque hoc opus ut publicationem ſui aut ſuffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præſumo pudoris magis memores quam ſalutis, velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione conſcientiam medentium vitant et ita cum erubeſcentia ſua pereunt. Tert. de pœn.

BOOK VI. book intituled *De Lapſis*; a treatiſe concerning ſuch as had openly forſaken their Religion, and yet were loth openly to confeſs their fault in ſuch manner as they ſhould have done: in which book he compareth with this ſort of Men, certain others which had but a purpoſe only to have departed from the Faith; and yet could not quiet their minds, till this very ſecret and hidden fault was confeſſed, * *How much both greater in Faith* (ſaith St. Cyprian) *and alſo as touching their fear, better are thoſe Men who although neither ſacrifice, nor libel could be objected againſt them, yet becauſe they thought to have done that which they ſhould not, even this their intent they dolefully open unto God's Prieſts? They confeſs that whereof their conſcience accuſeth them, the burthen that preſſeth their minds they diſcover; they foreſlow not of ſmaller and ſlighter evils, to ſeek remedy.* He ſaith they declared their fault, not to one only Man in private, but revealed it to God's Prieſts; they confeſſed it before the whole Conſiſtory of God's Miniſters.

Salvianus (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who aſcribe thoſe Homilies to him which have hitherto by common error paſt under the counterfeit name of Euſebius Emeſenus) I ſay, Salvianus, though coming long after Cyprian in time, giveth nevertheleſs the ſame evidence for this truth, in a caſe very little different from that before alledged: his words are theſe: *Whereas, moſt dearly beloved, we ſee that Penance oftentimes is ſought and ſued for by holy ſouls, which even from their youth have bequeathed themſelves a precious treaſure unto God, let us know that the inſpiration of God's good Spirit moveth them ſo to do for the benefit of his Church, and let ſuch as are wounded learn to enquire for that remedy whereunto the very ſoundeſt do thus offer and obtrude as it were themſelves, that if the virtuous do bewail ſmall offences, the*

Hom. 1. de initio quadrageſimæ.

* Qui neceſſitatem ſacrificandi pecunia apud Magiſtratum redimebant, accepta ſecuritatis Syngrapha libellatici dicebantur.

others

others ceaſe not to lament great. And ſurely, when a Man that hath leſs need, performeth *ſub oculis Eccleſiæ*, in the view, ſight and beholding of the whole Church, an office worthy of his faith and compunction for ſin, the good which others thereby reap is his own harveſt, the heap of his rewards groweth by that which another gaineth, and through a kind of ſpiritual uſury from that amendment of life which others learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers.

The ſame Salvianus in another of his Homilies, Hom. 10. ad Monach. *If faults haply be not great and grievous (for example, if a Man have offended in word, or in deſire, worthy of reproof, if in the wantonneſs of his eye, or the vanity of his heart) the ſtains of words and thoughts are by daily prayer to be cleanſed, and by private compunction to be ſcoured out: but if any Man examining inwardly his own conſcience, have committed ſome high and capital offence, as if by bearing falſe witneſs he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by raſhneſs of perjury have violated the ſacred name of truth; if with the mire of luſtful uncleanneſs he have ſullied the veil of Baptiſm, and the gorgeous robe of virginity; if, by being the cauſe of any Man's death, he have been the death of the new Man within himſelf; if, by conference with Soothſayers, Wizards and Charmers, he hath enthralled himſelf to Satan; theſe and ſuch like committed crimes, cannot throughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and ſecret ſatisfaction; but greater cauſes do require greater and ſharper remedies, they need ſuch remedies as are not only ſharp, but ſolemn, open, and publick.** Again, *Let that ſoul* (ſaith he) *anſwer me, which through pernicious ſhamefacedneſs is now ſo abaſht to acknowledge his ſin in* conſpectu Fratrum, *before his Brethren, as he ſhould have been abaſht to commit the ſame, what will he do in the preſence of that divine Tribunal where he is*

* Graviores et acriores, et publicas curas requirunt. Hom. 8. ad Monach.

to

BOOK VI. *to ſtand arraigned in the aſſembly of a glorious and celeſtial hoſt?* I will hereunto add but St. Ambroſe's teſtimony: for the places which I might alledge are more than the cauſe itſelf needeth: *There are many* (ſaith he) *who, fearing the judgment that is to come, and feeling inward remorſe of conſcience, when they have offered themſelves unto penitency, and are enjoined what they ſhall do; give back for the only ſcar which they think that publick ſupplication will put them unto.* He ſpeaketh of them which ſought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themſelves from open Confeſſion, which they that are Penitents for publick crimes could not poſſibly have done, and therefore it cannot be ſaid he meaneth any other than ſecret Sinners in that place. Gennadius, a Preſbyter of Marſeilles, in his book touching eccleſiaſtical aſſertions, maketh but two kinds of Confeſſion neceſſary, the one in private to God alone for ſmaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are heinous and great; *Although* (ſaith he) *a Man be bitten with conſcience of ſin, let his will be from thenceforward to ſin no more; let him, before he communicate, ſatisfy with tears and prayers, and then putting his truſt in the mercy of Almighty God (whoſe wont is to yield to godly Confeſſion), let him boldly receive the Sacrament. But I ſpeak this of ſuch as have not burthened themſelves with capital ſins. Them I exhort to ſatisfy, firſt by publick Penance, that ſo being reconciled by the ſentence of the Prieſt, they may communicate ſafely with others.* Thus ſtill we hear of publick Confeſſions, although the crimes themſelves diſcovered were not publick; we hear that the cauſe of ſuch Confeſſions was not the openneſs, but the greatneſs of Men's offences; finally, we hear that the ſame being now held by the Church of Rome to be ſacramental, were the only penitential Confeſſions uſed in the Church for a long time, and eſteemed as neceſſary remedies againſt ſin.

Lib. ii. de pœn. c. 9.

They

They which will find Auricular Confeſſions in Cyprian, therefore, muſt ſeek out ſome other paſſage, than that which Bellarmine alledgeth; *Where-as in ſmaller faults which are not committed againſt the Lord himſelf, there is a competent time aſſigned unto penitency; and that Confeſſion is made, after that obſervation and trial had been had of the Penitent's behaviour,* neither may any communicate till the Biſhop and Clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and ſtayedly obſerved, according to the diſcipline of the Lord, in theſe moſt grievous and extreme crimes?* St. Cyprian's ſpeech is againſt raſhneſs in admitting Idolaters to the holy Communion, before they had ſhewed ſufficient Repentance, conſidering that other Offenders were forced to ſtay out their time, and that they made not their publick Confeſſion, which was the laſt act of Penitency, till their life and converſation had been ſeen into, not with the eye of auricular ſcrutiny, but of paſtoral obſervation, according to that in the council of Nice, where thirteen years being ſet for the Penitency of certain Offenders, the ſeverity of this decree is mitigated with ſpecial caution: *That in all ſuch caſes, the mind of the Penitent, and the manner of his Repentance, is to be noted, that as many as with fear and tears, and meekneſs, and the exerciſe of good works, declared themſelves to be Converts indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the Biſhop at his diſcretion might uſe more lenity.* If the Council of Nice ſuffice not, let Gratian the Founder of the Canon Law expound Cyprian, who ſheweth that the ſtint of time in Penitency is either to be abridged, or enlarged, as the Penitent's faith and behaviour ſhall give occaſion: *I have eaſilier found out Men* (ſaith St. Ambroſe) *able to keep themſelves free from crimes, than conformable to the rules which in Penitency they ſhould obſerve.* St. Gregory Biſhop of Nice com-

Cypr. Epiſt. 12.

Con. Nic. par. ii. c. 12. Pro fide et converſatione Pœnitentium.

De pœn. diſt. i. cap. menſuram. Ambr. de pœn. lib. ii. cap. 10.

* Inſpectâ vitâ ejus qui agit pœnitentiam.

plaineth

BOOK VI. plaineth and inveigheth bitterly againſt them, who in the time of their Penitency lived even as they had done always before; *Their countenance as cheerful, their attire as neat, their diet as coſtly, and their ſleep as ſecure as ever, their worldly buſineſs purpoſely followed, to exile penſive thoughts from their minds, repentance pretended, but indeed nothing leſs expreſſed:* theſe were the inſpections of life, whereunto St. Cyprian alludeth; as for Auricular Examinations, he knew them not.

Greg. Niſſ. Orat. In eos qui alios acerbe judicant.

Were the Fathers then without uſe of private Confeſſion as long as publick was in uſe? I affirm no ſuch thing. The firſt and ancienteſt that mentioneth this Confeſſion is Origen, by whom it may ſeem that Men being loth to preſent raſhly themſelves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it beſt to unfold firſt their minds to ſome one ſpecial Man of the Clergy, which might either help them himſelf, or refer them to an higher Court, if need were. *Be therefore circumſpect* (ſaith Origen) *in making choice of the party, to whom thou meaneſt to confeſs thy ſin; know thy Phyſician before thou uſe him: if he find thy malady ſuch as needeth to be made publick, that others may be the better by it and thyſelf ſooner helpt, his counſel muſt be obeyed.* That which moved Sinners thus voluntarily to detect themſelves both in private and in publick, was fear to receive with other Chriſtian Men the myſteries of heavenly grace, till God's appointed Stewards and Miniſters did judge them worthy. It is in this reſpect that St. Ambroſe findeth fault with certain Men which ſought impoſition of Penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but would be preſently admitted Communicants. *Such people* (ſaith he) *do ſeek, by ſo raſh and prepoſterous deſires, rather to bring the Prieſt into bonds than to looſe themſelves.** In

Origin. Pſ. xxxvii.

Ambr. l. ii. de pœn. cap. 9.

* Si non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt quam Sacerdotem ligare.

this

this respect it is that St. Augustin hath likewise said, BOOK VI
When the wound of sin is so wide, and the disease so far gone, that the medicinable Body and Blood of our Lord may not be touched, Men are by the Bishop's authority to sequester themselves from the altar, till such time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the same authority. Aug. in hom. de pœn.

Furthermore, because the knowledge how to handle our own sores is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards ourselves for the most part an over-soft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick; or else, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timorous scrupulosities, and sometime into those extreme discomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads again, Men thought it the safest way to disclose their secret faults, and to crave imposition of Penance from them whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath left in his Church to be spiritual and ghostly Physicians, the Guides and Pastors of redeemed Souls, whose office doth not only consist in general persuasions unto amendment of life, but also in private particular cure of diseased minds.

Howsoever the Novatianists presume to plead against the Church (saith Salvianus) *that every Man ought to be his own Penitentiary, and that it is a part of our duty to exercise, but not of the Church's authority to impose or prescribe Repentance*; the truth is otherwise; the best and strongest of us may need, in such cases, direction: *What doth the Church in giving Penance, but shew the remedies which sin requireth? or what do we in receiving the same, but fulfil her precepts? what else but sue unto God with tears, and fasts, that his merciful ears may be opened?* St. Augustin's exhortation is directly to the same purpose; *Let every Man whilst he hath time judge himself, and change his life of his own accord; and when this is resolved, let him, from the disposers of the holy Sacrament,* learn in* Hom. de pœn. Niniv. Aug. hom. de pœn., citatur a Grat. dist. 1. c. judices.

* A præpositis Sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum.

what

BOOK VI. *what manner he is to pacify God's displeasure.* But the greatest thing which made Men forward and willing upon their knees to confess whatsoever they had committed against God, and in no wise to be withheld from the same with any fear of disgrace, contempt, or obloquy, which might ensue, was their fervent desire to be helped and assisted with the
Jam. v. 16. prayers of God's Saints. Wherein, as St. James doth exhort unto mutual Confession; alledging this only for a reason, *that just Men's devout prayers are of great avail with God*; so it hath been heretofore the use of Penitents for that intent to unburthen their minds, even to private persons; and to crave their
Cassia. col. xx. cap. 8. prayers. Whereunto, Cassianus alluding, counselleth, *That if Men possessed with dulness of Spirit be themselves unapt to do that which is required, they should in meek affection seek health at the least by good and virtuous Men's prayers unto God for them.* And to the
Greg. Niss. oratione in eos qui alios acerbe judicant. same effect Gregory Bishop of Nice, *Humble thyself, and take unto thee such of thy Brethren as are of one mind, and do bear kind affection towards thee, that they may together mourn and labour for thy deliverance. Shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may blend my own with them.*

But because of all Men there is or should be none in that respect more fit for troubled and distressed minds to repair unto than God's Ministers, he proceedeth further, *Make the Priest, as a Father, partaker of thy affliction and grief; be bold to impart unto him the things that are most secret; he will have care both of thy safety and of thy credit.*

Leo I. Ep. 78. ad Episc. Campan. citat à Grat. de pœn. d. 1. c. sufficit. *Confession* (saith Leo) *is first to be offered to God, and then to the Priest, as to one which maketh supplication for the sins of penitent offenders.* Suppose we, that Men would ever have been easily drawn, much less of their own accord have come unto publick Confession, whereby they should sound the trumpet of their own disgrace; would they willingly have done this, which naturally all Men are loth to do, but for the

the ſingular truſt and confidence which they had in the publick prayers of God's Church? *Let thy Mother the Church weep for thee* (ſaith Ambroſe); *let her waſh and bathe thy faults with her tears: our Lord doth love that many ſhould become ſuppliant for one.* In like ſort, long before him, Tertullian. *Some few aſſembled make a Church; and the Church is as Chriſt himſelf; when thou doſt therefore put forth thy hands to the knees of thy Brethren, thou toucheſt Chriſt, it is Chriſt unto whom thou art a ſupplicant; ſo when they pour out tears over them, it is even Chriſt that taketh compaſſion; Chriſt which prayeth when they pray: neither can that eaſily be denied, for which the Son is himſelf contented to become a Suitor.*

Ambr. l. ii. de pœn. c. 10 Tertul. de pœn.

Whereas in theſe conſiderations, therefore, voluntary Penitents had been long accuſtomed for great and grievous crimes, though ſecret, yet openly both to repent and confeſs as the Canons of ancient Diſcipline required; the Greek Church firſt, and in proceſs of time the Latin altered this order, judging it ſufficient and more convenient that ſuch offenders ſhould do Penance and make Confeſſion in private only. The cauſe why the Latins did, Leo declareth, ſaying, *Although that ripeneſs of faith be commendable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to incur ſhame before all Men, yet becauſe every one's crimes are not ſuch, that it can be free and ſafe for them to make publication of all things wherein Repentance is neceſſary; let a cuſtom, ſo unfit to be kept, be abrogated, leſt many forbear to uſe remedies of Penitency, whilſt they either bluſh or are afraid to acquaint their enemies with thoſe acts for which the Laws may take hold upon them. Beſides, it ſhall win the more to Repentance, if the conſciences of Sinners be not emptied into the People's ears.* And to this only cauſe doth Sozomen impute the change which the Grecians made, by ordaining throughout all Churches certain Penitentiaries to take the Confeſſions, and appoint the Penances of ſecret Offenders. Socrates (for this alſo may be true that more inducements

Leo. i. Ep. 78.

BOOK VI. than one did ſet forward an alteration ſo generally made) affirmeth the Grecians (and not unlikely) to have ſpecially reſpected therein the occaſion which the Novatianiſts took at the multitude of publick Penitents to inſult over the Diſcipline of the Church, againſt which they ſtill cried out whereſoever they had time and place, *He that ſheweth Sinners favour, doth but teach the Innocent to ſin*: and therefore they themſelves admitted no Man to their Communion upon any Repentance which once was known to have offended after Baptiſm, making Sinners thereby not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate, how fair ſoever their pretence might ſeem.

The Grecians' Canon for ſome one Preſbyter in every Church to undertake the charge of Penitency, and to receive their voluntary Confeſſions which had ſinned after Baptiſm, continued in force for the ſpace of above ſome hundred years, till Nectarius, and the Biſhops of Churches under him, began a ſecond alteration, aboliſhing even that Confeſſion which their Penitentiaries took in private. There came to the Penitentiary of the Church of Conſtantinople a certain Gentlewoman, and to him ſhe made particular Confeſſion of her faults committed after Baptiſm, whom thereupon he adviſed to continue in Faſting and Prayer, that as with tongue ſhe had acknowledged her ſins, ſo there might appear likewiſe in her ſome work worthy of Repentance: but the Gentlewoman goeth forward, and detecteth herſelf of a crime, whereby they were forced to diſrobe an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, that is to degrade a Deacon of the ſame Church. When the matter by this mean came to publick notice, the People were in a kind of tumult offended, not only at that which was done, but much more, becauſe the Church ſhould thereby endure open infamy and ſcorn. The Clergy was perplexed and altogether doubtful what way to take, till one Eudæmon, born in Alexandria, but at that time a Prieſt in the Church of Conſtantinople, conſidering

sidering that the causes of voluntary Confession whether publick or private was especially to seek the Church's aid as hath been before declared, lest Men should either not communicate with others, or wittingly hazard their souls if so be they did communicate, and that the inconvenience which grew to the whole Church was otherwise exceeding great, but especially grievous by means of so manifold offensive detections, which must needs be continually more, as the world did itself wax continually worse (for antiquity, together with the gravity and severity thereof, (saith Sozomen) had already begun by little and little to degenerate into loose and careless living, whereas before offences were less, partly through bashfulness in them which open their own faults, and partly by means of their great austerity which sate as judges in this business), these things Eudæmon having weighed with himself, resolved easily the mind of Nectarius, that the Penitentiaries' office must be taken away, and for participation in God's holy mysteries every Man be left to his own conscience, which was, as he thought, the only means to free the Church from danger of obloquy and disgrace. *Thus much* (saith Socrates) *I am the bolder to relate, because I received it from Eudæmon's own mouth, to whom mine answer was at that time; Whether your counsel, Sir, have been for the Church's good, or otherwise, God knoweth. But I see, you have given occasion, whereby we shall not now any more reprehend one another's faults, nor observe that apostolick precept, which saith, Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather be ye also reprovers of them.* With Socrates, Sozomen both agreeth in the occasion of abolishing Penitentiaries; and moreover testifieth also, that in his time living with the younger Theodosius, the same abolition did still continue, and that the Bishops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by Nectarius.

Wherefore to implead the truth of this History, Cardinal Baronius alledgeth that Socrates, Sozomen,

BOOK VI. and Eudæmon, were all Novatianiſts;* and that they falſify in ſaying (for ſo they report) that as many as held the Conſubſtantial Being of Chriſt, gave their aſſent to the abrogation of the fore-rehearſed Canon. The ſum is, he would have it taken for a Fable, and the World to be perſuaded that Nectarius did never any ſuch thing. Why then ſhould Socrates firſt, and afterwards Sozomen, publiſh it? To pleaſe their pew-fellows, the Diſciples of Novatian? A poor gratification, and they very ſilly Friends that would take lyes for good turns. For the more acceptable the matter was, being deemed true, the leſs they muſt needs (when they found the contrary) either credit, or affect him which had deceived them. Notwithſtanding, we know that joy and gladneſs riſing from falſe information, do not only make Men ſo forward to believe that which they firſt hear, but alſo apt to ſcholy upon it, and to report as true whatſoever they wiſh were true. But ſo far is Socrates from any ſuch purpoſe, that the Fact of Nectarius, which others did both like and follow, he doth diſallow and reprove. His ſpeech to Eudæmon, before ſet down, is proof ſufficient that he writeth nothing but what was famouſly known to all, and what himſelf did wiſh had

*, Tanta hæc Socrati teſtanti præſtanda eſt fides, quanta cæteris hæreticis de ſuis dogmatibus tractantibus; quippe Novatianus, ſectâ cum fuerit, quam vere ac ſincere hæc ſcripſerit adverſus pœnitentiam in Eccleſia adminiſtrari ſolitam, quemlibet credo poſſe facile judicare. Baron. 1. an. Chr. 56.

Sozomenum eandem prorſus cauſam foviſſe certum eſt. Nec Eudæmonem illum alium quam Novatianæ ſectæ hominem fuiſſe credendum eſt. Ibidem.

Sacerdos ille merito à Nectario eſt gradu amotus officioque depoſitus, quo facto Novatiani (ut mos eſt hæreticorum) quamcunque licet levem, ut ſinceris dogmatibus detrahant, accipere auſi occaſionem, non tantum Preſbyterum Pœnitentiarium in ordinem redactum, ſed et Pœnitentiam ipſam una cum eo fuiſſe proſcriptam, calumnioſe admodum conclamarunt, cum tamen illa potius theatralis fieri interdum ſolita peccatorum fuerit abrogata. Ibidem.

been

been otherwiſe. As for Sozomen his correſpondency with Hereticks, having ſhewed to what end the Church did firſt ordain Penitentiaries, he addeth immediately, that Novatianiſts which had no care of Repentance could have no need of this office. Are theſe the words of a Friend or Enemy? Beſides, in the entrance of that whole narration: *Not to ſin* (ſaith he) *at all, would require a Nature more divine than ours is: but God hath commanded to pardon Sinners; yea, although they tranſgreſs and offend often.* Could there be any thing ſpoken more directly oppoſite to the doctrine of Novatian? Eudæmon was Preſbyter under Nectarius. BOOK VI.

To Novatianiſts the Emperor gave liberty of uſing their Religion quietly by themſelves, under a Biſhop of their own, even within the city, for that they ſtood with the Church in defence of the Catholick Faith againſt all other Hereticks beſides. Had therefore Eudæmon favoured their hereſy, their camps were not pitched ſo far off but he might at all times have found eaſy acceſs unto them. Is there any Man that hath lived with him, and hath touched him that way? if not, why ſuſpect we him more than Nectarius? Their report touching Grecian Catholick Biſhops, who gave approbation to that which was done, and did alſo the like themſelves in their own Churches, we have no reaſon to diſcredit without ſome manifeſt and clear evidence brought againſt it. For of Catholick Biſhops, no likelihood but that their greateſt reſpect to Nectarius, a Man honoured in thoſe parts no leſs than the Biſhop of Rome himſelf in the Weſtern Churches, brought them both eaſily and ſpeedily unto conformity with him; Arians, Eunomians, Apollinarians, and the reſt that ſtood divided from the Church, held their Penitentiaries as before. Novatianiſts from the beginning had never any, becauſe their opinion touching Penitency was againſt the practice of the Church therein, and a cauſe why they ſevered

BOOK VI. themſelves from the Church; ſo that the very ſtate of things, as they then ſtood, giveth great ſhew of probability to his ſpeech who hath affirmed, *That them only which held the Son conſubſtantial with the Father, and Novatianiſts which joined with them in the ſame opinion, had no Penitentiaries in their Churches, the reſt retained them.* By this it appeareth therefore how Baronius finding the relation plain, that Nectarius did aboliſh even thoſe private ſecret Confeſſions which the People had been before accuſtomed to make to him that was Penitentiary, laboureth what he may to diſcredit the Authors of the report, and leave it imprinted in Men's minds, that whereas Nectarius did but abrogate publick Confeſſion, Novatianiſts have maliciouſly forged the abolition of private; as if the odds between theſe two were ſo great in the balance of their judgment which equally hated or contemned both; or, as if it were not more clear than light, that the firſt alteration which eſtabliſhed Penitentiaries took away the burthen of publick Confeſſion in that kind of Penitents; and therefore the ſecond muſt either abrogate private, or nothing.

Cardinal Bellarmine therefore finding that againſt the Writers of the Hiſtory it is but in vain to ſtand upon ſo doubtful terms, and exceptions, endeavoureth mightily to prove, even by their report, no other Confeſſion taken away than publick which Penitentiaries uſed in private to impoſe upon publick Offenders; *For why! It is* (ſaith he) *very certain that the name of Penitents in the Fathers' Writings ſignifieth only publick Penitents; certain, that to bear the Confeſſions of the reſt was more than one could poſſibly have done; certain, that Sozomen, to ſhew how the Latin Church retained in his time what the Greek had clean caſt off, declareth the whole order of publick Penitency uſed in the Church of* Rome, *but of private he maketh no mention.* And, in theſe conſiderations, Bellarmine will have it the meaning both of Socrates and Sozomen,

Sozomen, that the former Epiſcopal Conſtitution which firſt did erect Penitentiaries, could not concern any other Offenders than ſuch as publickly had ſinned after Baptiſm: that only they were prohibited to come to the holy Communion, except they did firſt in ſecret confeſs all their ſins to the Penitentiary, by his appointment openly acknowledge their open crimes, and do publick Penance for them: that whereas before Novatian's upriſing, no Man was conſtrainable to confeſs publickly any ſin, this Canon enforced publick Offenders thereunto, till ſuch time as Nectarius thought good to extinguiſh the practice thereof. BOOK VI.

Let us examine therefore theſe ſubtle and fine conjectures, whether they be able to hold the touch. *It ſeemeth good* (ſaith Socrates) *to put down the office of theſe Prieſts which had charge of Penitency; what charge that was, the kinds of Penitency then uſual muſt make manifeſt.** There is often ſpeech in the Father's Writings, in their Books frequent mention of Penitency, exerciſed within the chambers of our heart, and ſeen of God, and not communicated to any other, the whole charge of which Penitency is impoſed of God, and doth reſt upon the Sinner himſelf. But if Penitents in ſecret, being guilty of crimes whereby they knew they had made themſelves unfit gueſts for the table of our Lord, did ſeek direction for their better performance of that which ſhould ſet them clear, it was in this caſe the Penitentiary's office to take their Confeſſions, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their ſoul's good, to admoniſh them, to counſel them, but not to lay upon them more than private Penance. As for notorious wicked Perſons, whoſe crimes were known, to convict, judge, and puniſh them, was the office of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory; Penitentiaries had their inſtitution to another end. But unleſs we imagine that the ancient time knew no other Repentance than publick, or that they had

* Τὲς ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πεϱιελεῖν πϱεσβυτέϱες.

BOOK VI. little occaſion to ſpeak of any other Repentance, or elſe that in ſpeaking thereof they uſed continually ſome other name, and not the name of Repentance, whereby to expreſs private Penitency, how ſtandeth it with reaſon, that whenſoever they write of Penitents, it ſhould be thought they meant only publick Penitents? The truth is, they handle all three kinds, but private and voluntary Repentance much oftener, as being of far more general uſe; whereas publick was but incident unto few, and not oftener than once incident unto any. Howbeit becauſe they do not diſtinguiſh one kind of Penitency from another by difference of names, our ſafeſt way for conſtruction, is to follow circumſtance of matter, which in this narration will not yield itſelf appliable only unto publick Penance, do what they can that would ſo expound it.

They boldly and confidently affirm, that no Man being compellable to confeſs publickly any ſin before Novatian's time, the end of inſtituting Penitentiaries afterwards in the Church was, that by them Men might be conſtrained unto publick Confeſſion. Is there any record in the world which doth teſtify this to be true? There is that teſtifieth the plain contrary; for Sozomen, declaring purpoſely the cauſe of their inſtitution, ſaith, *That whereas Men openly craving pardon at God's hands (for publick Confeſſion, the laſt act of Penitency, was always made in the form of a contrite prayer unto God), it could not be avoided, but they muſt withal confeſs what their offences were.* This, in the opinion of their Prelate, ſeemed from the firſt beginning (as we may probably think) to be ſomewhat burthenſome; that Men, whoſe crimes were unknown, ſhould blaze their own faults, as it were, on the ſtage, acquainting all the People with whatſoever they had done amiſs. And therefore to remedy this inconvenience they laid the charge upon one only Prieſt, choſen out of ſuch as were of beſt converſation, a ſilent and a diſcreet Man, to whom

whom they which had offended might resort and lay open their lives. He, according to the quality of every one's transgressions, appointed what they should do or suffer, and left them to execute it upon themselves. Can we wish a more direct and evident testimony, that the office here spoken of, was to ease voluntary Penitents from the burthen of publick Confessions, and not to constrain notorious Offenders thereunto? That such Offenders were not compellable to open Confessions till Novatian's time, that is to say, till after the days of persecution under Decius the Emperor, they of all Men should not so peremptorily avouch, with whom, if Fabian Bishop of Rome, who suffered martyrdom in the first year of Decius, be of any authority and credit, it must enforce them to reverse their sentence; his words are so plain and clear against them. *For such as commit those crimes, whereof the Apostle hath said, They that do them shall never inherit the Kingdom of Heaven,* must (saith he) *be forced unto amendment, because they slip down to Hell, if Ecclesiastical Authority stay them not.* Their conceit of impossibility that one Man should suffice to take the general charge of Penitency in such a Church as Constantinople, hath risen from a mere erroneous supposal, that the ancient manner of private Confession was like the Shrift at this day usual in the Church of Rome, which tieth all Men at one certain time to make Confession; whereas Confession was then neither looked for till Men did offer it, nor offered for the most part by any other than such as were guilty of heinous transgressions, nor to them any time appointed for that purpose. Finally, the drift which Sozomen had in relating the Discipline of Rome, and the form of publick Penitency there retained even till his time, is not to signify that only publick Confession was abrogated by Nectarius, but that the West or Latin Church held still one and the same order from the very beginning, and had not, as the Greek, first cut off

Fab. Decret. Ep. ii. tom. 1. Conc. p. 358.

publick

BOOK VI. publick voluntary Confeſſion by ordaining, and then private by removing Penitentiaries. Wherefore, to conclude, it ſtandeth, I hope, very plain and clear, firſt againſt the one Cardinal, that Nectarius did truly abrogate Confeſſion in ſuch ſort as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory hath reported; and, ſecondly, as clear againſt them both, that it was not publick Confeſſion only which Nectarius did aboliſh.

The Paradox in maintenance whereof Heſſels wrote purpoſely a Book touching this argument to ſhew that Nectarius did but put the Penitentiary from his Office, and not take away the Office itſelf,* is repugnant to the whole advice which Eudæmon gave, of leaving the People from that time forwards to their own conſciences, repugnant to the conference between Socrates and Eudæmon wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience which the want of Office would breed; finally, repugnant to that which the Hiſtory declareth concerning other Churches, which did as Nectarius had done before them, not in depoſing the ſame Man (for that was impoſſible), but in removing the ſame Office out of their Churches, which Nectarius had baniſhed from his. For which cauſe, Bellarmine doth well reject the opinion of Heſſels, howſoever it pleaſe Pamelius to admire it as a wonderful happy invention. But in ſum, they are all gravelled, no one of them able to go ſmoothly away, and to ſatisfy either others or himſelf with his own conceit concerning Nectarius.

Only in this they are ſtiff, that Auricular Confeſſion Nectarius did not abrogate, leſt if ſo much ſhould be acknowledged, it might enforce them to grant that the Greek Church at that time held not Confeſſion, as the Latin now doth, to be the part

* Nec eſt quod ſibi blandiantur illi de facto Nectarii, cum id potius ſecretorum peccatorum confeſſionem comprobet, et non aliud quam Preſbyterum pœnitentialem illo officio ſuo moverit; uti ampliſſime deducit D. Johannes Haſſelus. Pamiel. in Cypr. lib. de annot. 98. et in lib. Tertul. de pœn. annot. 1.

of

of a Sacrament instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ, which therefore the Church till the World's end hath no power to alter. Yet seeing that as long as publick voluntary Confession of private crimes did continue in either Church (as in the one it remained not much above two hundred years, in the other about four hundred) the only acts of such Repentance were; first, the Offender's intimation of those crimes to some one Presbyter, for which imposition of Penance was sought; secondly, the undertaking of Penance imposed by the Bishop; thirdly, after the same performed and ended, open Confession to God in the hearing of the whole Church; whereupon, fourthly, ensued the Prayer of the Church; fifthly, then the Bishop's imposition of hands; and so, sixthly, the Party's reconciliation or restitution to his former right in the holy Sacrament; I would gladly know of them which make only private Confession a part of their Sacrament of Penance, how it could be so in those times. For where the Sacrament of Penance is ministered, they hold that Confession to be sacramental which he receiveth who must absolve; whereas during the fore-rehearsed manner of Penance, it can no where be shewed, that the Priest to whom secret information was given did reconcile or absolve any; for how could he, when publick Confession was to go before Reconciliation, and Reconciliation likewise in publick thereupon to ensue? So that if they did account any Confession sacramental, it was surely publick, which is now abolished in the Church of Rome; and as for that which the Church of Rome doth so esteem, the Ancients neither had it in such estimation, nor thought it to be of so absolute necessity for the taking away of sin; but (for any thing that I could ever observe out of them) although not only in crimes open and notorious, which made Men unworthy and uncapable of holy Mysteries, their Discipline required first publick Penance, and then granted that which St. Jerom mentioneth, saying, *The Priest layeth his hand upon*

BOOK VI. *upon the Penitent, and by invocation intreateth that the Holy Ghoſt may return to him again; and ſo after having enjoined ſolemnly all the People to pray for him, reconcileth to the Altar him who was delivered to Satan for the deſtruction of his Fleſh, that his Spirit might be ſafe in the day of the Lord.**—Although I ſay not only in ſuch offences being famouſly known to the World, but alſo, if the ſame were committed ſecretly, it was the cuſtoms of thoſe times both that private intimation ſhould be given and publick Confeſſion made thereof; in which reſpect whereas all Men did willingly the one, but would as willingly have withdrawn themſelves from the other had they known how, *Is it tolerable* (ſaith St. Ambroſe) *that to ſue to God thou ſhouldeſt be aſhamed, which bluſheſt not to ſeek and ſue unto Man? ſhould it grieve thee to be a Suppliant to him from whom thou canſt not poſſibly hide thyſelf; when to open thy ſins to him, from whom, if thou wouldſt, thou mighteſt conceal them, it doth not any thing at all trouble thee? This thou art loth to do in the Church, where, all being Sinners, nothing is more opprobrious indeed than concealment of ſin, the moſt humble the beſt thought of, and the lowlieſt accounted the juſteſt.* All this notwithſtanding, we ſhould do them very great wrong to father any ſuch opinion upon them, as if they did teach it a thing impoſſible for any Sinner to reconcile himſelf unto God without confeſſion unto the Prieſt.

Ambr. de pœn. lib. ii. c. 10.

Would Chryſoſtom thus perſuaded have ſaid, †*Let the enquiry and puniſhment of thy offences be made in thine own thoughts; let the tribunal whereat thou arraigneſt thyſelf be without witneſs; let God, and only God, ſee thee and thy Confeſſion?*

* Sacerdos imponit manum ſubjecto, reditum Spiritus Sancti invocat, atque ita eum qui traditus fuerat Satanæ in interitum Carnis, ut Spiritus ſalvus fieret indicta in Populum oratione Altari reconciliat. Hier. adverſ. Lucif.

† Chryſ. Hom. Περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως παρα τοῖς λογισμοῖς γενέσθω τῶν πεπλημμεληκμένων ἡ ἐξέτασις, ἀμάρτυρον ἔστω τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁ Θεὸς ἰράτω μόνος ἐξομολογέμενον.

Would

Would Cassianus so believing have given counsel, *That if any were with-held with bashfulness from discovering their faults to Men, they should be so much the more instant and constant in opening them by supplication to God himself, whose wont is to help without publication of Men's shame, and not to upbraid them when he pardoneth?*

Cassian. Collat. xx. c. 8.

Finally, would Prosper settled in this opinion have made it, as touching Reconciliation to God, a matter indifferent, *Whether Men of ecclesiastical order did detect their crimes by Confession, or leaving the World ignorant thereof, would separate voluntarily themselves for a time from the Altar, though not in affection, yet in execution of their Ministry, and so bewail their corrupt life? Would he have willed them as he doth to make bold of it, that the favour of God being either way recovered by fruits of forcible Repentance, they should not only receive whatsoever they had lost by sin, but also, after this their new enfranchisement, aspire to endless joys of that supernal City?* To conclude, we every where find the use of Confession, especially publick, allowed of and commended by the Fathers; but that extreme and rigorous necessity of auricular and private Confession, which is at this day so mightily upheld by the Church of Rome, we find not. First, it was not then the Faith and Doctrine of God's Church, as of the Papacy at this present. Secondly, that the only remedy for sin after Baptism, is sacramental Penitency. Thirdly, that Confession in secret, is an essential part thereof. Fourthly, that God himself cannot now forgive sin without the Priest. That, because Forgiveness at the hands of the Priest must arise from Confession in the Offenders, therefore to confess unto him, is a matter of such necessity as being not either in deed, or at the least in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and must consequently in Scripture be commanded wheresoever any promise of Forgiveness is made. No, no; these Opinions have Youth in their countenance,

Prosper. de vita contempl. l. ii. c. 7.

BOOK VI. tenance, antiquity knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them.

But to let pass the Papacy. Forasmuch as Repentance doth import alteration within the mind of a sinful Man, whereby, through the power of God's most gracious and blessed Spirit, he seeth, and with unfeigned sorrow acknowledgeth former offences committed against God, hath them in utter detestation, seeking pardon for them in such sort as a Christian should do, and with a resolute purpose settleth himself to avoid them, leading, as near as God shall assist him, for ever after an unspotted life; and in the order (which Christian Religion hath taught for procurement of God's mercy towards Sinners) Confession is acknowledged a principal duty, yea, in some cases, Confession to Man, not to God only; it is not in reformed Churches denied by the learneder sort of Divines, but that even this Confession, cleared from all errors, is both lawful and behoveful for God's People.

Calv. Inst. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 7.

Confession by Man being either private or publick, private Confession to the Minister alone touching secret crimes, or Absolution thereupon ensuing, as the one, so the other is neither practised by the French Discipline, nor used in any of those Churches which have been cast by the French mould. Open Confession to be made in the face of the whole Congregation by notorious Malefactors they hold necessary; howbeit not necessary towards the remission of sins;* but only in some sort to content the Church, and that one Man's repentance may seem to strengthen many, which before have been weakened by one Man's fall.

Harm. Conf. Sect. viii. ex 5. cap. confess. Bohem.

Saxonians and Bohemians in their discipline constrain no Man to open Confession. Their doctrine is, that whose faults have been publick, and thereby scandalous unto the World, such, when God giveth

* Sed tantum ut Ecclesiæ sit aliqua ratione satisfactum, et omnes unius pœnitentia confirmentur, qui fuerant unius peccatis et scandalis vulnerati. Sadeel. in Psal. xxxii. ver. 5.

them

them the ſpirit of Repentance, ought as ſolemnly to return, as they have openly gone aſtray; firſt, for the better teſtimony of their own unfeigned converſion unto God; ſecondly, the more to notify their reconcilement unto the Church; and laſtly, that others may make benefit of their example. BOOK VI.

But concerning Confeſſion in private, the Churches of Germany, as well the reſt as Lutherans, agree, that all Men ſhould at certain times confeſs their offences to God in the hearing of God's Miniſters, thereby to ſhew how their ſins diſpleaſe them; to receive inſtruction for the warier carriage of themſelves hereafter; to be ſoundly reſolved, if any ſcruple or ſnare of conſcience do entangle their minds; and which is moſt material, to the end that Men may at God's hand ſeek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of thoſe Keys, which the Miniſter of God uſing according to our bleſſed Saviour's inſtitution, in that caſe it is their part to accept the benefit thereof, as God's moſt merciful ordinance for their good, and, without any diſtruſt or doubt, to embrace joyfully his Grace ſo given them according to the word of our Lord, which hath ſaid, *Whoſe ſins ye remit they are remitted.* So that grounding upon this aſſured belief, they are to reſt with minds encouraged and perſuaded concerning the forgiveneſs of all their ſins, as out of Chriſt's own Word and Power by the miniſtry of the Keys. Cap. 5. confeſſ. Bohem.

It ſtandeth with us in the Church of England, as touching publick Confeſſion, thus:

Firſt, ſeeing day by day we in our Church begin our publick Prayers to Almighty God with publick acknowledgment of our ſins, in which Confeſſion every Man, proſtrate as it were before his glorious Majeſty, crieth againſt himſelf, and the Miniſter with one ſentence pronounceth univerſally all clear whoſe acknowledgment ſo made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reaſon is there every Man ſhould not, under the general terms of Con-

feſſion,

BOOK VI. feſſion, repreſent to himſelf his own particulars whatſoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite ſpirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine Grace, as if the ſame were ſeverally and particularly uttered with addition of Prayers, impoſition of Hands, or all the Ceremonies and Solemnities that might be uſed for the ſtrengthening of Men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such complements are helps to ſupport our weakneſs, and not cáuſes that ſerve to procure or produce his gifts, as David ſpeaketh. The difference of general and particular forms in Confeſſion and Abſolution is not ſo material that any Man's ſafety or ghoſtly good ſhould depend upon it. And for private Confeſſion and Abſolution it ſtandeth thus with us:

The Miniſter's power to abſolve is publickly taught and profeſſed, the Church not denied to have authority either of abridging or enlarging the uſe and exerciſe of that power; * upon the People no ſuch neceſſity impoſed of opening their tranſgreſſion unto Men, as if remiſſion of ſins otherwiſe were impoſſible; neither any ſuch opinion had of the thing itſelf, as though it were either unlawful or unprofitable, ſave only for theſe inconveniencies which the World hath by experience obſerved in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the Church of England hath hitherto thought it the ſafer way to refer Men's hidden crimes unto God and themſelves only; howbeit, not without ſpecial caution for the admonition of ſuch as come to the holy Sacrament, and for the comfort of ſuch as are ready to depart the World. Firſt, becauſe there are but few that conſider how much that part of divine Service, which conſiſts in partaking the holy Euchariſt, doth import their ſouls; what they loſe by neglect thereof, and what by devout practice they might attain unto:

* As for private Confeſſion, abuſes and errors ſet apart, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty. Jewel Defen. part 156.

therefore,

therefore, leſt careleſſneſs of general Confeſſion ſhould, as commonly it doth, extinguiſh all remorſe of Men's particular enormous crimes, our cuſtom (whenſoever Men preſent themſelves at the Lord's table) is, ſolemnly to give themſelves fearful admonition, what woes are perpendicularly hanging over the heads of ſuch as dare adventure to put forth their unworthy hands to thoſe admirable myſteries of Life, which have by rare examples been proved conduits of irremediable Death to impenitent Receivers; whom therefore, as we repel being known, ſo being not known we cannot but terrify. Yet, with us, the Miniſters of God's moſt holy word and ſacraments, being all put in truſt with the cuſtody and diſpenſation of thoſe myſteries wherein our Communion is, and hath been ever, accounted the higheſt grace that Men on earth are admitted unto, have therefore all equally the ſame power to withhold that ſacred myſtical Food from notorious evil-livers, from ſuch as have any way wronged their neighbours, and from Parties between whom there doth open hatred and malice appear, till the firſt ſort have reformed their wicked lives, the ſecond recompenſed them unto whom they were injurious, and the laſt condeſcended unto ſome courſe of Chriſtian reconciliation, whereupon their mutual accord may enſue. In which caſes, for the firſt branch of wicked Life; and the laſt, which is open Enmity; there can ariſe no great difficulty about the exerciſe of his power: in the ſecond, concerning Wrongs, they may, if Men ſhall preſume to define or meaſure Injuries according to their own conceits, be depraved oftentimes as well by error, as partiality, and that no leſs to the Miniſter himſelf, than in another of the people under him.

The knowledge therefore which he taketh of Wrongs muſt riſe, as it doth in the other two, not from his own Opinion or Conſcience, but from the evidence of the Fact which is committed; yea, from

BOOK VI. ſuch evidence as neither doth admit Denial nor Defence. For if the Offender, having either colour of Law to uphold, or any other pretence to excuſe his own uncharitable and wrongful Dealings, ſhall wilfully ſtand in defence thereof, it ſerveth as bar to the power of the Miniſter in this kind. * Becauſe (as it is obſerved by Men of very good judgment in theſe affairs) although in this ſort our ſeparating of them be not to ſtrike them with the mortal wound of Excommunication, but to ſtay them rather from running deſperately headlong into their own harm; yet it is not in us to ſever from the holy Communion but ſuch as are either found culpable by their own Confeſſion, or have been convicted in ſome publick ſecular, or Eccleſiaſtical Court. For, who is he, that dares take upon him to be any Man's both Accuſer and Judge? † Evil Perſons are not raſhly, and, as we liſt, to be thruſt from Communion with the Church. Inſomuch that if we cannot proceed againſt them by any orderly courſe of Judgment, they rather are to be ſuffered for the time than moleſted. Many there are reclaimed, as Peter; many, as Judas, known well enough, and yet tolerated; many which muſt remain undeſcried till the day of appearance, by whom the ſecret corners of Darkneſs ſhall be brought into open Light.

Leaving therefore unto his judgment them, whom we cannot ſtay from caſting their own Souls into ſo great hazard, we have, in the other part of peni-

* Nos à communione quenquam prohibere non poſſumus, quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum ſit mortalis, ſed medicinalis, niſi aut ſponte confeſſum, aut aliquo ſive ſeculari, ſive Eccleſiaſtico judicio accuſatum atque convictum. Quis enim ſibi utrumque audet aſſumere, ut cuiquam ipſe ſit et accuſator et judex?

† Non enim temere, et quodammodo libet, ſed propter judicium, ab Eccleſiæ communione ſeparandi ſunt mali, ut ſi propter judicium auferri non poſſint, tolerentur potius, velut paleæ cum tritico. Multi corriguntur, ut Petrus; multi tolerantur, ut Judas; multi neſciuntur, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminabit abſcondita tenebrarum. Rhenan. admonit. de dogmat. Tertul.

tential

tential Jurisdiction in our power and authority to release sin, joy on all sides, without trouble or molestation unto any. And, if to give be a thing more blessed than to receive, are we not infinitely happier in being authorized to bestow the Treasure of God, than when necessity doth constrain to withdraw the same? BOOK VI.

They which, during life and health, are never destitute of ways to delude Repentance, do notwithstanding oftentimes, when their last hour draweth on, both feel that sting which before lay dead in them, and also thirst after such helps as have been always, till then, unsavory. St. Ambrose's words touching late Repentance are somewhat hard: *If a Man be penitent and receive Absolution (which cannot in that case be denied him) even at the very point of death, and so depart, I dare not affirm he goeth out of the world well; I will counsel no Man to trust to this, because I am loth to deceive any Man, seeing I know not what to think of it. Shall I judge such a one a cast-away? Neither will I avouch him safe. All I am able to say, is, let his Estate be left to the will and pleasure of Almighty God. Wilt thou be therefore delivered of all doubt? Repent while yet thou art healthy and strong. If thou defer it till time give no longer possibility of sinning, thou canst not be thought to have left sin, but rather sin to have forsaken thee.* Such admonitions may in their time and place be necessary, but in nowise prejudicial to the generality of God's heavenly promise, *Whensoever a sinner doth repent from the bottom of his heart, I will put out all his Iniquity.* And of this, although it hath pleased God not to leave to the world any multitude of examples, lest the careless should too far presume, yet one he hath given, and that most memorable, to withhold from despair in the mercies of God, at what instant soever Man's unfeigned conversion be wrought. Yea, because, to countervail the fault of delay, there are in the latest Repentance oftentimes the surest tokens of sincere

Lib. iii. de Pœn.

BOOK VI. dealing; therefore upon ſpecial Confeſſion made to the Miniſter of God, he preſently abſolveth in this caſe the ſick Party from all Sins by that authority which Jeſus Chriſt hath committed unto him, knowing that God reſpecteth not ſo much what time is ſpent, as what truth is ſhewed in Repentance.

In ſum, when the Offence doth ſtand only between God and Man's Conſcience, the counſel is good, which St. Chryſoſtom giveth: * *I wiſh thee not to bewray thyſelf publickly, nor to accuſe thyſelf before others. I wiſh thee to obey the Prophet, who ſaith, Diſcloſe thy way unto the Lord, confeſs thy Sins before him; tell thy Sins to him, that he may blot them out. If thou be abaſhed to tell unto any other, wherein thou haſt offended, rehearſe them every day between thee and thy Soul. I wiſh thee not to confeſs them to thy fellow-ſervant, who may upbraid thee with them; tell them to God, who will cure them; there is no need for thee in the preſence of witneſſes to acknowledge them; let God alone ſee thee at thy Confeſſion. I pray and beſeech you, that you would, more often than you do, confeſs to God eternal, and reckoning up your Treſpaſſes, deſire his Pardon. I carry you not into a theatre or open court of many of your fellow-ſervants, I ſeek not to detect your crimes before Men; diſcloſe your Conſcience before God, unfold yourſelves to him, lay forth your wounds before*

* Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuſes, ſed obedire te volo Prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Ante Deum confitere peccata tua; peccata tua dicito ut ea deleat; ſi confunderis alicui dicere quæ peccaſti; dicito ea quotidie in anima: non dico ut confitearis conſervo qui exprobret; Deo dicito qui ea curat; non neceſſe eſt præſentibus teſtibus confiteri, ſolus te Deus confitentem videat. Rogo et oro ut crebrius Deo immortali confiteamini, et enumeratis veſtris delictis veniam petatis. Non te in theatrum conſervorum duco, non hominibus peccata tua conor detegere. Repete coram Deo conſcientiam tuam, te explica, oſtende medico præſtantiſſimo vulnera tua, et pete ab eo medicamentum. Chryſoſt. Hom. xxxi. ad Hebr. et in Pſal. lix. Hom. de pœn. et confeſſ. et Hom. v. de incarn. Dei natura, Homil. itemque de Lazaro.

him

him the beſt Phyſician that is, and deſire of him ſalve for them. If hereupon it follow, as it did with David, *I thought, I will confeſs againſt myſelf my wickedneſs unto thee, O Lord, and thou forgaveſt me the plague of my Sin,* we have our deſire, and there remaineth only thankfulneſs accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which being not avoided, we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwiſe, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in ſeeking after it, if we continue diſquieted and not delivered from anguiſh, miſtruſting whether that we do be ſufficient; it argueth that our Sore doth exceed the power of our own ſkill, and that the wiſdom of the Paſtor muſt bind up thoſe parts, which being bruiſed are not able to be recured of themſelves.

Of Satisfaction.

THERE reſteth now Satisfaction only to be conſidered, a point which the Fathers do often touch, albeit they never aſpire to ſuch Myſteries as the Papacy hath found enwrapped within the folds and plaits thereof. And it is happy for the Church of God, that we have the Writings of the Fathers to ſhew what their meaning was. The name of Satisfaction, as the ancient Fathers mean it, containeth whatſoever a Penitent ſhould do in the humbling himſelf unto God, and teſtifying by deeds of Contrition the ſame which Confeſſion in words pretendeth; *He which by Repentance for Sins* (ſaith Tertullian, ſpeaking of fickle-minded Men) *had a purpoſe to ſatisfy the Lord, will now, by repenting his Repentance, make Satan ſatisfaction; and be ſo much the more hateful to God, as he is unto God's enemy* Tert. de pœn.

BOOK VI. *more acceptable.* Is it not plain, that Satisfaction doth here include the whole work of Penitency, and that God is satisfied when we are restored through Sin into favour by Repentance? **How canst thou* (saith Chrysostom) *move God to pity thee, when thou wilt not seem as much as to know that thou hast offended?* By appeasing, pacifying, and moving God to pity, St. Chrysostom meaneth the very same with the Latin Fathers, when they speak of satisfying God. *We feel* (saith Cyprian) *the bitter smart of his rod and scourge, because there is in us neither care to please him with our good deeds, nor to satisfy him for our evil.* Again, *Let the eyes which have looked on Idols, spunge out their unlawful acts with those sorrowful tears, which have power to satisfy God.* The Master of Sentences alledgeth out of St. Augustine, that which is plain enough to this purpose: *Three things there are in perfect Penitency, Compunction, Confession, and Satisfaction; that as we three ways offend God, namely, in Heart, Word and Deed; so by three Duties we may satisfy God.*

Cypr. Ep. 8. & Ep. 26. Sent. l. iv. dist. 16.

Satisfaction, as a part, comprehended only that which the Papists meant by *worthy of Repentance*; and if we speak of the whole work of Repentance itself, we may, in the phrase of antiquity, term it very well Satisfaction.

Satisfaction is a Work which Justice requireth to be done for contentment of Persons injured: neither is it in the eye of Justice a sufficient satisfaction, unless it fully equal the Injury for which we satisfy. Seeing then that Sin against God Eternal and Infinite must needs be an infinite wrong; Justice, in regard thereof, doth necessarily exact an infinite Recompence, or else inflict upon the Offender infinite punishment. Now, because God was thus to be satisfied, and Man not able to make satisfaction in such sort, his unspeakable Love and Inclination to save Mankind from eternal Death ordained in our

* Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 8. Τὸν Θεὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι.

behalf

behalf a Mediator to do that which had been for any other impoſſible. Wherefore all ſin is remitted in the only faith of Chriſt's Paſſion, and no Man without belief thereof juſtified. Faith alone maketh Chriſt's ſatisfaction ours, howbeit, that Faith alone, which after ſin, maketh us by Converſion his. BOOK VI. Bonavent. in Sentent. 4. diſt. xv. 9. 9.

For inaſmuch as God will have the benefit of Chriſt's ſatisfaction both thankfully acknowledged, and duly eſteemed of all ſuch as enjoy the ſame, he therefore imparteth ſo high a treaſure unto no Man, whoſe Faith hath not made him willing by Repentance to do even that which of itſelf, how unavailable ſoever, yet being required and accepted with God, we are in Chriſt thereby made capable and fit Veſſels to receive the fruits of his ſatisfaction: yea, we ſo far pleaſe and content God, that becauſe when we have offended he looketh but for Repentance at our hands; our Repentance and the works thereof are therefore termed ſatisfactory, not for that ſo much is thereby done as the Juſtice of God can exact, but becauſe ſuch actions of Grief and Humility in Man after ſin, are *illices divinæ miſericordiæ* (as Tertullian ſpeaketh of them); they draw that pity of God towards us, wherein he is for Chriſt's ſake contented, upon our ſubmiſſion, to pardon our rebellion againſt him; and when that little which his Law appointeth is faithfully executed, it pleaſeth him in tender Compaſſion and Mercy to require no more.

Repentance is a name which noteth the habit and operation of a certain Grace or Virtue in us: Satisfaction, the effect which it hath, either with God or Man. And it is not in this reſpect ſaid amiſs, the Satisfaction importeth Acceptation, Reconciliation, and Amity; becauſe that, through Satisfaction on the one part made, and allowed on the other, they which before did reject are now content to receive; they to be won again which were loſt; and they to

BOOK VI. love unto whom juſt cauſe of hatred was given. We ſatisfy therefore in doing that which is ſufficient to this effect; and they towards whom we do it are ſatisfied, if they accept it as ſufficient, and require no more: otherwiſe we ſatisfy not, although we do ſatisfy. For ſo between Man and Man it oftentimes falleth out, but between Man and God never. It is therefore true, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by one moſt precious and propitiatory Sacrifice, which was his Body, a Gift of infinite worth, offered for the ſins of the whole world, hath thereby once reconciled us to God, purchaſed his general free pardon, and turned divine Indignation from Mankind. But we are not for that cauſe to think any office of Penitence either needleſs or fruitleſs, on our own behalf. For then would not God require any ſuch duties at our hands; Chriſt doth remain everlaſtingly a gracious Interceſſor, even for every particular Penitent. Let this aſſure us, that God, how highly ſoever diſpleaſed and incenſed with our Sins, is notwithſtanding, for his ſake, by our Tears, pacified, taking that for Satisfaction, which is done by us, becauſe Chriſt hath by his Satisfaction made it acceptable. For, as he is the High Prieſt of our Salvation, ſo he hath made us Prieſts likewiſe under him, to the end we might offer unto God praiſe and thankfulneſs while we continue in the way of Life; and when we ſin, the ſatisfactory or propitiatory Sacrifice of a broken and contrite Heart. There is not any thing that we do, that could pacify God, and clear us in his ſight from Sin, if the goodneſs and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were not; whereas now beholding the poor offer of our religious endeavours, meekly to ſubmit ourſelves as often as we have offended, he regardeth with infinite mercy thoſe Services which are as nothing, and with words of comfort reviveth our afflicted minds, ſaying, *It is I, even I, that taketh away thine Iniquities for mine own ſake.* Thus doth Repentance ſatisfy

Apoc. i. 6.

Caſſia. col. xx. c. 8.

tisfy God, changing his Wrath and Indignation unto Mercy. BOOK VI.

Anger and Mercy are in us Paſſions; but in him, not ſo.

* *God* (ſaith St. Baſil) *is no ways paſſionate, but becauſe the Puniſhments which his judgment doth inflict are, like effects of Indignation, ſevere and grievous to ſuch as ſuffer them, therefore we term the Revenge which he taketh upon Sinners, Anger; and the withdrawing of his Plagues, Mercy.* † *His Wrath* (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *is not as ours, the trouble of a mind diſturbed and diſquieted with things amiſs, but a calm, unpaſſionate, and juſt aſſignation of dreadful puniſhment to be their portion which have diſobeyed; his Mercy a free determination of all felicity and happineſs unto Men, except their Sins remain as a bar betwixt it and them.* So that when God doth ceaſe to be angry with ſinful Men, when he receiveth them into favour, when he pardoneth their offences, and remembereth their iniquities no more (for all theſe ſignify but one thing) it muſt needs follow, that all Puniſhments before due in revenge of Sin, whether they be temporal or eternal, are remitted.

For how ſhould God's Indignation import only Man's Puniſhment, and yet ſome Puniſhment remain unto them towards whom there is now in God no Indignation remaining? ‡ *God* (ſaith Tertullian) *takes Penitency at Men's hands; and Men at his, in lieu thereof, receive impunity*; which notwithſtanding doth not prejudice the chaſtiſements which God, after pardon, hath laid upon ſome Offenders, as on

* Baſil. hom. in Pſal. xxxvii. Παίδων γὰρ παθῶς ἀλλότριον τὸ Θεῖον.

† Cum Deus iraſcitur, non ejus ſignificatur perturbatio qualis eſt in animo iraſcentis hominis; ſed ex humanis moribus tranſlato vocabulo vindicta ejus, quæ non niſi juſta eſt, iræ nomen accepit. Aug. tom. iii. Ench. cap. 33.

‡ Pœnitentiæ compenſatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus. Tert. de Pœniten.

the

BOOK VI.

the people of Israel, on Moses, on Miriam, on David, either for their own * more sound Amendment, or for † example unto others in this present world (for in the world to come, Punishments have unto these intents no use, the dead being not in case to be better by Correction, nor to take warning by execution of God's Justice there seen) but assuredly to whomsoever he remitteth Sin, their very Pardon is in itself a full, absolute, and perfect discharge for revengeful Punishment, which God doth now here threaten, but, with purpose of revocation if Men repent, no where inflict but on them whom impenitency maketh obdurate.

Numb. xiv. 21.
Numb xx. 12.
Numb. xii. 14.
2 Sam. xii. 14.

Of the one therefore it is said, *Though I tell the wicked, thou shalt die the death, yet if he turneth from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, and not die.* Of the other, *Thou according to thine hardness, and heart that will not repent, treasurest up to thyself Wrath against the day of Wrath, and evident appearance of the judgment of God.* If God be satisfied and do pardon Sin, our Justification restored is as perfect as it was at the first bestowed. For so the Prophet Isaiah witnesseth, *Though your sins were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow: though they were as scarlet, they shall be as white as wool.* And can we doubt concerning the punishment of Revenge, which was due to sin, but that if God be satisfied and have forgotten his wrath, it must be, even as St. Augustine reasoneth, ‡ *What God hath covered, he will not observe, and what he observeth not, he will not punish.* The Truth of which Doctrine is not to be shifted off by restraining it

Ezek. xxxiii. 14.
Rom. ii. 5.
Isai. i. 18.

* Cui Deus vere propitius est non solum condonat peccata ne noceant ad futurum seculum, sed etiam castigat, ne semper peccare delectet. Aug. in Psal. xcviii.

† Plectuntur quidam quo cæteri corrigantur; exempla sunt omnium, tormenta paucorum. Cypr. de Lapsis.

‡ Si texit Deus peccata, noluit advertere, si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. Aug. de pecc. mer. et rem. lib. ii. c. 34.

unto

unto eternal punishment alone. For then would not David have said, *They are blessed to whom God imputeth not Sin*; Blessedness having no part or fellowship at all with Malediction: whereas to be subject to Revenge for Sin, although the Punishment be but temporal, is to be under the Curse of the Law: wherefore, as one and the same Fire consumeth Stubble and refineth Gold, so if it please God to lay punishment on them whose Sins he hath forgiven; yet is not this done for any destructive end of wasting and eating them out, as in Plagues inflicted upon the impenitent, neither is the Punishment of the one as of the other proportioned by the greatness of Sin past, but according to that future purpose whereunto the goodness of God referreth it, and wherein there is nothing meant to the Sufferer but furtherance of all happiness, now in Grace, and hereafter in Glory. St. Augustine, to stop the mouths of Pelagians arguing, *That if God had imposed Death upon Adam, and Adam's Posterity, as a punishment of Sin, Death should have ceased when God procured Sinners their pardon*; answereth first, * *It is no marvel, either that bodily Death should not have happened to the first Man, unless he had first sinned (Death as Punishment following his Sin), or that after Sin is forgiven, Death notwithstanding befalleth the faithful; to the end that the strength of Righteousness might be exercised, by overcoming the fear thereof.* So that justly God did inflict bodily Death on Man for committing Sin, and yet after Sin forgiven took it not away, that his Righteousness might still have whereby to be exercised. He fortifieth this with David's example, whose Sin

* Mirandum non est, et mortem corporis non fuisse eventuram homini, nisi præcessisset peccatum, cujus etiam talis pœna consequeretur, et post remissionem peccatorum eam fidelibus evenire, ut ejus timore vincendo exerceretur fortitudo justitiæ. Sic et mortem corporis propter hoc peccatum Deus homini inflixit, et post peccatorum remissionem propter exercendam justitiam non ademit,

BOOK VI. he forgave, and yet afflicted him for exercise and trial of his humility. Briefly, a general Axiom he hath for all such chastisements. * *Before forgiveness, they are the punishment of Sinners; and after forgiveness, they are exercises and trials of righteous Men.* Which kind of proceeding is so agreeable with God's nature and Man's comfort, that it seemeth even injurious to both, if we should admit those surmised reservations of temporal wrath in God appeased towards reconciled Sinners. As a Father he delights in his Children's conversion, neither doth he threaten the Penitent with Wrath, or them with Punishment which already mourn; but by promise assureth such of Indulgence and Mercy; yea, even of plenary Pardon, which taketh away all, both Faults and Penalties: there being no reason why we should think him the less just, because he sheweth himself thus merciful; when they, which before were obstinate, labour to appease his Wrath with the pensive meditation of Contrition, the meek humility which Confession expresseth, and the deeds wherewith Repentance declareth itself to be an amendment as well of the rotten Fruit, as the dried Leaves, and withered root of the Tree. For with these Duties by us performed, and presented unto God in Heaven by Jesus Christ, whose Blood is a continual sacrifice of Propitiation for us, we content, please, and satisfy God. Repentance therefore, even the sole virtue of Repentance, without either purpose of shrift or desire of Absolution from the Priest; Repentance, the secret conversion of the heart, in that it consisteth of these three, and doth by these three pacify God; may be without hyperbolical terms most truly magnified, as a recovery of the Soul of Man from deadly sickness, a restitution of glorious light to his dark-

* Ante remissionem esse illa supplicia peccatorum, post remissionem autem certamina, exercitationesque justorum. Cypr. Epist. liii.

ened

ened mind, a comfortable reconciliation with God, a spiritual Nativity, a rising from the dead, a day-spring from the depth of obscurity, a Redemption from more than Egyptian thraldom, a grinding of the old Adam even into dust and powder, a deliverance out of the prisons of Hell, a full restoration of the seat of Grace, and throne of Glory, a triumph over Sin, and a saving Victory. BOOK VI.

Amongst the Works of Satisfaction, the most respected have been always these three, Prayers, Fasts, and Alms-deeds; by Prayer we lift up our Souls to him from whom sin and iniquity hath withdrawn them; by Fasting, we reduce the Body from thraldom under vain delights, and make it serviceable for parts of virtuous Conversation; by Alms, we dedicate to Charity those worldly Goods and Possessions, which unrighteousness doth neither get, nor bestow well: the first, a token of Piety intended towards God; the second, a pledge of moderation and sobriety in the carriage of our own Persons; the last, a testimony of our meaning to do good to all Men. In which three, the Apostle, by way of abridgement, comprehendeth whatsoever may appertain to Sanctimony, Holiness, and good Life: as contrariwise, the very Mass of general Corruption throughout the world, what is it but only Forgetfulness of God, carnal Pleasure, immoderate Desire after worldly things, Prophaneness, Licentiousness, Covetousness? All Offices to Repentance have these two properties; there is in performance of them Painfulness, and in their nature a contrariety unto Sin. The one consideration causeth them both in holy Scripture and * elsewhere to be termed Judgment or Revenges taken voluntarily on ourselves, and to be furthermore also Preservatives from future evils, inasmuch as we commonly use to keep with

2 Cor. vii. 11.

* Γὰρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκην λάβωμεν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κατηγορήσομεν ἵνα μὴ ἐξιλασώμεθα τὸν κριτήν. Chrys. hom. 30. in Ep. ad Heb.

the

BOOK VI. the greater care that which with pain we have recovered. And they are in the other respect contrary to sin committed: Contrition, contrary to the Pleasure; Confession, to the Error, which is the Mother of Sin: and to the deeds of Sin, the works of Satisfaction contrary; therefore they are the more effectual to cure the evil habit thereof. Hereunto it

Cypr. de Lapsis. was that St. Cyprian referred his earnest and vehement Exhortation, *That they which had fallen, should be instant in Prayer, reject bodily Ornaments when once they had stripped themselves out of Christ's Attire, abhor all Food after Satan's morsels tasted, follow works of righteousness which wash away Sin, and be plentiful in Alms-deeds wherewith Souls are delivered from death. Not, as if God did, according to the manner of corrupt Judges, take some money to abate so much in the punishment of Malefactors. These Duties must be offered* (saith Salvianus) *not in confidence to redeem or buy out*

Salv. ad Eccl. Cath. lib. i. *Sin, but as tokens of meek submission; neither are they with God accepted, because of their value, but for our affection sake which doth thereby shew itself.* Wherefore, concerning Satisfaction made to God by Christ only; and of the manner how Repentance generally, particularly also, how certain special works of Penitency, both are by the Fathers, in their ordinary phrase of speech, called satisfactory, and may be by us very well so acknowledged, enough hath been spoken.

Our Offences sometimes are of such nature as requireth that particular Men be satisfied, or else Repentance to be utterly void and of none effect. For if either through open rapine, or crooked fraud; if, through injurious or unconscionable dealing, a Man have wittingly wronged others to enrich himself; the first thing evermore in this case required (ability serving) is Restitution. For let no Man deceive himself, from such Offences we are not discharged, neither can be, till Recompence and Restitution to Man accompany the penitent Confession we have made

made to Almighty God. In which case, the Law of Moses was direct and plain: *If any sin and commit a trespass against the Lord, and deny unto his Neighbour that which was given him to keep, or that which was put unto him of trust; or doth by robbery, or by violence oppress his Neighbour; or hath found that which was lost, and denieth it, and swears falsely: for any of these things that a Man doth wherein he sinneth, he that doth thus offend and trespass, shall restore the robbery that he hath taken, or the thing he hath got by violence, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found; and for whatsoever he hath sworn falsely, adding Perjury to Injury, he shall both restore the whole sum, and shall add thereunto a fifth part more, and deliver it unto him, unto whom it belongeth, the same day wherein he offereth for his Trespass.* Now, because Men are commonly over-slack to perform this Duty, and do therefore defer it sometime, till God hath taken the Party wronged out of the World; the Law providing that Trespassers might not under such pretence gain the Restitution which they ought to make, appointeth the Kindred surviving to receive what the dead should, if they had continued. *But* (saith Moses) *if the Party wronged have no Kinsman to whom this damage may be restored, it shall then be rendered to the Lord himself for the Priest's use.* The whole order of proceeding herein, is in sundry traditional Writings set down by their great Interpreters and Scribes, which taught them that a Trespass between a Man and his Neighbour can never be forgiven till the Offender have by Restitution made Recompence for wrongs done; yea, they hold it necessary that he appease the Party grieved by submitting himself unto him; or, if that will not serve, by using the help and mediation of others: *In this case* (say they) *for any Man to shew himself unappeasable and cruel, were a sin most grievous, considering that the people of God should be easy to relent, as Joseph was towards his Brethren*; finally, if so it

Lev. vi. 2.

Num. v. 8.

fall

BOOK VI

fall out, that the death of him that was injured, prevent his ſubmiſſion which did offend; let him then (for ſo they determine that he ought) go accompanied with ten others unto the Sepulchre of the dead, and there make Confeſſion of the Fault, ſaying, * *I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and againſt this Man, to whom I have done ſuch or ſuch injury; and if Money be due, let it be reſtored to his Heirs, or in caſe he have none known, leave it with the Houſe of Judgment:* that is to ſay, with the Senators, Ancients, and Guides of Iſrael. We hold not Chriſtian People tied unto Jewiſh orders for the manner of Reſtitution; but, ſurely, Reſtitution we muſt hold neceſſary, as well in our own Repentance as theirs, for Sins of wilful Oppreſſion and Wrong.

Now, although it ſuffices, that the Offices wherewith we pacify God or private Men be ſecretly done; yet in caſes where the Church muſt be alſo ſatisfied, it was not to this end and purpoſe unneceſſary, that the ancient Diſcipline did farther require outward ſigns of Contrition to be ſhewed, Confeſſion of Sins to be made openly, and thoſe Works to be apparent which ſerved as Teſtimonies for Converſion before Men. Wherein, if either Hypocriſy did at any time delude their Judgment, they knew that God is he whom maſks and mockeries cannot blind, that he which ſeeth Men's hearts would judge them according unto his own evidence, and, as Lord, correct the Sentence of his Servants concerning matters beyond their reach; or, if ſuch as ought to have kept the rules of Canonical Satisfaction would by ſiniſter means and practices undermine the ſame, obtruding preſumptuouſly themſelves to the participation of Chriſt's moſt ſacred Myſteries before they were orderly re-admitted thereunto, the

Cyp. Ep. lib. iii.

* Quamdiu enim res propter quam peccatum eſt, non redditur; ſi reddi poteſt, non agitur pœnitentia, ſed fingitur. Sent. iv. d. 15.

Church

Church for contempt of holy Things held them incapable of that Grace, which God in the Sacrament doth impart to devout Communicants; and no doubt but he himſelf did retain bound, whom the Church in thoſe caſes refuſed to looſe.

The Fathers, as may appear by ſundry Decrees and Canons of the primitive Church, were (in matter eſpecially of publick Scandal) provident that too much facility of pardoning might not be ſhewed. *He that caſteth off his lawful Wife* (ſaith St. Baſil) *and doth take another, is adjudged an Adulterer by the Verdict of our Lord himſelf; and by our Fathers it is canonically ordained, that ſuch for the ſpace of a year ſhall mourn, for two years ſpace bear, three years be proſtrate, the ſeventh year aſſemble with the faithful in prayer, and after that be admitted to communicate, if with tears they bewail their fault.* Basil. Ep. ad Amphi. c. 26.

Of them which had fallen from their Faith in the time of the Emperor Licinius, and were not thereunto forced by any extreme uſage, the Nicene Synod under Conſtantine ordained, *That earneſtly repenting, they ſhould continue three years Hearers, ſeven years be proſtrate, and two years communicate with the People in prayer, before they came to receive the Oblation.* Which rigour ſometimes they tempered nevertheleſs with lenity, the ſelf-ſame Synod having likewiſe defined, * *That whatſoever the cauſe were, any Man deſirous at the time of departure out of this life to receive the Euchariſt, might (with examination and trial) have it granted him by the Biſhop.* Yea, beſides this caſe of ſpecial commiſeration, there is a Canon more large, which giveth always liberty to abridge, or extend out the time, as the Party's meek or ſturdy diſpoſition ſhould require. Concil. Nicen. can. 11.

* Καθόλου δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν τινὸς ἐξοδεύοντος αἰτουμένων μετέχειν Εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τὴν προσφοράς. Can. 13. μετὰ δοκιμασίας, id eſt, manifeſtis indiciis deprehenſa peccatoris ſeria converſione ad Deum. Can. 12.

BOOK VI. By means of which Diſcipline the Church having power to hold them many years in ſuſpence, there was bred in the minds of the Penitents, through long and daily practice of Submiſſion, a contrary habit unto that which before had been their ruin, and forever afterwards warineſs not to fall into thoſe ſnares out of which they knew they could not eaſily wind themſelves. Notwithſtanding, becauſe there was likewiſe hope and poſſibility of ſhortening the time, this made them in all the Parts and Offices of their Repentance the more fervent. In the firſt ſtation, while they only beheld others paſſing towards the Temple of God, whereunto for themſelves to approach it was not lawful, they ſtood as miſerable forlorn Men, the very patterns of perplexity and woe. In the ſecond, when they had the favour to wait at the doors of God, where the ſound of his comfortable Word might be heard, none received it with attention like to theirs: thirdly, being taken and admitted to the next degree of Proſtrates at the feet, yet behind the back of that Angel repreſenting God, whom the reſt ſaw face to face, their tears, and entreaties both of Paſtor and People were ſuch as no Man could reſiſt. After the fourth ſtep, which gave them liberty to hear and pray with the reſt of the People, being ſo near the haven, no diligence was then ſlacked which might haſten Admiſſion to the heavenly Table of Chriſt, their laſt deſire. It is not therefore a thing to be marvelled at, though St. Cyprian took it in very ill part, when both Backſliders from the Faith and ſacred Religion of Chriſt laboured by ſiniſter practice to procure from impriſoned Saints thoſe requeſts for preſent Abſolution which the Church could neither yield unto with ſafety of Diſcipline nor in honour of Martyrdom eaſily deny. For, what would thereby enſue they needed not to conjecture, when they ſaw how every Man which came ſo commended to the Church by Letters thought that now he needed not

to

to crave, but might challenge of duty his Peace; taking the matter very highly, if but any little forbearance or ſmall delay was uſed. *He which is overthrown* (ſaith Cyprian) *menaceth them that ſtand, the wounded, them that were never touched:* and becauſe preſently he hath not the body of our Lord in his foul imbrued hands, nor the blood within his polluted lips, the miſcreant fumeth at God's Prieſts; ſuch is thy madneſs, O thou furious Man, thou art angry with him which laboureth to turn away God's anger from thee; him thou threateneſt, which ſueth unto God for grace and mercy on thy behalf.* Exod. xii. 31. Jer. vii. 15. Exek. xiv. 14.

Touching Martyrs he anſwereth, *That it ought not in this caſe to ſeem offenſive, though they were denied, ſeeing God himſelf did refuſe to yield to the piety of his own righteous Saints, making ſuit for obdurate Jews.*

As for the Parties, in whoſe behalf ſuch ſhifts were uſed; to have their deſire was, in very truth, the way to make them the more guilty: ſuch Peace granted contrary to the rigour of the Goſpel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, doth but under colour of merciful relaxation deceive Sinners, and by ſoft handling deſtroy them, a grace dangerous for the giver; and to him which receiveth it nothing at all valuable. The patient expectation that bringeth health is, by this means, not regarded; recovery of ſoundneſs not ſought for by the only Medicine available, which is Satisfaction; Penitency thrown out of Men's hearts; the remembrance of that heavieſt and laſt Judgment clean baniſhed; the wounds of dying Men, which ſhould be healed, are covered; the ſtroke of Death, which hath gone as deep as any bowels are to receive it, is overcaſt with the ſlight ſhew of a cloudy look. From the Altar of Satan to the holy Table of the

* Jacens ſtantibus, et integris vulneratus, minatur.

BOOK VI. Lord, Men are not afraid to come, even belching in a manner the ſacrificed morſels they have eaten; yea, their jaws yet breathing out the irkſome ſavour of their former contagious wickedneſs, they ſeize upon the bleſſed Body of our Lord, nothing terrified with that dreadful Commination, which ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt.* They vainly think it to be Peace, which is gotten before they be purged of their faults, before their Crime be ſolemnly confeſt, before their Conſcience be cleared by the ſacrifice and impoſition of the Prieſt's hands, and before they have pacified the indignation of God. Why term they that a Favour, which is an Injury? Wherefore cloke they Impiety with the name of charitable Indulgence? Such facility giveth not, but rather taketh away Peace; and is itſelf another freſh Perſecution or Trial, whereby that fraudulent Enemy maketh a ſecret havock of ſuch as before he had overthrown; and now, to the end that he may clean ſwallow them, he caſteth Sorrow into a dead ſleep, putteth Grief to ſilence, wipeth away the memory of Faults newly done, ſmothereth the ſighs that ſhould riſe from a contrite Spirit, dryeth up Eyes which ought to ſend forth Rivers of Tears, and permitteth not God to be pacified with full Repentance, whom heinous and enormous Crimes have diſpleaſed.

1 Cor. xi. 27.

The end of Satisfaction.

By this then we ſee, that in St. Cyprian's judgment, all Abſolutions are void, fruſtrate, and of no effect, without ſufficient Repentance firſt ſhewed; whereas contrariwiſe, if true and full ſatisfaction have gone before, the ſentence of Man here given is ratified of God in Heaven, according to our Saviour's own ſacred Teſtimony, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted.*

By what works in the Virtue, and by what in the Diſcipline of Repentance we are ſaid to ſatisfy either God or Men, cannot now be thought obſcure. As for

for the Inventors of ſacramental Satisfaction, they have both altered the natural order heretofore kept in the Church, by bringing in a ſtrange prepoſterous courſe to abſolve before Satisfaction be made, and moreover by this their miſordered practice are grown into ſundry errors concerning the end whereunto it is referred.

They imagine, beyond all conceit of Antiquity, that when God doth remit Sin and the Puniſhment eternal thereunto belonging, he reſerveth the Torments of Hell-fire to be nevertheleſs endured for a time, either ſhorter or longer, according to the quality of Men's crimes. Yet ſo, that there is between God and Man, a certain Compoſition (as it were) or Contract, by virtue whereof Works aſſigned by the Prieſts to be done after Abſolution, ſhall ſatisfy God as touching the Puniſhment, which he otherwiſe would inflict for Sin pardoned and forgiven.

The way of ſatisfying by others.

Now, becauſe they cannot aſſure any Man, that if he performeth what the Prieſt appointeth it ſhall ſuffice; this (I ſay) becauſe they cannot do, inaſmuch as the Prieſt hath no power to determine or define of equivalency between Sins and Satisfactions; and yet if a Penitent depart this life, the debt of Satisfaction being either in whole or in part undiſcharged, they ſtedfaſtly hold that the Soul muſt remain in unſpeakable Torment till all be paid: therefore, for help and mitigation in this caſe, they adviſe Men to ſet certain Copeſmates on work, whoſe Prayers and Sacrifices may ſatisfy God for ſuch Souls as depart in debt. Hence have ariſen the infinite Penſions of their Prieſts, the building of ſo many Altars and Tombs, the enriching of ſo many Churches with ſo many glorious and coſtly gifts, the bequeathing of lands and ample poſſeſſions to Religious Companies, even with utter forgetfulneſs of Friends, Parents, Wife and Children, all natural Affection giving place unto that Deſire which Men, doubtful of their own Eſtate, have to deliver their Souls from Torment after death.

BOOK VI. Yet, behold even this being done, how far forth it ſhall avail they are not ſure; and therefore the laſt upſhot unto their former Inventions is, that as every Action of Chriſt did both merit for himſelf, and ſatisfy partly for the eternal, and partly for the temporal Puniſhment due unto Men for Sin; ſo his Saints have obtained the like Privilege of Grace, making every good work they do, not only meritorious in their own behalf, but ſatisfactory too for the benefit of others. Or if, having at any time grievouſly ſinned, they do more to ſatisfy God than he in juſtice can expect or look for at their hands; the ſurpluſage runneth to a common ſtock, out of which treaſury containing whatſoever Chriſt did by way of Satisfaction for temporal Puniſhment, together with the ſatisfactory force which reſideth in all the virtuous Works of Saints, and in their Satisfactions whatſoever doth abound, (I ſay) *From hence they hold God ſatisfied for ſuch Arrearages as Men behind in accompt diſcharge not by other means; and for diſpoſition hereof, as it is their Doctrine that Chriſt remitteth not eternal Death without the Prieſt's Abſolution, ſo without the Grant of the Pope they cannot but teach it alike unpoſſible that Souls in Hell ſhould receive any temporal Releaſe of pain. The Sacrament of Pardon from him being to this effect no leſs neceſſary, than the Prieſt's Abſolution to the other.* So that by this Poſtern-gate cometh in the whole mark of Papal Indulgences, a Gain uneſtimable to him, to others a Spoil; a ſcorn both to God and Man. So many Works of Satisfaction pretended to be done by Chriſt, by Saints, and Martyrs; ſo many virtuous Acts poſſeſſed with ſatisfactory Force and Virtue; ſo many ſupererogations in ſatisfying beyond the exigence of their own neceſſity; and this that the Pope might make a Monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at leaſt to the gain of thoſe which are his own. Such facility they have to convert a pretended Sacrament into a Revenue.

Of

Of Abſolution of Penitents.

SIN is not helped but by being aſſecured of Pardon. It reſteth therefore to be conſidered what warrant we have concerning Forgiveneſs when the ſentence of Man abſolveth us from ſin committed againſt God. At the words of our Saviour, ſaying to the ſick of the palſy, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, exception was taken by the Scribes, who ſecretly reaſoned againſt him, *Is any able to forgive ſins but only God?* Whereupon they condemn his ſpeech as Blaſphemy; the reſt which believed him to be a Prophet ſent from God, ſaw no cauſe wherefore he might not as lawfully ſay, and as truly, to whomſoever amongſt them, *God hath taken away thy ſins*, as Nathan (they all knew) had uſed the very like ſpeech; to whom David did not therefore impute Blaſphemy, but embraced, as became him, the words of Truth with joy and reverence. BOOK VI. Mat. ix. 2. Mark ii. 7. Luke v. 21.

Now there is no controverſion, but as God in that ſpecial caſe did authorize Nathan, ſo Chriſt more generally his Apoſtles and the Miniſters of his word in his name to abſolve Sinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only in this, that whereas the one had prophetical evidence, the other have the certainty partly of Faith, and partly of human experience, whereupon to ground their ſentence; Faith, to aſſure them of God's moſt gracious Pardon in Heaven unto all Penitents, and touching the ſincerity of each particular Party's Repentance as much, as outward ſenſible tokens or ſigns can warrant.

It is not to be marvelled that ſo great a difference appeareth between the doctrine of Rome and ours when we teach Repentance. They imply in the name of Repentance much more than we do. We ſtand chiefly upon the due inward Converſion of the heart; they more upon works of external ſhew. We

BOOK VI. teach, above all things, that Repentance which is one and the ſame from the beginning to the world's end; they a ſacramental Penance, of their own deviſing and ſhaping. We labour to inſtruct Men in ſuch ſort, that every Soul which is wounded with ſin may learn the way how to cure itſelf; they clean contrary would make all ſores ſeem incurable, unleſs the Prieſts have a hand in them.

Touching the force of whoſe Abſolution they ſtrangely hold, * that whatſoever the Penitent doth, his Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction have no place of right to ſtand as material parts in this Sacrament, nor conſequently any ſuch force as to make them available for the taking away of ſin, in that they proceed from the Penitent himſelf without the privity of the Miniſter, but only as they are enjoined by the Miniſter's authority and power. So that no Contrition or Grief of heart till the Prieſt exact it; no Acknowledgment of ſins, but that which he doth demand; no Praying, no Faſting, no Alms, no Repentance or Reſtitution for whatſoever we have done can help, except by him it be firſt impoſed. It is the chain of their own doctrine, no remedy for mortal ſin committed after Baptiſm but the Sacrament of Penance only; no Sacrament of Penance, if either matter or form be wanting; no ways to make thoſe duties a material part of the Sacrament, unleſs we conſider them as required and exacted by the Prieſt. † Our Lord and Saviour, they ſay, hath ordained his Prieſts judges in ſuch ſort, that no Man which ſinneth after Baptiſm can be reconciled unto God but by their ſentence. For why? ‡ If

* Ipſius pœnitentis actio non eſt pars Sacramenti, niſi quatenus potestati ſacerdotali ſubjicitur, et a Sacerdote dirigitur vel jubetur. Bell. de Pœn. lib. i. cap. 16.

† Chriſtus inſtituit Sacerdotes judices ſuper terram cum ea poteſtate, ut ſine ipſorum ſententia, nemo poſt Baptiſmum lapſus reconciliari poſſit. Bell. l. iii. c. 1. de Pœnit.

‡ Quod ſi poſſent ii ſine Sacerdotum ſententia abſolvi, non eſſet vera Chriſti promiſſio, Quæcunque, &c. Bellarm. ibid.

there

there were any other way of Reconciliation, the very promiſe of Chriſt ſhould be falſe in ſaying, *Whatſoever ye bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whoſe ſins ſoever ye retain, are retained.* Except therefore the Prieſt be willing, God hath by promiſe hampered himſelf ſo, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any Man. Let him who hath offended crave as the Publican did, *Lord be thou merciful unto me a Sinner*; let him, as David, make a thouſand times his ſupplication, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindneſs; according to the multitude of thy compaſſions, put away mine Iniquities*; all this doth not help till ſuch time as the pleaſure of the Prieſt be known, till he have ſigned us a Pardon, and given us our *quietus eſt*. God himſelf hath no anſwer to make but ſuch as that of the Angel unto Lot—I can do nothing.

It is true, that our Saviour by theſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted*, did ordain Judges over our ſinful Souls, gave them authority to abſolve from ſin, and promiſe to ratify in Heaven whatſoever they ſhould do on Earth in execution of this their office; to the end that hereby, as well his Miniſters might take encouragement to do their duty with all faithfulneſs, as alſo his People admonition, gladly with all reverence to be ordered by them; both parts knowing that the functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual aſſiſtance and approbation. Howbeit all this with two reſtraints, which every Juriſdiction in the World hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend itſelf beyond due bounds; which bounds or limits have ſo confined penitential Juriſdiction, that although there be given unto it power of remitting ſin, yet no ſuch Sovereignty of power that no ſin ſhould be pardonable in Man without it.* Thus to enforce our Saviour's words, is

* Chriſtus ordinariam ſuam poteſtatem in Apoſtolos tranſtulit; extraordinariam ſibi reſervavit.

as

BOOK VI. as though we ſhould gather, that becauſe whatſoever Joſeph did command in the land of Egypt, Pharaoh's grant is it ſhould be done; therefore he granteth that nothing ſhould be done in the land of Egypt but what Joſeph did command, and ſo conſequently, by enabling his Servant Joſeph to command under him, diſableth himſelf to command any thing without Joſeph.

But by this we ſee how the Papacy maketh all ſin unpardonable which hath not the Prieſt's Abſolution; except peradventure in ſome extraordinary caſe, where albeit Abſolution be not had, yet it muſt be deſired.*

What is then the force of Abſolution? What is it which the act of Abſolution worketh in a ſinful Man? Doth it by any operation derived from itſelf alter the ſtate of the Soul? Doth it really take away ſin, or but aſcertain us of God's moſt gracious and merciful Pardon? The latter of which two is our aſſertion, the former theirs.

At the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus
Mat. ix. 2. Chriſt, ſaying unto the ſick of the palſy, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, the Phariſees, which knew him not to be *Son of the living God*, took ſecret exception, and fell to reaſoning with themſelves againſt him;
Mark ii. 7. *Is any able to forgive ſin but God only? The ſins* (ſaith
Luke v. 21. St. Cyprian) *that are committed againſt him, he alone*
Cypr. de Lapſ. c. 4. *hath power to forgive, which took upon him our ſins, he which ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he whom the Father delivered unto death for our offences.* Whereunto may be added, that which Clemens Alexandrinus hath,†

* Ordinaria enim remedia in Eccleſia ad remittenda peccata ſunt ab eo inſtituta, Sacramenta: ſine quibus peccata remittere Chriſtus poteſt, ſed extraordinarie et multo rarius hoc facit, quam per Sacramenta. Noluit igitur eos extraordinariis remiſſionis peccatorum confidere, quæ et rara ſunt et incerta: ſed ordinaria, ut ita dicam, viſibilia Sacramentorum quærere remedia. Maldon. in Matt. xvi. 19.

† Clem. Alex. Paedag. l. i. Παύλα ὀνίνησιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντα ὠφελεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὡς Θεὸς. Τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα ὡς Θεὸς ἀφιεὶς, εἰς ὃ τὸ μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν παιδαγωγῶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

Our

Our Lord is profitable every way, every way beneficial, whether we respect him as Man, or as God; as God forgiving, as Man instructing and learning how to avoid sin. For it is I, even I that putteth away thine iniquities for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins, saith the Lord. Esa. xliii. 25.

Now, albeit we willingly confess with St. Cyprian, * *The sins which are committed against him, he only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our sins, he which hath sorrowed and suffered for us, he, whom God hath given for our offences.* Yet neither did St. Cyprian intend to deny the power of the Minister otherwise than if he presume beyond his Commission to remit sin, where God's own will is it should be retained; for, against such Absolutions he speaketh (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, are of no validity); and, if rightly it be considered how higher causes in operation use to concur with inferior means, his Grace with our Ministry, God really performing the same which Man is authorized to act as in his name, there shall need for decision of this point no great labour.

To Remission of sins there are two things necessary; Grace, as the only cause which taketh away iniquity, and Repentance, as a duty or condition required in us. To make Repentance such as it should be, what doth God demand but inward sincerity joined with fit and convenient offices for that purpose? the one referred wholly to our own Consciences, the other best discerned by them whom God hath appointed Judges in this court. So that having first the promises of God for Pardon generally unto all Offenders penitent; and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the unfallible testimony of a good Conscience, the sentence of God's appointed Victor. de persecut. Vand.

* Veniam peccatis quæ in ipsum commissa sunt solus potest ille largiri, qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris.

Officer

BOOK VI. Officer and Vicegerent to approve with unpartial judgment the quality of that we have done, and as from his Tribunal in that reſpect, to aſſoil us of any Crime; I ſee no cauſe but by the rules of our Faith and Religion we may reſt ourſelves very well aſſured touching God's moſt merciful Pardon and Grace; who, eſpecially for the ſtrengthening of weak, timorous and fearful minds, hath ſo far endued his Church with power to abſolve Sinners. It pleaſeth God that Men ſometimes ſhould, by miſſing this help, perceive how much they ſtand bound to him for ſo precious a Benefit enjoyed. And ſurely, ſo long as the world lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, ſo dear were his Miniſters to the People, chiefly in this reſpect, that being through tyranny and perſecution deprived of Paſtors, the doleful rehearſal of their loſt felicities hath not any thing more eminent, than that Sinners diſtreſſed ſhould not know how or where to unload their burthens. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who ſo much every where extol the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt in leaving unto his Church this heavenly and divine power, ſhould as Men, whoſe ſimplicity had univerſally been abuſed, agree all to admire and magnify a needleſs office.

The Sentence therefore of miniſterial Abſolution hath two effects: touching ſin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltineſs thereof, and reſtored into God's favour; but concerning right in ſacred and divine Myſteries, whereof through ſin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from acceſs unto them, ſo upon our apparent Repentance it truly reſtoreth our liberty, looſeth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatſoever is paſt, and accepteth us no leſs returned than if we never had gone aſtray.

For, inaſmuch as the power which our Saviour gave to his Church, is of two kinds; the one to be exerciſed over voluntary Penitents only, the other

over

over such as are to be brought to amendment by ec- BOOK VI.
clesiastical Censures, the words wherein he hath given this authority must be so understood, as the subject or matter whereupon it worketh will permit. It doth not permit that in the former kind (that is to say, in the use of power over voluntary Converts), to bind or loose, remit or retain, should signify any other than only to pronounce of Sinners according to that which may be gathered by outward signs; because really to effect the removal or continuance of sin in the Soul of any Offender is no priestly act, but a work which far exceedeth their ability. Contrariwise, in the latter kind of spiritual Jurisdiction, which by Censures constraineth Men to amend their lives; it is true, that the Minister of God doth then more declare and signify what God hath wrought. And this power, true it is, that the Church hath invested in it.

Howbeit, as other truths, so this hath by error been oppugned and depraved through abuse. The first of name that openly in writing withstood the Church's authority and power to remit sin, was Tertullian, after he had combined himself with Montanists, drawn to the liking of their Heresy through the very fourness of his own Nature, which neither his incredible skill and knowledge otherwise, nor the doctrine of the Gospel itself, could but so much alter, as to make him favour any thing which carried with it the taste of lenity. A Spunge steeped in wormwood and gall, a Man through too much severity mercileſs, and neither able to endure nor to be endured of any. His Book entituled concerning Chastity, and written professedly against the discipline of the Church, hath many fretful and angry sentences, declaring a mind very much offended with such as would not persuade themselves, that of sins, some be pardonable by the keys of the Church, some uncapable of forgiveness; that middle and moderate offences having received chastisement, may by spiritual

BOOK VI. ritual authority afterwards be remitted: but, greater transgressions must (as touching Indulgence) be left to the only pleasure of Almighty God in the world to come: that as Idolatry and Bloodshed, so likewise Fornication and sinful Lust, are of this nature; that they, which so far have fallen from God, ought to continue for ever after barred from access unto his Sanctuary, condemned to perpetual profusion of tears, deprived of all expectation and hope to receive any thing at the Church's hands, but publication of their shame. *For* (saith he) *who will fear to waste out that which he hopeth he may recover? Who will be careful for ever to hold that, which he knoweth cannot for ever be withheld from him? He which slackeneth the bridle to sin, doth thereby give it even the spur also.** Take away fear, and that which presently succeedeth instead thereof is licentious desire. Greater offences therefore are punishable, but not pardonable by the Church. If any Prophet or Apostle be found to have remitted such transgressions, they did it not by the ordinary course of Discipline, but by extraordinary Power. For they all raised the dead, which none but God is able to do; they restored the impotent and lame Man, a work peculiar to Jesus Christ; yea, that which Christ would not do, because executions of such severity beseemed not him who came to save and redeem the world by his sufferings, they by their power struck Elymas and Ananias, the one blind, and the other dead. Approve first yourselves to be, as they were, Apostles or Prophets, and then take upon you to pardon all Men. But, if the Authority you have be only ministerial and no way sovereign, over-reach not the limits which God hath set you; know that to pardon capital sin, is beyond your commission.

Howbeit, as oftentimes the vices of wicked Men do cause other their commendable qualities to be

* Securitas delicti, etiam libido est ejus.

abhorred,

abhorred, so the honour of great Men's virtues is easily a cloke of their errors. In which respect, Tertullian hath passed with much less obloquy and reprehension than Novatian; who, broaching afterwards the same opinion, had not otherwise wherewith to countervail the offence he gave, and to procure it the like toleration. Novatian, at the first a Stoical Philosopher (which kind of Men hath always accounted Stupidity the highest top of Wisdom, and Commiseration the deadliest sin), became by institution and study the very same which the other had been before through a secret natural distemper, upon his Conversion to the Christian Faith and recovery from sickness, which moved him to receive the Sacrament of Baptism in his bed. The Bishops, contrary to the canons of the Church, would needs, in special love towards him, ordain him Presbyter, which favour satisfied not him who thought himself worthy of greater place and dignity. He closed therefore with a number of well-minded Men, and not suspicious what his secret purposes were, and having made them sure unto him by fraud, procureth his own Consecration to be their Bishop. His Prelacy now was able, as he thought, to countenance what he intended to publish, and therefore his letters went presently abroad to sundry Churches, advising them never to admit to the fellowship of holy Mysteries, such as had after Baptism offered sacrifice to Idols.

Concil. Neocæsar. c. 12.

There was present at the Council of Nice, together with other Bishops, one Acesius a Novatianist, touching whose diversity in opinion from the Church, the Emperor desirous to hear some reason, asked of him certain questions: for answer whereunto, Acesius weaveth out a long history of things that happened in the Persecution under Decius; and of Men, which, to save Life, forsook Faith. But in the end was a certain bitter canon, framed in their own School. *That Men which fall into deadly sin after holy Baptism, ought*

Socrat. lib. iv. c. 23. Concil. Nicen. c. 30. Socrat. lib. i. c. 7.

BOOK VI. *ought never to be again admitted to the communion of divine Myſteries: that they are to be exhorted unto Repentance; howbeit not to be put in hope that Pardon can be had at the Prieſt's hands, but with God, which hath ſovereign power and authority in himſelf to remit ſin, it may be in the end they ſhall find Mercy.* Theſe Followers of Novatian, which gave themſelves the title of καθαροὶ, clean, pure, and unſpotted Men, had one point of Montaniſm more than their Maſter did profeſs; for amongſt ſins unpardonable they reckoned ſecond Marriages, of which opinion Tertullian making (as his uſual manner was) a ſalt Apology, *Such is* (ſaith he) *our ſtony hardneſs, that defaming our Comforter with a kind of enormity in Diſcipline, we dam up the doors of the Church, no leſs againſt twice-married Men, than againſt Adulterers and Fornicators.* Of this ſort therefore it was ordained by the Nicene Synod, that if any ſuch did return to the catholick and apoſtolick Unity, they ſhould in writing bind themſelves to obſerve the orders of the Church, and communicate as well with them which had been often married or had fallen in time of Perſecution, as with other ſort of chriſtian People. But further to relate, or at all to refel the error of miſbelieving Men concerning this point, is not now to our preſent purpoſe greatly neceſſary.

The Church may receive no ſmall detriment by corrupt practice, even there where doctrine concerning the ſubſtance of things practiſed is free from any great or dangerous corruption. If therefore that which the Papacy doth in matter of Confeſſions and Abſolution be offenſive, if it palpably * ſerve in the uſe of the Keys, howſoever, that which it teacheth in general concerning the Church's power to retain and forgive ſins be admitted true, have they not on the one ſide as much whereat to be abaſhed, as on the other wherein to rejoice?

They bind all Men upon pain of everlaſting condemnation and death to make Confeſſions to their

* Swerve. — Ita legit Cl. P.

ghoſtly

ghoſtly Fathers of every great offence they know, and can remember, that they have committed againſt God. Hath Chriſt in his Goſpel ſo delivered the doctrine of Repentance unto the world? Did his Apoſtles ſo preach it to nations? Have the Fathers ſo believed, or ſo taught? Surely Novatian was not ſo mercileſs in depriving the Church of power to abſolve ſome certain Offenders, as they in impoſing upon all a neceſſity thus to confeſs. Novatian would not deny but God might remit that which the Church could not, whereas in the Papacy it is maintained, that what we conceal from Men, God himſelf ſhall never pardon. By which overſight, as they have here ſurcharged the world with multitude, but much abated the weight of Confeſſions, ſo the careleſs manner of their Abſolution hath made Diſcipline, for the moſt part, amongſt them a bare Formality: yea, rather a means of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life, than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy preſent evils in the Soul of Man. The Fathers were ſlow and always fearful to abſolve any before very manifeſt tokens given of a true penitent, and contrite Spirit. It was not their cuſtom to remit ſin firſt, and then to impoſe works of ſatisfaction, as the faſhion of Rome is now; inſomuch that this their prepoſterous courſe, and miſ-ordered practices hath bred alſo in them an error concerning the end and purpoſe of theſe works. For againſt the guiltineſs of ſin, and the danger of everlaſting condemnation thereby incurred, Confeſſion and Abſolution ſucceeding the ſame, are, as they take it, a remedy ſufficient: and therefore what their Penitentiaries do think good to enjoin farther, whether it be a number of Ave-Maries daily to be ſcored up, a Journey of Pilgrimage to be undertaken, ſome few diſhes of ordinary Diet to be exchanged, Offerings to be made at the Shrines of Saints, or a little to be ſcraped off from Men's ſuperfluities for relief of poor People, BOOK VI.

BOOK VI. all is in lieu or exchange with God, whoſe Juſtice, notwithſtanding our Pardon, yet oweth us ſtill ſome temporal Puniſhment, either in this or in the life to come, except we quit it ourſelves here with works of the former kind, and continued till the balance of God's moſt ſtrict ſeverity ſhall find the Pains we have taken equivalent with the Plagues which we ſhould endure, or elſe the mercy of the Pope relieve us. And at this poſtern-gate cometh in the whole Mart of Papal Indulgences ſo infinitely ſtrewed, that the Pardon of ſin, which heretofore was obtained hardly and by much ſuit, is with them become now almoſt impoſſible to be eſcaped.

To ſet down then the force of this ſentence in abſolving Penitents; * there are in ſin theſe three things: the Act which paſſeth away and vaniſheth: the Pollution wherewith it leaveth the Soul defiled: and the Puniſhment whereunto they are made ſubject that have committed it. The Act of ſin is every Deed, Word, and Thought againſt the law of God. *For Sin is the Tranſgreſſion of the Law*; and although the Deed itſelf do not continue, yet is that bad quality permanent, whereby it maketh the Soul unrighteous and deformed in God's ſight. *From the Heart come evil Cogitations, Murthers, Adulteries, Fornications, Thefts, falſe Teſtimonies, Slanders; theſe are things which defile a Man.* They do not only, as Effects of impurity, argue the neſt to be unclean out of which they came, but as Cauſes they ſtrengthen that diſpoſition unto wickedneſs which brought them forth; they are both Fruits and Seeds of Uncleanneſs, they nouriſh the root out of which they grow; they breed that Iniquity which bred them. The Blot therefore of ſin abideth, though the Act be tranſitory. And out of both ariſeth a preſent debt, to endure what puniſhment ſoever the evil which we

1 John iii. 4.

Matth. xv. 19.

* In peccato tria ſunt; actio mala, interior macula, et ſequela. Bon. ſent. lib. iv. d. 17. q. 3.

have

have done deſerveth; an Obligation, in the chains whereof Sinners, by the Juſtice of Almighty God, continue bound till Repentance looſe them. *Repent this thy Wickedneſs* (ſaith Peter unto Simon Magus), beſeech *God, that if it be poſſible the Thought of thine Heart may be pardoned; for I ſee thou art in the gall of Bitterneſs, and in the bond of Iniquity.* In like manner Solomon: *The wicked ſhall be held faſt in the cords of his own ſin.* BOOK VI. Acts viii. 22, 23. Prov. v. 22.

Nor doth God only bind Sinners hand and foot by the dreadful determination of his own unſearchable Judgment againſt them; but ſometimes alſo the * Church bindeth by the Cenſures of her Diſcipline. So that when Offenders upon their Repentance are by the ſame Diſcipline abſolved, the Church looſeth but her own bonds, the chains wherein ſhe had tied them before.

The Act of ſin God alone remitteth, in that his purpoſe is never to call it to account, *or to lay it unto Men's charge; the ſtain he waſheth out by the ſanctifying Grace of his Spirit*; and concerning the Puniſhment of ſin, as none elſe hath power to caſt Body and Soul into hell fire, ſo none have power to deliver either beſides him. Acts vii. 60. Mic. vii. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 5. Luke xii. 5. Matt. x. 28.

As for the miniſterial ſentence of private Abſolution, it can be no more than a Declaration what God hath done; it hath but the force of the Prophet Nathan's Abſolution, *God hath taken away thy ſin*: than which conſtruction, eſpecially of words judicial, there is not any thing more vulgar. For example, the Publicans are ſaid in the Goſpel to have juſtified God; the Jews in Malachi to have bleſſed proud Men, which ſin and proſper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy: 2 Sam. xii. 13. Luke vii. 17. Mal. iii. 15.

* Sacerdotes opus Juſtitiæ exercent in peccatores cum eos juſta pœna ligant; opus miſericordiæ cum de ea aliquod relaxant, vel Sacramentorum communioni conciliant; alia opera in peccatores exercere nequeunt. Sent. lib. iv. diſ. 18.

BOOK VI. but to bleſs, to juſtify, and to abſolve, are as commonly uſed for words of Judgment, or Declaration, as of true and real Efficacy; yea even by the opinion of the Maſter of Sentences. It may be ſoundly affirmed and thought that God alone doth remit and retain ſins, although he have given power to the Church to do both; but he one way, and the Church another. He only by himſelf forgiveth ſin, who cleanſeth the Soul from inward blemiſh, and looſeth the Debt of eternal death. So great a privilege he hath not given unto his Prieſts, who notwithſtanding are authorized to looſe and bind, that is to ſay, declare who are bound, and who are looſed. For albeit a Man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the Church of God ſo taken, but by the virtue of the Prieſt's ſentence; who likewiſe may be ſaid to bind by impoſing Satisfaction, and to looſe by admitting to the holy Communion.

Sent. l. iv. dif. 18.

Saint Hierom alſo, whom the Maſter of the Sentences alledgeth for more countenance of his own opinion, doth no leſs plainly and directly affirm; *That as the Prieſts of the Law could only diſcern, and neither cauſe nor remove Leproſies; ſo the Miniſters of the Goſpel, when they retain or remit Sin, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear or free.* For there is nothing more apparent, than that the diſcipline of Repentance, both publick and private, was ordained as an outward mean to bring Men to the virtue of inward Converſion: ſo that when this by manifeſt tokens did ſeem effected, Abſolution enſuing (which could not make) ſerved only to declare Men innocent.

Hier. tom. 6. Com. in 16. Matt.

But the cauſe wherefore they are ſo ſtiff, and have forſaken their own Maſter in this point, is, for that they hold the private diſcipline of Penitency to be a Sacrament; Abſolution an external Sign in this Sacrament; the Signs external of all Sacraments in the New Teſtament, to be both Cauſes of that which they ſignify, and Signs of that which they truly cauſe.

To

To this opinion concerning Sacraments they are now tied, by expounding a Canon in the Florentine Council according to the former eccleſiaſtical invention received from Thomas. For his deceit it was, that the Mercy of God, which uſeth Sacraments as Inſtruments whereby to work, endueth them at the time of their adminiſtration with ſupernatural force and ability to induce Grace into the Souls of Men; even as the Axe and Saw doth ſeem to bring Timber into that faſhion which the mind of the Artificer intendeth. His conceit, Scotus, Occam, Petrus Alliacenſis, with ſundry others, do moſt earneſtly and ſtrongly impugn, ſhewing very good reaſon wherefore no Sacrament of the new law can either by virtue which itſelf hath, or by force ſupernatural given it, be properly a cauſe to work Grace; but Sacraments are therefore ſaid to work or confer Grace, becauſe the will of Almighty God is, although not to give them ſuch efficacy, yet himſelf to be preſent in the Miniſtry of the working that effect, which proceedeth wholly from him, without any real Operation of theirs, ſuch as can enter into Men's ſouls.

Scot. Sent. lib. iv. Solut ad 4. Quæſt. et quintam. Occam. in 1. qu. quant. Alliac. Queſt. 1. in 4. ſent.

In which conſtruction, ſeeing that our books and writings have made it known to the world how we join with them, it ſeemeth very hard and injurious dealing, that Bellarmine throughout the whole courſe of his ſecond book * *De Sacramentis in genere*, ſhould

* Lutherani de hac re interdum ita ſcribunt, ut videantur à Catholicis non diſſentire; interdum autem apertiſſime ſcribunt contraria: at ſemper in eadem ſententia manent, Sacramenta non habere immediate illam efficientiam reſpectu gratiæ, ſed eſſe nuda ſigna, tamen mediate aliquid efficere quatenus excitant et alunt fidem, quod ipſum non faciunt niſi repræſentando, ut Sacramenta per viſum excitent fidem, quemadmodum prædicatio verbi per auditum. Bellarm. de Sacr. in genere, lib. ii. c. 2.

Quædam ſigna ſunt theorica, non ad alium finem inſtituta, quam ad ſignificandum; alia ad ſignificandum et efficiendum, quæ ob id practica dici poſſunt. Controverſia eſt inter nos et hæreticos, quod illi faciunt Sacramenta ſigna prioris generis.

BOOK VI. ſo boldly face down his Adverſaries, as if their opinion were, that Sacraments are naked, empty, and ineffectual Signs; wherein there is no other force than only ſuch, as in pictures to ſtir up the mind, that ſo by Theory and Speculation of things repreſented, Faith may grow. Finally, that all the Operations which Sacraments have, is a ſenſible and divine Inſtruction. But had it pleaſed him not to hood-wink his own knowledge, I nothing doubt but he fully ſaw how to anſwer himſelf; it being a matter very ſtrange and incredible, that one which with ſo great diligence hath winnowed * his Adverſaries' writings, ſhould be ignorant of their minds. For, even as in the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, both God and Man, when his human Nature is by itſelf conſidered, we may not attribute that unto him, which we do and muſt aſcribe as oft as reſpect is had unto both Natures combined; ſo becauſe in Sacraments there are two things diſtinctly to be conſidered, the outward ſign, and the ſecret concurrence of God's moſt bleſſed Spirit, in which reſpect our Saviour hath taught that Water and the Holy Ghoſt are combined to work the Myſtery of new Birth; Sacraments therefore, as Signs, have only thoſe effects before mentioned; but of Sacraments, in that by God's own will and ordinance they are Signs aſſiſted always with the power of the Holy Ghoſt, we acknowledge whatſoever either the places of the Scripture, or the authority of Councils and Fathers, or the proofs and arguments of Reaſon which he alledgeth, can ſhew to be wrought by them. The Elements and Words have power of infallible ſignifications,

Quare ſi oſtendere poterimus eſſe ſigna poſterioris generis, obtinuimus cauſam. Cap. 8.

* Semper memoria repetendum eſt Sacramenta nihil aliud quam inſtrumentales eſſe conferendæ nobis gratiæ cauſas. Calv. in Ant. con. Frib. ſe. 7. c. 5. Si qui ſint qui negent Sacramentis contineri gratiam quam figurant, illos improbamus. Ibid. can. 6.

fications, for which they are called Seals of God's Truth; the Spirit affixed unto thoſe Elements and Words, power of operation within the Soul, moſt admirable, divine, and impoſſible to be expreſſed. For ſo God hath inſtituted and ordained that, together with due adminiſtration and receipt of ſacramental Signs, there ſhall proceed from himſelf Grace effectual to ſanctify, to cure, to comfort, and whatſoever elſe is for the good of the Souls of Men. Howbeit this opinion * Thomas rejecteth, under pretence that it maketh ſacramental Words and Elements to be in themſelves no more than Signs, whereas they ought to be held as Cauſes of that they ſignify. He therefore reformeth it with this addition, that the very ſenſible parts of the Sacraments do inſtrumentally effect and produce, not Grace (for the Schoolmen both of theſe times, and long after did, for the moſt part, maintain it untrue, and ſome of them unpoſſible, that ſanctifying Grace ſhould efficiently proceed but from God alone, and that by immediate creation, as the ſubſtance of the Soul doth), but the phantaſy which Thomas had was, that ſenſible things, through Chriſt's and the Prieſt's benediction, receive a certain ſupernatural tranſitory force which leaveth be-

* Iſte modus non tranſcendit rationem ſigni, cum Sacramenta novæ legis non ſolum ſignificent, ſed cauſent gratiam. Part. iii. q. 62. Act. i. Alexand. part. iv. q. 8. memb. 3. Act. v. Sec. 1. et 2. Th. de verit. q. 27. Act. iii. Alliac. in quart. ſent. ix. 1. Capr. in 4. d. 1. q. 1. Palud. Tom. Ferrar. lib. iv. cont. Gent. c. 57. Neceſſe eſt ponere aliquam virtutem ſupernaturalem in Sacramentis. Sent. iv. d. 1. q. 1. Act. iv. Sacramentum conſequitur ſpiritualem virtutem cum benedictione Chriſti, et applicatione Miniſtri ad uſum Sacramenti. part. iii. q. 62. Art. iv. Concil. Victus Sacramentalis habet eſſe tranſiens ex uno in aliud et incompletum. Ibidem. Ex Sacramentis duo conſequuntur in anima, unum eſt character, ſive aliquis ornatus; aliud, eſt gratia. Reſpectu primo, Sacramenta ſunt cauſæ aliquo modo efficientes; reſpectu ſecundo, ſunt diſponentes. Sacramenta cauſant diſpoſitionem ad formam ultimam, ſed ultimam perfectionem non inducunt. Sent. iv. d. 1. q. 1. Art. iv.

BOOK VI. hind it a kind of preparative quality or beauty within the Soul, whereupon immediately from God doth enſue the Grace that juſtifieth.

Now they which pretend to follow Thomas, differ from him in two points. For firſt, they make Grace an immediate effect of the outward Sign, which he for the dignity and excellency thereof was afraid to do. Secondly, whereas he, to produce but a preparative quality in the Soul, did imagine God to create in the inſtrument a ſupernatural gift or hability; they confeſs, that nothing is created, infuſed, or any way inherent either in the Word or in the Elements; nothing that giveth them inſtrumental efficacy, but God's mere motion or application.* Are they able to explain unto us, or themſelves to conceive, what they mean when they thus ſpeak? For example, let them teach us, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, what it is for Water to be moved till it bring forth Grace. The application thereof by the Miniſter is plain to ſenſe; the force which it hath in the Mind, as a moral Inſtrument of information, or inſtruction, we know by Reaſon; and by Faith, we underſtand how God doth aſſiſt it with his Spirit: whereupon enſueth the Grace which St. Cyprian did in himſelf obſerve, ſaying, *After the bath of Regeneration having ſcoured out the ſtained foulneſs of former life, ſupernatural Light had entrance into the Breaſt which was purified and cleanſed for it: after that a ſecond nativity had made another Man, by inward receipt of the Spirit from Heaven; things doubtful began in marvellous manner to appear certain, that to be open which lay hid, darkneſs to ſhine like a clear light, former hardneſs to be made facility, impoſſibility eaſineſs; inſomuch as it might be diſcerned how that was earthly, which before had been carnally bred and lived,*

Eph. ii.

* Solus Deus efficit gratiam adeo quod nec Angelis, qui ſunt nobiliores ſenſibilibus creaturis, hoc communicetur. Sent. iv. d. 1. q. 1. Art. iv.

given

given over unto Sins; that now God's own which the Holy Ghoſt did quicken. BOOK VI.

Our opinion is therefore plain unto every Man's underſtanding. We take it for a very good ſpeech which Bonaventure hath uttered in ſaying: * *Heed muſt be taken that while we aſſign too much to the bodily Signs in way of their commendation, we withdraw not the honour which is due to the Cauſe which worketh in them, and the Soul which receiveth them. Whereunto we conformably teach, that the outward ſign applied, hath of itſelf no natural efficacy towards Grace, neither doth God put into it any ſupernatural inherent Virtue.* And, as I think, we thus far avouch no more than they themſelves confeſs to be very true.

If any thing diſpleaſe them, it is becauſe we add to theſe promiſes another aſſertion; that, with the outward Sign, God joineth his Holy Spirit; and ſo the whole Inſtrument of God bringeth that to paſs, whereunto the baſer and meaner part could not extend. As for operations through the motion of Signs, they are dark, intricate and obſcure; perhaps poſſible, howbeit, not proved either true or likely, by alledging, that the touch of our Saviour's garment reſtored health, clay ſight, when he applied it. Although ten thouſand ſuch examples ſhould be brought, they overthrow not this one principle; that, where the Inſtrument is without inherent, the Effect muſt neceſſarily proceed from the only Agent's adherent power. Luke xviii. John ix.

It paſſeth a Man's conceit how Water ſhould be carried into the Soul with any force of divine Motion, or Grace proceed but merely from the influence of God's Spirit. Notwithſtanding, if God himſelf teach his Church in this caſe to believe that which he hath not given us capacity to comprehend, how incredible ſoever it may ſeem, yet our Wits ſhould Bel. de Sacra. in gen. lib. ii. c. 1.

* Cavendum enim ne dum nimis damus corporalibus ſignis ad laudem, ſubtrahamus honorem Cauſæ curanti et animæ ſuſcipienti.

ſubmit

ſubmit themſelves, and Reaſon give place unto Faith therein. But they yield it to be no queſtion of Faith, how Grace doth proceed from Sacraments; if in general they be acknowledged true inſtrumental cauſes, by the miniſtry whereof Men receive divine Grace. And that they which impute Grace to the only operation of God himſelf, concurring with the external Sign, do no leſs acknowledge the true efficacy of the Sacrament, than they that aſcribe the ſame to the quality of the Sign applied, or to the motion of God applying, and ſo far carrying it, till Grace be not created, but extracted out of the natural poſſibility of the Soul.* Nevertheleſs, this laſt philoſophical imagination (if I may call it philoſophical, which uſeth the terms but overthroweth the rules of Philoſophy, and hath no article of Faith to ſupport it; but whatſoever it be) they follow it in a manner all; they caſt off the firſt opinion, wherein is moſt perſpicuity and ſtrongeſt evidence of certain truth.

The Council of Florence and Trent defining, that Sacraments contain and confer Grace, the ſenſe whereof (if it liked them) might ſo eaſily conform itſelf with the ſame opinion which they drew without any juſt cauſe quite and clean the other way, making Grace the iſſue of bare words, in ſuch Sacraments as they have framed deſtitute of any viſible Element, and holding it the Offspring as well of Elements as of Words in thoſe Sacraments where both are; but in no Sacrament acknowledging Grace to be the fruit of the Holy Ghoſt working with the outward ſign, and not by it, in ſuch ſort as Thomas himſelf teacheth; that the Apoſtles' impoſition of hands cauſed not the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which notwithſtanding

Tho. de Verit. q. 27. Art. iii. reſp. ad 16. Acts viii. 18.

* Dicimus gratiam non creari à Deo, ſed produci ex aptitudine et potentia naturali animæ, ſicut cætera omnia quæ producuntur in ſubjectis talibus quæ ſunt apta nata ad ſuſcipiendum accidentia. Allen. de Sacr. in gen. c. 37.

ſtanding was beſtowed together with the exerciſe of that ceremony; yea, by it, (ſaith the Evangeliſt) to wit, as by a mean, which came between the true Agent and the Effect, but not otherwiſe. BOOK VI.

Many of the antient Fathers preſuppoſing that the faithful before Chriſt had not, till the time of his coming, that perfect Life and Salvation which they looked for and we poſſeſs, thought likewiſe their Sacraments to be but Prefigurations of that which ours in preſent do exhibit. For which cauſe the Florentine Council, comparing the one with the other, ſaith, *That the old did only ſhadow Grace, which was afterward to be given through the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.* But the after-wit of latter days hath found out another more exquiſite diſtinction, that evangelical Sacraments are cauſes to effect Grace, through motions of ſigns legal, according to the ſame ſignification and ſenſe wherein evangelical Sacraments are held by us to be God's Inſtruments for that purpoſe. For howſoever Bellarmine hath ſhrunk up the Lutherans' Sinews, and cut off our doctrine by the ſkirts; Allen,* although he terms us hereticks, ac-

* Quod ad circumciſionem ſequebatur remiſſio, fiebat ratione rei adjunctæ et ratione pacti divini, eodem plane modo quo non ſolum hæretici, ſed etiam aliquot vetuſtiores Scholaſtici voluerunt nova Sacramenta conferre gratiam. Allen. de Sacr. in gen. c. 59. Bonaventura, Scotus, Durandus, Ricardus, Occamus, Marcilius, Gabriel, volunt ſolum Deum producere gratiam ad præſentiam Sacramentorum. Bellarm. de Sacr. in gen. lib. ii. c. 11. Puto longe probatiorem et tutiorem ſententiam quæ dat Sacramentis veram efficientiam. Primo quia doctores paſſim docent, Sacramenta non agere niſi prius a Deo virtutem ſeu benedictionem ſeu ſanctificationem accipiant, et referunt effectum Sacramentorum ad omnipotentiam Dei, et conferunt cum veris cauſis efficientibus. Secundo, quia non eſſet differentia inter modum agendi Sacramentorum, et ſignorum magicorum. Tertio, quia tunc non eſſet homo Dei miniſter in ipſa actione Sacramenti, ſed homo præberet ſignum actione ſua, et Deus ſua actione viſo eo ſigno infunderet gratiam, ut cum unus oſtendit ſyngrapham Mercatori, et ille dat pecunias. At Scripturæ docent, quod Deus baptizat per hominem. Bellarm. lib. ii. cap. 11.

cording

BOOK VI. cording to the usual bitter venom of his first style, doth yet ingenuously confess, that the old School-men's doctrine and ours is one concerning sacramental efficacy, derived from God himself, assisting by promise those outward Signs of Elements and Words, out of which their School-men of the newer mint are so desirous to hatch Grace. Where God doth work and use these outward means, wherein he neither findeth nor planteth force and aptness towards his intended purpose; such means are but Signs to bring Men to the consideration of his omnipotent power, which, without the use of things sensible, would not be marked.

At the time therefore when he giveth his heavenly Grace, he applieth, by the hands of his Ministers, that which betokeneth the same; not only betokeneth, but, being also accompanied for ever with such power as doth truly work, is in that respect termed God's Instrument, a true efficient Cause of Grace; a Cause not in itself, but only by connexion of that which is in itself a Cause, namely, God's own Strength and Power. Sacraments, that is to say, the outward signs in Sacraments, work nothing till they be blessed and sanctified by God.

But what is God's heavenly benediction and sanctification, saving only the association of his Spirit? Shall we say that Sacraments are like magical signs, if thus they have their effect? Is it magick for God to manifest by things sensible what he doth, and to do by his most glorious Spirit really what he manifesteth in his Sacraments? The delivery and administration whereof remaineth in the hands of mortal Men, by whom, as by personal instruments, God doth apply signs, and with signs inseparably join his Spirit, and through the power of his Spirit work Grace. The first is by way of concomitance and consequence to deliver the rest also that either accompany or ensue.

It is not here, as in cases of mutual commerce, where

where divers Perſons have divers acts to be performed in their own behalf; a Creditor to ſhew his bill, and a Debtor to pay his money. But God and Man do here meet in one action upon a third, in whom, as it is the work of God to create grace, ſo it is his work by the hand of the Miniſtry to apply a ſign which ſhould betoken, and his work to annex that Spirit which ſhall effect it. The action therefore is but one, God the author thereof, and Man a co-partner, by him aſſigned to work for, with, and under him. God the giver of grace by the outward miniſtry of Man, ſo far forth as he authorizeth Man to apply the Sacraments of grace in the ſoul, which he alone worketh, without either inſtrument or co-agent.

Whereas therefore with us the remiſſion of ſin is aſcribed unto God, as a thing which proceedeth from him only, and preſently followeth upon the virtue of true Repentance appearing in Man; that which we attribute to the virtue, they do not only impute to the Sacrament of Repentance; but, having made Repentance a Sacrament, and thinking of Sacraments as they do, they are enforced to make the miniſtry of the Prieſts and their Abſolution a cauſe of that which the ſole Omnipotency of God worketh.

And yet, for my own part, I am not able well to conceive how their doctrine, that human Abſolution is really a cauſe out of which our deliverance from ſin doth enſue, can cleave with the Council of Trent, defining, *That Contrition perfected with Charity doth at all times itſelf reconcile Offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the Sacrament of Penance.* How can it ſtand with thoſe diſcourſes of the learned Rabbies, which grant, *That whoſoever turneth unto God with his whole heart, hath immediately his ſins taken away; That if a Man be truly converted, his Pardon can neither be denied nor delayed?* it doth not ſtay for the Prieſt's Abſolution, but preſently followeth: *Surely if every contrite Sinner, in whom there is*

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. xiv. c. 4.

Bellarm. de Pœnit. lib. ii. c. 13.

BOOK VI. *is Charity, and a ſincere Converſion of heart, have Remiſſion of ſins given him before he ſeek it at the Prieſt's hands; if Reconciliation to God be a preſent, and immediate ſequel upon every ſuch Converſion or Change: it muſt of neceſſity follow, ſeeing no Man can be a true Penitent or Contrite which doth not both love God and ſincerely abhor ſin, that therefore they all before Abſolution attain Forgiveneſs; whereunto notwithſtanding Abſolution is pretended a cauſe ſo neceſſary, that Sin without it, except in ſome rare extraordinary caſe, cannot poſſibly be remitted.* Shall Abſolution be a cauſe producing and working that effect which is always brought forth without it, and had, before Abſolution be thought of? But when they which are thus before-hand pardoned of God ſhall come to be alſo aſſoiled by the Prieſt, I would know what force his Abſolution hath in this caſe? Are they able to ſay here, that the Prieſt doth remit any thing? Yet, when any of ours aſcribeth the work of Remiſſion to God, and interpreteth the Prieſt's ſentence to be but a ſolemn declaration of that which God himſelf hath already performed, they ſcorn at it; they urge againſt it, that if this were true, our Saviour Chriſt ſhould rather have ſaid, *What is looſed in Heaven, ye ſhall looſe on Earth*, than as he doth, *Whatſoever ye looſe on Earth, ſhall in Heaven be looſed.* As if he were to learn of us how to place his words, and not we to crave rather of him a ſound and right underderſtanding, leſt to his diſhonour and our own hurt we miſ-expound them. It ſufficeth, I think, both againſt their conſtructions to have proved that they ground an untruth on his ſpeech; and in behalf of our own, that his words without any ſuch tranſpoſition do very well admit the ſenſe we give them; which is, that he taketh to himſelf the lawful proceedings of Authority in his name, and that the act of ſpiritual Authority in this caſe, is by ſentence to acquit or pronounce them free from ſin whom they judge to be ſincerely and truly penitent; which interpretation

terpretation they themſelves do acknowledge, though not ſufficient, yet very true.* BOOK VI.

Abſolution, they ſay, declareth indeed; but this is not all, for it likewiſe maketh innocent; which addition being an untruth proved, our truth granted hath, I hope, ſufficiency without it; and conſequently our opinion therein neither to be challenged as untrue, nor as unſufficient.

To rid themſelves out of theſe briers, and to make Remiſſion of ſins an effect of Abſolution, notwithſtanding that which hitherto hath been ſaid, they have two ſhifts. As firſt, that in many Penitents there is but Attrition of heart, which † Attrition they define to be Grief proceeding from fear without love; and to theſe, they ſay, Abſolution doth give that Contrition whereby Men are really purged from ſin. ‡ Secondly, that even where Contrition or inward Repentance doth cleanſe without Abſolution; the reaſon why it cometh ſo to paſs is, becauſe ſuch Contrites intend and deſire Abſolution, though they have it not. Which two things granted: the one, that Abſolution given maketh them contrite that are not; the other, even in them which are contrite, the cauſe why God remitteth ſin is the purpoſe or deſire they have to receive Abſolution; § we are not to ſtand againſt a ſequel ſo clear

* Hæc expoſitio, Ego te abſolvo, id eſt, Abſolutum oſtendo, partim quidem vera eſt, non tamen perfecta. Sacramenta quippe novæ legis non ſolum ſignificant, ſed efficiunt quod ſignificant. Soto. ſent. lib. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. Art. iii.

† Attritio ſolum dicit dolorem propter pœnas inferni; dum quis accedit attritus per gratiam ſacramentalem, fit contritus. Soto ſent. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. Art. i.

‡ Dum accedit vere contritus propter Deum, illa etiam contritio non eſt contritio, niſi quatenus prius natura informetur gratia per Sacramentum in voto. Soto ſent. iv. diſt. 14. q. 1. Art. i.

§ Legitima contritio votum Sacramenti pro ſuo tempore debet inducere, atque adeo in virtute futuri Sacramenti peccata remittit. Idem. Art. iii.

and

BOOK VI. and manifeſt as this, that always Remiſſion of ſin proceedeth from Abſolution either had or deſired.

But ſhould a reaſonable Man give credit to their bare conceit, and becauſe their poſitions have driven them to imagine abſolving of unſufficiently diſpoſed Penitents to be a real creating of further virtue in them, muſt all other Men think it due? Let them cancel henceforward and blot out of all their books thoſe old cautions touching neceſſity of Wiſdom,* leſt Prieſts ſhould inconſiderately abſolve any Man in whom there were not apparent tokens of true Repentance; which to do, was, in Saint Cyprian's judgment, † *Peſtilent deceit and flattery, not only not avoidable, but hurtful to them that had tranſgreſſed: a frivolous, fruſtrate, and falſe Peace, ſuch as cauſed the unrighteous to truſt to a lye, and deſtroyed them unto whom it promiſed ſafety.* What needeth obſervation whether Penitents have Worthineſs and bring Contrition, if the words of Abſolution do infuſe Contrition? Have they borne us all this while in hand that Contrition is a part of the matter of their Sacraments; a condition or preparation of the Mind towards grace to be received by Abſolution in the form of their Sacraments? And muſt we now believe, that the Form doth give the Matter? that Abſolution beſtoweth Contrition, and that the Words do make preſently of Saul, David; of Judas, Peter? For what was the Penitency of Saul and Judas, but plain Attrition; horror of Sin through fear of Puniſhment, without any long ſenſe, or taſte of God's Mercy?

Their other fiction, imputing Remiſſion of ſin to

* Tunc ſententia Sacerdotis judicio Dei et totius cœleſtis Curiæ approbatur, et confirmatur, cum ita ex diſcretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Sent. lib. iv. d. 18.

† Non eſt periculoſum Sacerdoti dicere, Ego te abſolvo, illis in quibus ſigna contritionis videt, quæ ſunt dolor de præteritis, et propoſitum de cætero non peccandi; alias, abſolvere non debet. Tho. Opuſc. 22. Cypr. de lapſis.

deſire

desire of Absolution from the Priest, even in them which are truly contrite, is an evasion somewhat more witty, but no whit more possible for them to prove. Belief of the world and judgment to come, Faith in the promises and sufferings of Christ for Mankind, Fear of his majesty, Love of his mercy, Grief for sin, Hope for pardon, Suit for grace — these we know to be Elements of true Contrition: suppose that besides all this God did also command that every Penitent should seek his Absolution at the Priest's hands; where so many causes are concurring unto one effect, have they any reason to impute the whole effect unto one? any reason, in the choice of that one, to pass by Faith, Fear, Love, Humility, Hope, Prayer, whatsoever else, and to enthronize above them all a desire of Absolution from the Priest, as if in the whole work of Man's Repentance God did regard and accept nothing, but for and in consideration of this? Why do the Tridentine Council impute it to Charity, *That Contrites are reconciled in God's sight before they receive the Sacrament of Penance*, if desired Absolution be the true cause?

But let this pass how it will; seeing the question is not, what virtue God may accept in penitent Sinners, but what grace Absolution actually given doth really bestow upon them.

If it were, as they would have it, that God regarding the humiliation of a contrite Spirit, because there is joined therewith a lowly desire of the Sacrament of priestly Absolution, pardoneth immediately and forgiveth all offences; doth this any thing help to prove that Absolution received afterward from the Priest, can more than declare him already pardoned which did desire it? To desire Absolution, presupposing it commanded, is Obedience: and Obedience in that case is a branch of the virtue of Repentance, which virtue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of sins without the Sacrament of Repentance, is it not an argument that the

BOOK VI. Sacrament of Abſolution hath here no efficacy, but the virtue of Contrition worketh all? For how ſhould any effect enſue from cauſes which actually are not? The Sacrament muſt be applied whereſoever any grace doth proceed from it. So that where it is but deſired only, whatſoever may follow upon God's acceptation of this deſire, the Sacrament, afterwards received, can be no cauſe thereof. Therefore the further we wade, the better we ſee it ſtill appears, that the Prieſt doth never in Abſolution, no not ſo much as by way of ſervice and miniſtry, really either forgive them, take away the uncleanneſs, or remove the puniſhment of ſin; but if the Party penitent become contrite, he hath, by their own grant, Abſolution before Abſolution; if not contrite, although the Prieſt ſhould ſeem a thouſand times to abſolve him, all were in vain. For which cauſe the Ancients and better ſort of their School-Divines, Abulenſis, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, aſcribe *the real Abolition of ſin, and eternal puniſhment, to the mere Pardon of Almighty God, without dependency upon the Prieſt's Abſolution, as a cauſe to effect the ſame:* * His Abſolution hath in their doctrine certain other effects

* A reatu mortis æternæ abſolvitur homo a Deo per contritionem; manet autem reatus ad quandam pœnam temporalem; et Miniſter Eccleſiæ quicunque virtute clavium tollit reatum cujuſdam partis pœnæ illius. Abul. in defenſ. p. 1. c. 7. Signum hujus Sacramenti eſt cauſa effectiva gratiæ ſive remiſſionis peccatorum; non ſimpliciter, ſicut ipſa prima pœnitentia, ſed ſecundum quid; quia eſt cauſa efficaciæ gratiæ quâ fit remiſſio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in pœnitente, ad minus quantum ad remiſſionem ſequelæ ipſius peccati, ſcilicet pœnæ, Alex. p. iv. q. 14. memb. 2. Poteſtas clavium propriè loquendo non ſe extendit ſupra culpam; ad illud quod objicitur, To. 22. Quorum remiſeritis peccata: dicendum, quod vel illud de remiſſione dicitur quantum ad offenſionem, vel ſolum quantum ad pœnam, Bon. ſent. l. i. d. 18. q. i. Ab æterna pœna nullo modo ſolvit Sacerdos, ſed a purgatorio; neque hoc per ſe, ſed per accidens, quod cum in pœnitente, virtute clavium, minuitur debitum pœnæ temporalis, non ita acriter punietur in purgatorio, ſicut ſi non eſſet abſolutus. Sent. l. iv. d. 18. q. ii.

ſpecified,

ſpecified, but this denied. Wherefore having hitherto ſpoken of the virtue of Repentance required; of the diſcipline of Repentance which Chriſt did eſtabliſh; and of the Sacrament of Repentance invented ſithence, againſt the pretended force of human Abſolution in ſacramental Penitency; let it ſuffice thus far to have ſhewed how God alone doth truly give, the virtue of Repentance alone procure, and private miniſterial Abſolution but declare Remiſſion of ſins.

Now the laſt and ſometimes hardeſt to be ſatisfied by Repentance, are our Minds; and our Minds we have then ſatisfied, when the Conſcience is of guilty become clear. For, as long as we are in ourſelves privy to our own moſt heinous crimes, but without ſenſe of God's mercy and grace towards us, unleſs the heart be either brutiſh for want of Knowledge, or altogether hardened by wilful Atheiſm, the Remorſe of ſin is in it, as the deadly ſting of the ſerpent. Which point ſince very Infidels and Heathens have obſerved in the nature of ſin (for the diſeaſe they felt, though they knew no remedy to help it), we are not raſhly to deſpiſe thoſe ſentences which are the teſtimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a Man's own Conſcience is more to be feared by evil doers than the preſence of a thouſand Witneſſes, inaſmuch as the mouths of other Accuſers are many ways ſtopt, the ears of the accuſed not always ſubject to glowing with contumely and exprobration; whereas a guilty Mind being forced to be ſtill both a Martyr and a Tyrant in itſelf, muſt of neceſſity endure perpetual anguiſh and grief; for, as the Body is rent with ſtripes, ſo the Mind with guiltineſs of cruelty, luſt, and wicked reſolutions. Which furies brought the Emperor Tiberius ſometimes into ſuch perplexity, that writing to the Senate, his wonted art of diſſimulation failed him utterly in this caſe; and whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight ſo to ſpeak that no Man might be able to ſound his meaning, he

BOOK VI. had not the power to conceal what he felt through the secret scourge of an evil Conscience, though no necessity did now enforce him to disclose the same. *What to write, or how to write, at this present, if I know* (saith Tiberius) *let the Gods and Goddesses, who thus continually eat me, only be worse to me than they are.* It was not his imperial dignity and power that could provide a way to protect him against himself; the fears and suspicions which improbity had bred, being strengthened by every occasion, and those virtues clean banished which are the only foundation of sound tranquillity of mind. For which cause it hath been truly said, and agreeably with all Men's experience, that if the virtuous did excel in no other privilege, yet far happier they are than the contrary sort of Men, for that their hopes be always better.

Neither are we to marvel, that these things, known unto all, do stay so few from being authors of their own woe.

For we see by the ancient example of Joseph's unkind Brethren, how it cometh to remembrance easily when crimes are once past, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong: but such considerations, when they should have prevented sin, were over-matched by inordinate desires. Are we not bound then with all thankfulness to acknowledge his infinite goodness and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid ourselves of these mazes; the way how to shake off that yoke, which no flesh is able to bear; the way how to change most grisly horror into a comfortable apprehension of heavenly joy?

Whereunto there are many which labour with so much the greater difficulty, because imbecility of mind doth not suffer them to censure rightly their own doings. Some fearful left the enormity of their crimes be so unpardonable that no Repentance can do them good; some left the imperfection of their Repentance make it uneffectual to the taking away of

of ſin. The one drive all things to this iſſue, whe- BOOK VI.
ther they be not Men that have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; the other to this, what Repentance is ſufficient to clear Sinners, and to aſſure them that they are delivered.

Such as by error charge themſelves of unpardonable ſin muſt think, it may be they deem that unpardonable, which is not.

Our Saviour ſpeaketh indeed of Blaſphemy which ſhall never be forgiven: but have they any ſure and infallible knowledge what that Blaſphemy is? If not, why are they unjuſt and cruel to their own Souls, imagining certainty of guiltineſs in a crime, concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain? For mine own part, although where this Blaſphemy is mentioned, the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake thereof, was the Phariſees' Blaſphemy, which was not afraid to ſay, *He had an unclean Spirit, and did caſt out Spirits by the power of Beelzebub*; nevertheleſs I dare not preciſely deny, but that even the Phariſees themſelves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt peradventure might but take occaſion at their Blaſphemy, which, as yet, was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable Blaſphemy, whereinto he foreſaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain, that many thouſands, at the firſt, profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, became afterwards wilful Apoſtates, moved with no other cauſe of revolt, but mere indignation that the Gentiles ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Goſpel as much as they, and yet not be burthened with the yoke of Moſes's Law.

Matt. xxi. 31. Mar. iii. 30.

The Apoſtles by preaching had won them to Chriſt, in whoſe name they embraced with great alacrity the full Remiſſion of their former ſins and iniquities; they received by the impoſition of the Apoſtles' hands *that Grace and Power of the Holy Ghoſt* whereby they cured diſeaſes, propheſied, ſpake with tongues; and yet in the end, after all this, they

Acts ii. 38.

BOOK VI. fell utterly away, renounced the myſteries of Chriſtian Faith, blaſphemed in their formal Abjurations that moſt glorious and bleſſed Spirit, the gifts whereof themſelves had poſſeſſed; and by this means ſunk their Souls in the gulf of that unpardonable ſin; whereof, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had told them before-hand, ſo the Apoſtle at the firſt appearance of ſuch their revolt, putteth them in mind again, that falling now to their former Blaſphemies, their
Heb. v. 19. ſalvation was irrecoverably gone. It was for them in this caſe impoſſible to be renewed by any Repentance; becauſe they were now in the ſtate of Satan and his Angels; the Judge of quick and dead had paſſed his irrevocable ſentence againſt them.

So great difference there is between Infidels unconverted, and Backſliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one which only hate whom they never knew; but to the other which know and blaſpheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurſe both the ſeen brightneſs of Glory which is in him, and in themſelves the taſted goodneſs of divine Grace, as thoſe execrable Miſcreants did, who firſt received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then in out-
Heb. x. 26. rageous ſort blaſphemed the Holy Ghoſt, abuſing both it and the whole Religion, which God by it did confirm and magnify; to ſuch as wilfully thus ſin, after ſo great light of the truth, and gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth juſtly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Chriſt's ſacrifice.

For all other Offenders, without exception or ſtint, whether they be Strangers that ſeek acceſs, or Followers that will make return unto God; upon the tender of their Repentance, the grant of his grace ſtandeth everlaſtingly ſigned with his blood in the book of eternal life. That which in this caſe over-terrifieth fearful Souls is, a miſconceit whereby they imagine every act which they do, knowing that

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they do amiss, and every wilful breach or transgression of God's Law to be mere sin against the Holy Ghost: forgetting that the Law of Moses itself ordained Sacrifices of expiation, as well for faults presumptuously committed, as things wherein Men offend by error. BOOK VI.

Now, there are on the contrary side others, who, doubting not of God's mercy towards all that perfectly repent, remain notwithstanding scrupulous and troubled with continual fear, lest defects in their own Repentance be a bar against them.

These cast themselves into very great, and peradventure needless Agonies through misconstruction of things spoken about proportioning our griefs to our sins,* for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough; yea, if they have not always a stream of tears at command, they take it for a heart congealed and hardened in sin; when to keep the wound of Contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumstances of their transgressions, and endeavour to leave nothing which may be heavy against themselves. Jer. vi. 26. Mic. i. 8, 9. Lam. ii. 18.

Yet, do what they can, they are still fearful, lest herein also they do not that which they ought and might. Come to prayer, their coldness taketh all heart and courage from them; with fasting, albeit their flesh should be withered, and their blood clean dried up, would they ever the less object, what is this to David's humiliation, wherein notwithstanding there was not any thing more than necessary? In works of charity and alms-deed, it is not all the World can persuade them they did ever Psal. vi. 6. Matth. xii. 42. Acts x. 31.

* Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus. Alto vulneri diligens et longa medicina non desit; pœnitentia crimine minor non fit. Cypr. de lapsis. Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna debetur; nec transitoria opus est satisfactione pro malis illis, propter quæ paratus est ignis æternus. Euseb. Emissenus, vel potius Salv. f. 106.

reach the poor bounty of the Widow's two mites, or by many millions of leagues come near to the mark which Cornelius touched; ſo far they are off from the proud ſurmiſe of any penitential Supererogation in miſerable wretched Worms of the Earth.

Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as they wrong themſelves with over-rigorous and extreme exactions, by means whereof they fall ſometimes into ſuch perplexities as can hardly be allayed; it hath therefore pleaſed Almighty God, in tender commiſeration over theſe imbecilities of Men, to ordain for their ſpiritual and ghoſtly comfort conſecrated Perſons, which by ſentence of Power and Authority given from above, may, as it were, out of his very mouth aſcertain timorous and doubtful Minds in their own particular; eaſe them of all their ſcrupuloſities; leave them ſettled in peace, and ſatisfied touching the mercy of God towards them. To uſe the benefit of this help for the better ſatisfaction in ſuch caſes is ſo natural, that it can be forbidden no Man; but yet not ſo neceſſary, that all Men ſhould be in caſe to need it.

They are, of the two, the happier therefore that can content and ſatisfy themſelves, by judging diſcreetly what they perform, and ſoundly what God doth require of them. For having, that which is moſt material, the ſubſtance of Penitency rightly bred; touching ſigns and tokens thereof, we may affirm that they do boldly, which imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the paſſions and griefs of Mind, whereunto whoſoever aſpireth not, repenteth in vain.

That to fruſtrate Men's confeſſion and conſiderations of ſin, except every circumſtance which may aggravate the ſame be unript and laid in the balance, is a mercileſs extremity; although it be true, that as near as we can ſuch wounds muſt be ſearched to the very bottom. Laſt of all, to ſet down the like ſtint, and to ſhut up the doors of mercy againſt

Penitents

Penitents which come ſhort thereof in the devotion of their Prayers; in the continuance of their Faſts; in the largeneſs and bounty of their Alms, or in the courſe of any other ſuch like Duties; is more than God himſelf hath thought meet; and conſequently more than mortal Men ſhould preſume to do.

That which God doth chiefly reſpect in Men's Penitency is their Hearts. *The Heart is it which maketh Repentance ſincere*, Sincerity that which findeth favour in God's ſight, and the Favour of God that which ſupplieth by gracious acceptation whatſoever may ſeem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true offices of his Servants.

Jer. xxix. 13. Joel ii. 12.

Take it (ſaith Chryſoſtom) upon my credit, *Such is God's merciful inclination towards Men, that Repentance offered with a ſingle and ſincere mind he never refuſeth; no, not although we be come to the very top of Iniquity.* If there be a Will and Deſire to return, he receiveth, embraceth, and omitteth nothing which may reſtore us to former happineſs; yea, that which is yet above all the reſt, albeit we cannot, in the duty of ſatisfying him, attain what we ought, and would, but come far behind our mark, he taketh nevertheleſs in good worth that little which we do; be it never ſo mean, we loſe not our labour therein.

Chryſ. de repar. lapſ. lib. ad Theodor. Depoſit. diſt. 3. c. Talis.

The leaſt and loweſt ſtep of Repentance in Saint Chryſoſtom's judgment ſerveth and ſetteth us above them that periſh in their ſin; I therefore will end with Saint Auguſtine's concluſion, *Lord, in thy book and volume of life all ſhall be written, as well the leaſt of thy Saints, as the chiefeſt.* Let not therefore the unperfect fear; let them only proceed and go forward.

Aug. in Pſ. cxxxviii.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VII.

Their sixth Assertion, That there ought not to be in the Church, Bishops endued with such Authority and Honour as ours are.

The Matter contained in this seventh Book.

1. THE *state of Bishops although sometime oppugned, and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his Providence upheld hitherto, whose Glory it is to maintain that whereof himself is the Author.*
2. *What a Bishop is, what his Name doth import, and what doth belong unto his Office as he is a Bishop.*
3. *In Bishops two things traduced; of which two, the one their Authority; and in it the first thing condemned, their Superiority over other Ministers: what kind of Superiority in Ministers it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.*

4. *From*

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4. *From whence it hath grown, that the Church is governed by Biſhops.*
5. *The Time and Cauſe of inſtituting every where Biſhops with reſtraint.*
6. *What manner of Power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had.*
7. *After what ſort Biſhops, together with Preſbyters, have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.*
8. *How far the Power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of Territory, or local Compaſs.*
9. *In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment hath been gainſaid of old by Aerius.*
10. *In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment is gainſaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.*
11. *Their Arguments in diſgrace of Regiment by Biſhops; as being a mere invention of Man, and not found in Scripture, anſwered.*
12. *Their Arguments to prove, there was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops in the Church.*
13. *The fore-alledged Arguments, anſwered.*
14. *An Anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected concerning the difference between that Power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had, more than other Preſbyters.*
15. *Concerning the Civil Power and Authority which our Biſhops have.*
16. *The Arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove, that the Law of God, and the Judgment of the beſt in all ages condemneth the ruling Superiority of one Miniſter over another.*
17. *The ſecond malicious thing wherein the ſtate of Biſhops ſuffereth obloquy, is their honour.*
18. *What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy.*
19. *What kind of Honour be due unto Biſhops.*
20 *Honour in Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, and Privilege.*
21. *Honour by Endowments of Lands and Livings.*
22. *That of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and conſequently of the Lands*

Lands and Livings which Biſhops enjoy, the Propriety belongs unto God alone,

23. *That Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are Receivers of God's Rents, and that the honour of Prelates is to be thereof his chief Receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large manner.*

24. *That for their Unworthineſs to deprive both them and their Succeſſors of ſuch Goods, and to convey the ſame unto Men of ſecular callings, is now extreme ſacrilegious injuſtice.*

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1. I HAVE heard that a famous Kingdom in the World being ſollicited to reform ſuch diſorders as all Men ſaw the Church exceedingly burthened with, when of each degree great Multitudes thereunto inclined, and the number of them did every day ſo encreaſe that this intended work was likely to take no other effect than all good Men did wiſh and labour for; a principal Actor herein (for zeal and boldneſs of ſpirit) thought it good to ſhew them betimes what it was which muſt be effected, or elſe that there could be no work of perfect Reformation accompliſhed. To this purpoſe, in a ſolemn Sermon, and in a great Aſſembly, he deſcribed unto them the preſent quality of their publick eſtate by the parable of a Tree, huge and goodly to look upon, but without that Fruit which it ſhould and might bring forth; affirming, that the only way of redreſs was a full and perfect eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's Diſcipline (for ſo their manner is to entitle a thing hammered out upon the forge of their own invention), and that to make way of entrance for it, there muſt be three great limbs cut off from the body of that ſtately Tree of the Kingdom. Thoſe three limbs

The ſtate of Biſhops although ſometime oppugned, and that by ſuch as therein would moſt ſeem to pleaſe God, yet by his Providence upheld hitherto, whoſe glory it is to maintain that whereof himſelf is the Author.

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limbs were three ſorts of Men: Nobles, whoſe high eſtate would make them otherwiſe diſdain to put their necks under that yoke: Lawyers, whoſe courts being not pulled down, the new Church Conſiſtories were not like to flouriſh: finally, Prelates whoſe ancient dignity, and the ſimplicity of their intended Church Diſcipline, could not poſſibly ſtand together. The propoſition of which device being plauſible to active Spirits, reſtleſs through deſire of Innovation, whom commonly nothing doth more offend than a change which goeth fearfully on by ſlow and ſuſpicious paces; the heavier and more experienced ſort began preſently thereat to pluck back their feet again, and exceedingly to fear the ſtratagem of Reformation for ever after. Whereupon enſued thoſe extreme conflicts of the one part with the other; which continuing and increaſing to this very day, have now made the ſtate of that flouriſhing Kingdom even ſuch, as whereunto we may moſt fitly apply thoſe words of the Prophet Jeremiah, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heal thee?* Whether this were done in truth, according to the conſtant affirmation of ſome avouching the ſame, I take not upon me to examine; that which I note therein is, how with us that Policy hath been corrected. For to the Authors of pretended Reformation with us, it hath not ſeemed expedient to offer the edge of the axe unto all three boughs at once, but rather to ſingle them and ſtrike at the weakeſt firſt, making ſhow that the lop of that one ſhall draw the more abundance of ſap to the other two, that they may thereby the better proſper. All proſperity, felicity and peace, we wiſh multiplied on each eſtate, as far as their own heart's deſire is; but let Men know that there is a God, whoſe eye beholdeth them in all their ways; a God, the uſual and ordinary courſe of whoſe Juſtice, is to return upon the head of Malice the ſame devices which it contriveth againſt others. The foul practices which have been uſed for the overthrow of Biſhops,

Biſhops, may perhaps wax bold in proceſs of time to give the like aſſault even there, from whence at this preſent they are moſt ſeconded. Nor let it over-diſmay them who ſuffer ſuch things at the hands of this moſt unkind World, to ſee that heavenly eſtate and dignity thus conculcated, in regard whereof ſo many their Predeceſſors were no leſs eſteemed than if they had not been Men, but Angels amongſt Men. With former Biſhops it was as with Job in the days of that proſperity which at large he deſcribeth, ſaying; *Unto me Men gave ear, they waited and held their tongue at my counſel, after my words they replied not, I appointed out their way and did ſit as chief, I dwelt as it had been a King in an Army.* At this day, the caſe is otherwiſe with them; and yet no otherwiſe than with the ſelf-ſame Job at what time the alteration of his eſtate wreſted theſe contrary ſpeeches from him; *But now they that are younger than I mock at me, the children of fools, and offspring of ſlaves, creatures more baſe than the earth they tread on; ſuch as if they did ſhew their heads, young and old wou'd ſhout at them and chaſe them through the ſtreet with a cry, their ſong I am, I am a theme for them to talk on.* An injury leſs grievous if it were not offered by them whom Satan hath through his fraud and ſubtilty ſo far beguiled as to make them imagine herein they do unto God a part of moſt faithful ſervice. Whereas the Lord in truth, whom they ſerve herein is, as St. Cyprian telleth them, like, not Chriſt (for he it is that doth appoint and protect Biſhops) but rather Chriſt's adverſary and enemy of his Church. A thouſand five hundred years and upward the Church of Chriſt hath now continued under the ſacred regiment of Biſhops. Neither for ſo long hath Chriſtianity been ever planted in any kingdom throughout the World but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am for mine own part even as reſolutely perſuaded, as that any other kind of government in

Cyp. lib. i. ep. 3.

the

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the World whatſoever is of God. In this Realm of England, before Normans, yea before Saxons, there being Chriſtians, the chief Paſtors of their Souls were Biſhops. This Order from about the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, which was publickly begun through the virtuous diſpoſition of King Lucius not fully two hundred years after Chriſt, continued till the coming in of the Saxons; by whom Paganiſm being every where elſe replanted, only one part of the Iſland, whereinto the ancient, natural Inhabitants the Britons were driven, retained conſtantly the Faith of Chriſt; together with the ſame form of ſpiritual regiment, which their Fathers had before received. Wherefore in the hiſtories of the Church we find very ancient mention made of our own Biſhops. At the Council of Ariminum, about the year 359, Britain had three of her Biſhops preſent. At the arrival of Auguſtine the Monk, whom Gregory ſent hither to reclaim the Saxons from Gentility about ſix hundred years after Chriſt, the Britons he found obſervers ſtill of the ſelf-ſame government by Biſhops over the reſt of the Clergy; under this form Chriſtianity took root again, where it had been exiled. Under the ſelf-ſame form it remained till the days of the Norman Conqueror. By him and his Succeſſors thereunto * ſworn, it hath from that time till now, by the ſpace of five hundred years more, been upheld. O Nation, utterly without knowledge, without ſenſe! We are not through error of mind deceived, but ſome wicked thing hath undoubtedly bewitched us, if we forſake that Government, the uſe whereof univerſal experience hath for ſo many years approved, and betake ourſelves unto a Regiment neither appointed of God himſelf,

Sulpit. Sev. lib. ii. Beda Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 2.

An. 1066.

* Alfredus Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopus Gulielmum cognomento Nothum ſpirantem adhuc minarum et cædis in populum, mitem reddidit: et religioſis pro conſervanda republica tuendaque eccleſiaſtica diſciplina ſacramento aſtrinxit. Nabrig. lib. i. c. 1.

as

as they who favour it pretend, nor till yesterday ever heard of among Men. By the Jews Festus was much complained of, as being a Governor marvellous corrupt, and almost intolerable: *such notwithstanding* were they who came after him, that Men which thought the publick condition most afflicted under Festus, began to wish they had him again, and to esteem him a Ruler commendable. Great things are hoped for at the hands of these new Presidents, whom Reformation would bring in: notwithstanding the time may come, when Bishops, whose Regiment doth now seem a yoke so heavy to bear, will be longed for again, even by them that are the readiest to have it taken off their necks. But in the hands of divine Providence we leave the ordering of all such events; and come now to the question itself which is raised concerning Bishops. For the better understanding whereof, we must before-hand set down what is meant, when in this question we name a Bishop.

What a Bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong to his Office as he is a Bishop.

2. For whatsoever we bring from Antiquity by way of defence in this cause of Bishops, it is cast off as impertinent matter; all is wiped away with an odd kind of shifting answer, *That the Bishops which now are, be not like unto them which were.* We therefore beseech all indifferent Judges to weigh sincerely with themselves how the case doth stand. If it should be at this day a controversy whether kingly Regiment were lawful or no; peradventure in defence thereof, the long continuance which it hath had sithence the first beginning might be alledged; mention perhaps might be made what Kings there were of old even in Abraham's time, what sovereign Princes both before and after. Suppose that herein some Man purposely bending his wit against Sovereignty, should think to elude all such allegations, by making ample discovery through a number of particularities, wherein the Kings that are, do differ from those that have been, and should therefore in the end conclude, that such ancient examples are no

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convenient proofs of that Royalty which is now in uſe. Surely for deciſion of truth in this caſe there were no remedy, but only to ſhew the nature of Sovereignty; to ſever it from accidental properties; to make it clear that ancient and preſent Regality are one and the ſame in ſubſtance, how great odds ſoever otherwiſe may ſeem to be between them. In like manner, whereas a queſtion of late hath grown, whether Eccleſiaſtical Regiment by Biſhops be lawful in the Church of Chriſt or no, in which queſtion, they that hold the negative, being preſſed with that generally received order, according whereunto the moſt renowned Lights of the Chriſtian World have governed the ſame in every age as Biſhops; ſeeing their manner is to reply, that ſuch Biſhops as thoſe ancient were, ours are not; there is no remedy but to ſhew, that to be a Biſhop is now the ſelf-ſame thing which it hath been; that one definition agreeth fully and truly as well to thoſe elder, as to theſe latter Biſhops. Sundry diſſimilitudes we grant there are, which notwithſtanding are not ſuch that they cauſe any equivocation in the name, whereby we ſhould think a Biſhop in thoſe times to have had a clean other definition than doth rightly agree unto Biſhops as they are now. Many things there are in the ſtate of Biſhops, which the times have changed; many a Parſonage at this day is larger than ſome ancient Biſhopricks were; many an ancient Biſhop poorer than at this day ſundry under them in degree. The ſimple hereupon, lacking judgment and knowledge to diſcern between the nature of things which changeth not, and theſe outward variable accidents, are made believe that a Biſhop heretofore and now are things in their very nature ſo diſtinct that they cannot be judged the ſame. Yet to Men that have any part of ſkill, what more evident and plain in Biſhops, than that augmentation or diminution in their Precincts, Allowances, Privileges, and ſuch like, do make a difference indeed; but no eſſential difference between one Biſhop and another? As for

thoſe things in regard whereof we uſe properly to term them Biſhops; thoſe things whereby they eſſentially differ from other Paſtors; thoſe things which the natural definition of a Biſhop muſt contain; what one of them is there more or leſs appliable unto Biſhops now than of old? The name Biſhop hath been borrowed from the * Grecians, with whom it ſignifieth, one which hath principal charge to guide and overſee others. The ſame word in Eccleſiaſtical Writings being applied unto Church Governors, at the firſt unto all and not unto the chiefeſt only, grew in ſhort time peculiar and proper to ſignify ſuch Epiſcopal Authority alone, as the chiefeſt Governors exerciſed over the reſt, for with all Names this is uſual, that inaſmuch as they are not given till the things, whereunto they are given, have been ſome time firſt obſerved; therefore generally,† Things are ancienter than the Names whereby they are called. Acts xx. Phil. i. 1.

Again, ſith the firſt things that grow into general obſervation, and do thereby give Men occaſion to find name for them, are thoſe which being in many Subjects are thereby the eaſier, the oftener, and the more univerſally noted; it followeth, that Names impoſed to ſignify common qualities of operations are ancienter, than is the Reſtraint of thoſe Names, to note an excellency of ſuch qualities and operations in ſome one or few amongſt others. For example, the name Diſciple being invented to ſignify generally a Learner, it cannot chuſe but in that ſignification be more ancient than when it ſignifies, as

* Οἱ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ἐπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς ἔλεγον. Suid. Καλέσησεν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστοις τῶν πάγων ἀρχοῦσα ἐπίσκοπόν τε καὶ περίπολον ἢ ἰδίας μοίρας. Dionyſ. Halicar. de Numa Pompilio, Antiq. lib. ii. Vult me Pompeius eſſe quem tota hæc Campania et maritima ora habeat Ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et negotii ſumma referatur. Cic. ad Attic. lib. vii. Epiſt. 11.

† And God brought them unto Adam, that Adam might ſee or conſider what name it was meet he ſhould give unto them. Gen. ii. 19.

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it were by a kind of appropriation, thoſe Learners who being taught of Chriſt were in that reſpect termed Diſciples by an excellency.* The like is to be ſeen in the name Apoſtle, the uſe whereof to ſignify a Meſſenger muſt needs be more ancient than that uſe which reſtraineth it unto Meſſengers ſent concerning Evangelical Affairs; yea this uſe more ancient than that whereby the ſame Word is yet reſtrained further to ſignify only thoſe whom our Saviour himſelf immediately did ſend. After the ſame manner the Title or Name of a Biſhop having been uſed of old to ſignify both an Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer in general, and more particularly alſo a principal Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer; it followeth, that this latter reſtrained ſignification is not ſo ancient as the former, being more common.† Yet becauſe the Things themſelves are always ancienter than their Names; therefore that Thing which the reſtrained uſe of the Word doth import, is likewiſe ancienter than the Reſtraint of the Word is; and conſequently that Power of chief Eccleſiaſtical Overſeers, which the term of a Biſhop doth import, was before the reſtrained uſe of the Name which doth import it. Wherefore a lame and impotent kind of reaſoning it is, when Men go about to prove that in the Apoſtles' times there was no ſuch Thing as the reſtrained Name of a Biſhop doth now ſignify; becauſe in their Writings there is found no reſtraint of that Name, but only a general uſe whereby it reacheth unto all ſpiritual Governors and Overſeers.

But to let go the Name, and come to the very Nature of that Thing which is thereby ſignified. In all kinds of Regiment, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, as there are ſundry operations publick, ſo likewiſe great inequality there is in the ſame opera-

* So alſo the name Deacon a Miniſter appropriated to a certain order of Miniſters.

† The Name likewiſe of a Miniſter was common to divers Degrees, which now is peculiarly among ourſelves given only to Paſtors, and not as anciently to Deacons alſo.

tions,

tions, ſome being of principal reſpect, and therefore not fit to be dealt in by every one to whom publick actions, and thoſe of good importance, are notwithſtanding well and fitly enough committed. From hence have grown thoſe different degrees of Magiſtrates or publick Perſons, even Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. Amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons therefore Biſhops being chief ones, a Biſhop's Function muſt be defined by that wherein his Chiefty conſiſteth. A Biſhop is a Miniſter of God, unto whom, with permanent continuance, there is given not only Power of adminiſtering the Word and Sacraments; which Power other Preſbyters have; but alſo a further Power to ordain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and a Power of Chiefty in government over Preſbyters as well as Lay-men, a Power to be by way of Juriſdiction a Paſtor even to Paſtors themſelves. So that this Office, as he is a Preſbyter or Paſtor, conſiſteth in thoſe things which are common unto him with other Paſtors, as in miniſtering the Word and Sacraments; but thoſe things incident unto his Office, which do properly make him a Biſhop, cannot be common unto him with other Paſtors. Now even as Paſtors, ſo likewiſe Biſhops being principal Paſtors are either at large or elſe with reſtraint. At large, when the ſubject of their Regiment is indefinite, and not tied to any certain place. Biſhops with reſtraint, are they whoſe Regiment over the Church is contained within ſome definite, local compaſs, beyond which compaſs their juriſdiction reacheth not. Such therefore we always mean when we ſpeak of that Regiment by Biſhops which we hold a thing moſt lawful, divine, and holy, in the Church of Chriſt.

3. In our preſent Regiment by Biſhops two things are complained of: the one their great Authority, and the other their great Honour. Touching the Authority of our Biſhops, the firſt thing which

In Biſhops two things traduced; of which two the one their Authority; and kind of Superiority in Miniſters it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.

in it the firſt thing condemned, their Superiority over other Miniſters. What

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therein displeaseth their Adversaries, is the Superiority which Bishops have over other Ministers. They which cannot brook the Superiority which Bishops have, do notwithstanding themselves admit that some kind of difference and inequality there may be lawfully amongst Ministers. Inequality as touching gifts and graces they grant, because this is so plain that no mist in the world can be cast before Men's eyes so thick, but that they must needs discern through it, that one Minister of the Gospel may be more learned, holier and wiser; better able to instruct, more apt to rule and guide them than another: unless thus much were confest, those Men should lose their fame and glory whom they themselves do entitle the Lights and grand Worthies of this present age. Again, a Priority of Order they deny not, but that there may be; yea such a Priority as maketh one Man amongst many a principal Actor in those things whereunto sundry of them must necessarily concur, so that the same be admitted only during the time of such actions and no longer; that is to say, just so much Superiority, and neither more nor less may be liked of, than it hath pleased them in their own kind of Regiment to set down. The inequality which they complain of is, *That one Minister of the Word and Sacraments should have a permanent Superiority above another, or in any sort a Superiority of Power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over other Ministers.* By us, on the contrary side, *Inequality, even such inequality as unto Bishops being Ministers of the Word and Sacraments granteth a Superiority permanent above other Ministers, yea a permanent Superiority of Power mandatory, judicial, and coercive over them*, is maintained a thing allowable, lawful and good. For, superiority of Power may be either above them or upon them, in regard of whom it is termed Superiority. One Pastor hath superiority of Power above another, when either some are authorised to do things worthier than are permitted unto all; some are preferred to be principal

cipal Agents, the reſt Agents with dependency and ſubordination. The former of theſe two kinds of Superiority is ſuch as the High Prieſt had above other Prieſts of the Law, in being appointed to enter once a year the holy place, which the reſt of the Prieſts might not do. The latter ſuperiority, ſuch as Preſidents have in thoſe actions which are done by others with them, they nevertheleſs being principal and chief therein. One Paſtor hath ſuperiority of Power, not only above, but upon another, when ſome are ſubject unto others' commandment and judicial controulment by virtue of publick Juriſdiction. Superiority in this laſt kind is utterly denied to be allowable; in the reſt it is only denied that the laſting continuance and ſettled permanency thereof is lawful. So that if we prove at all the lawfulneſs of Superiority in this laſt kind, where the ſame is ſimply denied, and of permanent Superiority in the reſt where ſome kind of Superiority is granted, but with reſtraint to the term and continuance of certain actions, with which the ſame muſt, as they ſay, expire and ceaſe; if we can ſhew theſe two things maintainable, we bear up ſufficiently that which the adverſe Party endeavoureth to overthrow. Our deſire therefore is, that this iſſue may be ſtrictly obſerved, and thoſe things accordingly judged of, which we are to alledge. This we boldly therefore ſet down as a moſt infallible truth, *That the Church of Chriſt is at this day lawfully, and ſo hath been ſithence the firſt beginning, governed by Biſhops, having permanent Superiority, and ruling Power over other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments.*

For the plainer explication whereof, let us briefly declare, firſt, the birth and original of the ſame Power, whence, and by what occaſion it grew. Secondly, what manner of Power antiquity doth witneſs Biſhops to have had more than Preſbyters which were no Biſhops. Thirdly, after what ſort Biſhops together with Preſbyters have uſed to govern the Churches under them, according to the like teſti-

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monial evidence of antiquity. Fourthly, how far the ſame Epiſcopal Power hath uſually extended; unto what number of Perſons it hath reached; what bounds and limits of place it hath had. This done, we may afterwards deſcend unto thoſe by whom the ſame either hath been heretofore, or is at this preſent hour gainſaid.

From whence it hath grown that the Church is governed by Biſhops,

4. The firſt Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were his bleſſed Apoſtles. For the Office whereunto Matthias was choſen the ſacred Hiſtory doth term Ἐπισκοπὴν, an Epiſcopal Office. Which being ſpoken expreſsly of one, agreeth no leſs unto them all than unto him. For which cauſe St. Cyprian ſpeaking generally of them all doth call them Biſhops.* They which were termed Apoſtles, as being ſent of Chriſt to publiſh his Goſpel throughout the World, and were named likewiſe Biſhops, in that the care of Government was alſo committed unto them, did no leſs perform the offices of their Epiſcopal Authority by governing, than of their Apoſtolical by teaching. The word Ἐπισκοπὴ expreſſing that part of their office which did conſiſt in Regiment, proveth not (I grant) their Chiefty in Regiment over others, becauſe as then that name was common unto the function of their Inferiors, and not peculiar unto theirs. But the Hiſtory of their actions ſheweth plainly enough how the thing itſelf which that name appropriated importeth, that is to ſay, even ſuch ſpiritual Chiefty as we have already defined to be properly Epiſcopal, was in the holy Apoſtles of Chriſt. Biſhops therefore they were at large. But was it lawful for any of them to be a Biſhop with reſtraint? True it is their charge was indefinite, yet ſo, that in caſe they did all, whether ſeverally or jointly diſcharge the office of proclaiming every where the Goſpel, and of guiding the Church of Chriſt, none of them caſting off his part in their bur-

* Meminiſſe Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt Epiſcopos et Præpoſitos Dominus elegit. Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9.

then

then which was laid upon them, there doth appear no impediment but that they having received their common charge indefinitely, might in the execution thereof notwithstanding restrain themselves, or at leastwise be restrained by the after commandment of the Spirit, without contradiction or repugnancy unto that charge more indefinite and general before given them: especially if it seemed at any time requisite, and for the greater good of the Church, that they should in such sort tie themselves unto some special part of the flock of Jesus Christ, guiding the same in several as Bishops. For first, notwithstanding our Saviour's commandment unto them all, to go and preach unto all Nations; yet some restraint we see there was made, when by agreement between Paul and Peter, moved with those effects of their labours which the Providence of God brought forth; the one betook himself unto the Gentiles; the other unto the Jews, for the exercise of that office of every where preaching. A further restraint of their Apostolical Labours as yet there was also made, when they divided themselves into several parts of the World; * John for his charge taking Asia, and so the residue, other quarters to labour in. If nevertheless it seem very hard that we should admit a restraint so particular, as after that general charge received to make any Apostle notwithstanding the Bishop of some one Church; what think we of the Bishop of Jerusalem, † James, whose Consecration unto that Mother See of the World, because it was

Rom. ii. 14, 15. 1 Cor. ix. 16. John xxi. 15, 16.

Gal. ii. &.

* Him Eusebius doth name the Governor of the Churches in Asia, lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. c. 26. Tertullian calleth the same Churches St. John's foster Daughters. lib. iii. adverf. Marcion.

† Jacobus qui appellatur Frater Domini cognomento Justus post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis, Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus est. Hieron. de Scrip. Eccles. Eodem tempore Jacobum primum sedem Episcopalem Ecclesiæ quæ est Hierosolymis obtinuisse memoriæ traditur. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 1. The same seemeth to be intimated, Acts xv. 13. and Acts xxi. 18.

not

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not meet that it ſhould at any time be left void of ſome Apoſtle, doth ſeem to have been the very cauſe of St. Paul's miraculous vocation to make up the number of the Twelve again, for the gathering of Nations abroad, even as the Martyrdom of the other James, the reaſon why Barnabas in his ſtead was called. Finally, Apoſtles whether they did ſettle in any one certain place, as James, or elſe did otherwiſe as the Apoſtle Paul, Epiſcopal Authority either at large or with reſtraint they had and exerciſed. Their Epiſcopal Power they ſometimes gave unto others to exerciſe as Agents only in their ſtead, and as it were by commiſſion from them. Thus Titus, and thus Timothy at the firſt, though * afterwards endued with Apoſtolical Power of their own. For in proceſs of time the Apoſtles gave Epiſcopal Authority, and that to continue always with them which had it; *We are able to number up them*, ſaith Irenæus, *who by the Apoſtles were made Biſhops*. In Rome he affirmeth that the Apoſtles themſelves made Linus the firſt Biſhop. Again of Polycarp he ſaith likewiſe, that the Apoſtles made him Biſhop of the Church of Smyrna. Of Antioch they made Evodius Biſhop, as Ignatius witneſſeth; exhorting that Church to tread in his holy ſteps, and to follow his virtuous example. The Apoſtles therefore were the firſt which had ſuch authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly ſort are their lawful Succeſſors, whether they ſucceed in any particular Church, where before them ſome Apoſtle hath been ſeated, as Simon ſucceeded James in Jeruſalem; or elſe be otherwiſe endued with the ſame kind of Biſhoply Power, although it be not where any Apoſtle before hath been. For to ſucceed them, is after them to have the Epiſcopal kind of Power which

Acts xii. 2.
Acts xiii. 2.
Tit. i. 5.
Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3.
In Ep. ad Antioch.

* This appeareth by thoſe ſubſcriptions which are ſet after the Epiſtle to Titus, and the ſecond to Timothy, and by Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 4.

was

was first given to them. *All Bishops are*, saith Jerome, *the Apostle's Successors*. In like sort Cyprian doth term Bishops, *Prepositos qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt*. From hence it may happily seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were usually termed at the first Apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual Authority they succeeded. Such as deny Apostles to have * any Successors at all in the office of their Apostleship, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they well explain themselves in declaring what truly and properly Apostleship is. In some things every Presbyter, in some things only Bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other are the Apostles' Successors. The Apostles were sent as special chosen eye-witnesses of Jesus Christ, from whom immediately they received their whole Embassage and their Commission to be the principal first Founders of an House of God, consisting as well of Gentiles as of Jews. In this there are not after them any other like unto them; and yet the Apostles have now their Successors upon Earth, their true Successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that Episcopal Function, whereby they had Power to sit as spiritual ordinary Judges, both over Laity and over Clergy where Christian Churches were established.

Hieron. Ep. 85. Cypr. Ep. ad Florent. Theod. in 1 Tim. iii. Acts i. 21, 22. 1 John i. 3. Gal. i. 1. Apo. xxi. 14. Mat. xxviii. 19.

5. The Apostles of our Lord did, according unto those directions which were given them from above, erect Churches in all such Cities as received the Word of Truth, the Gospel of God. All Churches by them erected, received from them the same Faith, the same Sacraments, the same form of publick Regiment. The form of Regiment by them established at first was, *That the Laity of People should be subject*

The time and cause of instituting every where Bishops with restraint.

* Ipsius Apostolatus nulla successio. Finitur enim legatio cum legato, nec ad successores ipsius transit. Staple. doct. prin. lib. vi. cap. 7.

unto

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unto a College of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, which were in every ſuch City appointed for that purpoſe. Theſe in their Writings they term ſometime Preſbyters, ſometime Biſhops. To take one Church out of a number for a pattern what the reſt were; the Preſbyters of Epheſus, as it is in the Hiſtory of their departure from the Apoſtle Paul at Miletum, are ſaid to have wept abundantly all, which ſpeech doth ſhew them to have been many. And by the Apoſtle's exhortation it may appear, that they had not each his ſeveral Flock to feed, but were in common appointed to feed that one Flock the Church of Epheſus; for which cauſe the phraſe of his ſpeech is this, *Attendite gregi*, look all to that one Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops. Theſe Perſons Eccleſiaſtical being termed as then, Preſbyters and Biſhops both, were all ſubject unto Paul, *as to an higher Governor appointed of God to be over them. But foraſmuch as the Apoſtles could not themſelves be preſent in all Churches, and as the Apoſtle St. Paul foretold the Preſbyters of the Epheſians, that *there would riſe up from amongſt their ownſelves, Men ſpeaking perverſe things to draw Diſciples after them*; there did grow in ſhort time amongſt the Governors of each Church, thoſe emulations, ſtrifes and contentions, whereof there could be no ſufficient remedy provided, except, according unto the order of Jeruſalem already begun, ſome one were endued with Epiſcopal Authority over the reſt, which one being reſident might keep them in order, and have Pre-eminence or Principality in thoſe

Acts xx. 36, 37.

Acts xx. 29, 30.

* As appeareth both by his ſending to call the Preſbyters of Epheſus before him as far as to Miletum, Acts xx. 17. which was almoſt fifty miles, and by his leaving Timothy in his place with his authority and inſtructions for ordaining of Miniſters there, 1 Tim. v. 22. and for proportioning their maintenance, ver. 17, 18. and for judicial hearing of accuſations brought againſt them, ver. 19. and for holding them in an uniformity of Doctrine, c. i. ver. 3.

things,

things, wherein the equality of many Agents was the cauſe of diſorder and trouble. This one Preſident or Governor, amongſt the reſt, had his known Authority eſtabliſhed a long time before that ſettled difference of Name and Title took place, whereby ſuch alone were named Biſhops. And therefore in the Book of St. John's Revelation we find that they are entituled Angels. It will perhaps be anſwered, Revel. ii. that the Angels of thoſe Churches were only in every Church a Miniſter of Sacraments: but then we aſk, is it probable that in every of theſe Churches, even in Epheſus itſelf, where many ſuch Miniſters were long before, as hath been proved, there was but one ſuch, when John directed his ſpeech to the Angel of that Church? If there were many, ſurely St. John, in naming but only one of them an Angel, did behold in that one ſomewhat above the reſt. Nor was this order peculiar unto ſome few Churches, but the whole World univerſally became ſubject thereunto; inſomuch as they did not account it to be a Church which was not ſubject unto a Biſhop. It was the general received perſuaſion of the ancient Chriſtian World, that *Eccleſia eſt in Epiſcopo*, the Cypr. lib. iv. Epiſt. 9. outward Being of a Church conſiſted in the having of a Biſhop. That where Colleges of Preſbyters were, there was at the firſt equality amongſt them, St. Jerome thinketh it a matter clear: but when the Hieron. Ep. ad Evag. reſt were thus equal, ſo that no one of them could command any other as inferior unto him, they all were controulable by the Apoſtle, who had that Epiſcopal Authority, abiding at the firſt in themſelves, which they afterwards derived unto others. The cauſe wherefore they under themſelves appointed ſuch Biſhops as were not every where at the firſt, is ſaid to have been thoſe ſtrifes and contentions, for remedy whereof whether the Apoſtles alone did conclude of ſuch a Regiment, or elſe they together with the whole Church judging it a fit and needful Policy did agree to receive it for a cuſtom; no doubt but

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but being eſtabliſhed by them on whom the Holy Ghoſt was poured in ſo abundant meaſure for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, it had either divine Appointment before-hand, or divine Approbation afterwards, and is in that reſpect to be acknowledged the Ordinance of God, no leſs than that ancient Jewiſh Regiment, whereof though Jethro were the Deviſer, yet after that God had allowed it, all Men were ſubject unto it, as to the Polity of God, and not of Jethro. That ſo the ancient Fathers did think of Epiſcopal Regiment; that they held this order as a thing received from the bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, and authorized even from Heaven, we may perhaps more eaſily prove, than obtain that they all ſhall grant it who ſee it proved. St. Auguſtine ſetteth it down for a principle, that whatſoever poſitive order the whole Church every where doth obſerve, the ſame it muſt needs have received from the very Apoſtles themſelves, unleſs perhaps ſome general Council were the Authors of it. And he ſaw that the ruling Superiority of Biſhops was a thing univerſally eſtabliſhed not by the force of any Council: (for Councils do all preſuppoſe Biſhops, nor can there any Council be named ſo ancient, either general, or ſo much as provincial, ſithence the Apoſtles' own times, but we can ſhew that Biſhops had their Authority before it, and not from it.) Wherefore St. Auguſtine knowing this, could not chuſe but reverence the Authority of Biſhops, as a thing to him apparently and moſt clearly Apoſtolical. But it will be perhaps objected, that Regiment by Biſhops was not ſo univerſal nor ancient as we pretend; and that an argument hereof may be Jerome's own teſtimony, who living at the very ſame time with St. Auguſtine, noted this kind of Regiment as being no where ancient, ſaving only in Alexandria; his Words are theſe: *It was for a remedy of Schiſm that one was afterwards choſen to be placed above the reſt; leſt every Man's pulling unto himſelf, ſhould rend aſunder*

Exod. xviii. 19.

Ep. ad Januar.

Ep. ad Evag.

asunder the Church of Christ. For (that which also may serve for an argument or token hereof) at Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist, unto Heraclas and Dionysius, the Presbyters always chose one of themselves, whom they placed in higher degree, and gave unto him the Title of Bishop. * Now St. Jerome, they say, would never have picked out that one Church from amongst so many, and have noted that in it there had been Bishops from the time that St. Mark lived, if so be the self-same order were of like antiquity every where; his words therefore must be thus scholied; in the Church of Alexandria Presbyters indeed had even from the time of St. Mark the Evangelist always a Bishop to rule over them for a remedy against divisions, factions and schisms: not so in other Churches, neither in that very Church any longer than *usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium*, till Heraclas and his Successor Dionysius were Bishops. But this construction doth bereave the words construed partly of wit, and partly of truth; it maketh them both absurd and false. For if the meaning be that Episcopal Government in that Church was then expired, it must have expired with the end of some one, and not of two several Bishops' days, unless perhaps it fell sick under Heraclas, and with Dionysius gave up the ghost. Besides, it is clearly untrue that the Presbyters of that Church did then cease to be under a Bishop. Who doth not know that after Dionysius, Maximus was Bishop of Alexandria, after him Theonas, after him Peter, after him Achillas, after him Alexander, of whom Socrates in this sort writeth? It fortuned on a certain time that this Alexander in the presence of the Presbyters which were under him, and of the rest of the Clergy there, discoursed somewhat curiously and subtilly of Socrat. lib. i. c. 3.

* T. C. ii. p. 82. It is to be observed that Jerome saith, it was so in Alexandria; signifying that in other Churches it was not so.

the

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the Holy Trinity, bringing high philoſophical proofs, that there is in the Trinity an Unity. Whereupon Arius one of the Preſbyters which were placed in that degree under Alexander, oppoſed eagerly himſelf againſt thoſe things which were uttered by the Biſhop. So that thus long Biſhops continued even in the Church of Alexandria. Nor did their Regiment here ceaſe, but theſe alſo had others their Succeſſors till St. Jerome's own time, who living long after Heraclas and Dionyſius had ended their days, did not yet live himſelf to ſee the Preſbyters of Alexandria otherwiſe than ſubject to a Biſhop. So that we cannot with any truth ſo interpret his words as to mean, that in the Church of Alexandria there had been Biſhops indued with Superiority over Preſbyters from St. Mark's time only to the time of Heraclas and of Dionyſius. Wherefore that St. Jerome may receive a more probable interpretation than this, we anſwer, that generally of Regiment by Biſhops, and what term of continuance it had in the Church of Alexandria, it was no part of his mind to ſpeak, but to note one only circumſtance belonging to the manner of their Election, which circumſtance is, that in Alexandria they uſed to chuſe their Biſhops altogether out of the College of their own Preſbyters, and neither from abroad nor out of any other inferior Order of the Clergy, whereas oftentimes * elſewhere the uſe was to chuſe as well from abroad as at home, as well inferior unto Preſbyters as Preſbyters, when they ſaw occaſion. This cuſtom, 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 choſe out of their College of Preſbyters.

The drift and purpoſe of St. Jerome's ſpeech doth

* Unto Ignatius Biſhop of Antioch, Hero a Deacon there was made Succeſſor. Chryſoſtom being a Preſbyter of Antioch, was choſen to ſucceed Nectarius in the Biſhoprick of Conſtantinople.

plainly

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 Deacons' eſtimation, and lifteth up Preſbyters as far as poſſible the truth might bear. *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 after 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 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 Engubium 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.*

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byter. 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 pre-eminence, 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 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-alledged 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 Apostolick 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. 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 alledged against the ancient Authority of Bishops; concerning whose Government St. Jerome's own words otherwhere are sufficient to show his opinion; that this Order was not only in Alexandria so ancient, but even as ancient in other Churches. We have before alledged his testimony touching James the Bishop of Jerusalem. As for Bishops in other Churches, on the first of the Epistle to Titus thus he speaketh: *Till through instinct of the Devil there grew in the Church factions, and among the People it began to be professed,*

I am

I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, Churches were governed by the common advice 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 persuaded that the same Jerome thought it so ancient no where saving in Alexandria, one only Church of the whole World? A sentence there is indeed of St. Jerome's, which being not throughly considered and weighed, may cause his meaning 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 manner; *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 know, that Custom rather than the truth of any Ordinance of the Lord maketh 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

* Bishops he meaneth by restraint; 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 Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt, Episcopatus sui et Ecclesiæ ministros. Lib. iii. Ep. 9.

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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 dangerous; 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 Law 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 reason of God's first Institution, as by sundry examples may be most clearly proved; what Laws the universal Church might change, and doth not, if they have long continued without any alteration, it seemeth that St. Jerome ascribeth 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.*

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 had thus deſcended even from the very Apoſtles themſelves, yet the abſolute and everlaſting continuance of it they cannot ſay that any Commandment of the Lord doth enjoin; *And therefore muſt acknowledge that the Church hath power by univerſal conſent upon urgent cauſe to take it away, if thereunto ſhe be conſtrained through the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her Biſhops, whoſe Regiment ſhe hath thus long delighted in, becauſe ſhe hath found it good and requiſite to be ſo governed. 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,*

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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 them. 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 Epiphanius 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 sort: *Let them therefore 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*

Lib. ii. to 2. Hæres. 66.

De prescript. adverss. hæret.

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. And what need we to seek far for proofs that the Apostles who began this order of Regiment by 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 Acts xiii. not open their mouths to the Gentiles till the Spirit had said, *Separate me Paul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have sent them.* The Eunuch by Acts viii. Philip was neither baptized nor instructed before the Angel of God was sent to give him notice that so it pleased the Most High. In Asia, Paul and the rest Acts xvi. were silent, beause the Spirit forbade them to speak. When they intended to have seen Bithynia, they stayed their journey, the Spirit not giving them leave to go. Before Timothy was employed in those Epis- 1 Tim. i. copal affairs of the Church, about which the Apostle 18. St. Paul used him, the Holy Ghost gave special charge for his Ordination and Prophetical intelligence, 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

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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 it.

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

Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. et de Hæres. 53.

6. A Bishop, saith St. Augustin, is a Presbyter's Superior: but the Question is now, wherein that Superiority did consist. The Bishop's Pre-eminence we say therefore was two-fold. First, he excelled in latitude of 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 controul the other. In like sort, Presbyters having a weightier and 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. 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 by that which St. Paul himself concerning them hath, and by the latter consonant evidence of other Men's Writings. Now a part of the Pre-eminence which Bishops had in their power of Order was, that by them only such were consecrated. Again, the power of ordaining both Deacons and Presbyters, the power to give the Power of Order unto others, this also hath been

1 Cor. vii. 25.
1 Tim. v. 9.
Tertul. de vel virg.

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 Epiphanius 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 other's lamp. The Apoſtles being Biſhops at large, ordained every where Preſbyters. Titus and Timothy having received Epiſcopal Power, as Apoſtolical Ambaſſadors or Legats, the one in Greece, the other in Epheſus, 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? I make not Confirmation any part of that Power, which hath always belonged only unto Biſhops;* becauſe in ſome places the cuſtom was, that Preſbyters might alſo confirm in the abſence of a Biſhop; albeit, for the moſt part, none but only Biſhops were thereof the allowed Miniſters.

Epiph. 3. lib. x. 1. Hær. 73.

Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 22.

* Apud Ægyptum Preſbyteri confirmant ſi præſens non ſit Epiſcopus. Com. q. vulgo Amb. dic. in 4. Ep. ad Epheſ.

Here

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Here it will perhaps be objected, that the power of Ordination itſelf was not every where peculiar and proper unto Biſhops, as may be ſeen by a Council of Carthage, which ſheweth their Church's order to have been, that Preſbyters ſhould together with the Biſhop lay hands upon the ordained. But the Anſwer hereunto is eaſy; for doth it hereupon follow that the power of Ordination was not principally and originally in the Biſhop? Our Saviour hath ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *With me ye ſhall ſit and judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael*; yet we know that to him alone it belongeth to judge the World, and that to him all judgment is given. With us even at this day Preſbyters are licenſed to do as much as that Council ſpeaketh of, if any be preſent. Yet will not any Man thereby conclude that in this Church others than Biſhops are allowed to ordain. The aſſociation of Preſbyters is no ſufficient proof that the power of Ordination is in them; but rather that it never was in them we may hereby underſtand; for that no Man is able to ſhew either Deacon or Preſbyter ordained by Preſbyters only, and his Ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the Church; every where examples being found both of Deacons and Preſbyters ordained by Biſhops alone oftentimes, neither even in that reſpect thought unſufficient. Touching that other chiefty, which is of Juriſdiction; amongſt the Jews he which was higheſt through the worthineſs of peculiar duties incident unto his Function in the legal ſervice of God, did bear always in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction the chiefeſt ſway. As long as the glory of the Temple of God did laſt, there were in it ſundry Orders of Men conſecrated unto the ſervice thereof; one ſort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree; the Nathiners ſubordinate unto the Levites, the Levites unto the Prieſts, the reſt of the Prieſts to thoſe twenty-four which were chief Prieſts, and they all to the High-Prieſt. If any Man ſurmiſe that the difference between

tween them was only by distinction in the former kind of Power, and not in this latter of Jurisdiction, are not the words of the Law manifest which made Eleazer the Son of Aaron the Priest chief Captain of the Levites, and Overseer of them, unto whom the charge of the Sanctuary was committed? Again, at the commandment of Aaron and his Sons, are not the Gersonites themselves required to do all their service in the whole charge belonging unto the Gersonites being inferior Priests, as Aaron and his Sons were High-Priests? Did not Jehoshaphat appoint Amazias the Priest to be chief over them who were Judges for the cause of the Lord in Jerusalem? *Priests*, saith Josephus, *worship God continually, and the eldest of the stock are Governors over the rest. He doth sacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the Laws, judgeth Controversies, correcteth Offenders, and whosoever obeyeth him not, is convict of impiety against God.* But unto this they answer, that the reason thereof was because the High-Priest did prefigure Christ, and represent to the People that chiefty of our Saviour which was to come; so that Christ being now come there is no cause why such pre-eminence should be given unto any one. Which fancy pleaseth so well the humour of all sorts of rebellious Spirits, that they all seek to shroud themselves under it. Tell the Anabaptist, which holdeth the use of the sword unlawful for a Christian Man, that God himself did allow his People to make wars; they have their answer round and ready, *Those ancient Wars were figures of the spiritual Wars of Christ.* Tell the Barrowist what sway David, and others the Kings of Israel, did bear in the ordering of spiritual affairs, the same answer again serveth, namely, *That David, and the rest of the Kings of Israel prefigured Christ.* Tell the Martinist of the High-Priest's great Authority and Jurisdiction amongst the Jews, what other thing doth serve his turn but the self-same shift; *By the power of the High-Priest the universal supreme*

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Numb. iii. 32.

Numb. iv. 27.

2 Chron. xix. 11.

Joseph. Antiq. p. 612.

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ſupreme Authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſhadowed. The thing is true, that indeed High-Prieſts were figures of Chriſt, yet this was in things belonging unto their power of Order; they figured Chriſt by entring into the holy place, by offering for the ſins of all the People once a year, and by other the like duties: but, that to govern and maintain order amongſt thoſe that were ſubject to them, is an Office figurative and abrogated by Chriſt coming into the Miniſtry; that their exerciſe of Juriſdiction was figurative, yea figurative in ſuch ſort, that it had no other cauſe of being inſtituted, but only to ſerve as a repreſentation of ſomewhat to come, and that herein the Church of Chriſt ought not to follow them; this article is ſuch as muſt be confirmed, if any way, by miracle, otherwiſe it will hardly enter into the heads of reaſonable Men, why the High-Prieſt ſhould more figure Chriſt in being a Judge than in being whatſoever he might be beſides. St. Cyprian deemed it no wreſting of Scripture to challenge as much for Chriſtian Biſhops, as was given to the High-Prieſt among the Jews, and to urge the Law of Moſes as being moſt effectual to prove it. St. Jerom likewiſe thought it an argument ſufficient to ground the Authority of Biſhops upon. *To the end*, ſaith he, *we may underſtand Apoſtolical traditions to have been taken from the Old Teſtament; that which Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, Biſhops and Preſbyters and Deacons in the Church may lawfully challenge to themſelves.* In the office of a Biſhop Ignatius obſerveth theſe two functions, ἱερατεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν: concerning the one, ſuch is the pre-eminence of a Biſhop, that he only hath the heavenly myſteries of God committed originally unto him, ſo that otherwiſe than by his Ordination, and by Authority received from him, others beſides him are not licenſed therein to deal as ordinary Miniſters of God's Church: and touching the other part of their ſacred function, wherein the power of their Juriſdiction doth appear, firſt how the Apoſtles themſelves, and ſecondly how Titus and Timothy had

Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 9. ad Rogatianum.

Hierom. Ep. 85.

Ep. ad Smyr.

rule

rule and juriſdiction over Preſbyters,* no Man is ignorant. And had not Chriſtian Biſhops afterward the like power? Ignatius Biſhop of Antioch being ready by bleſſed Martyrdom to end his life, writeth unto his Preſbyters, the Paſtors under him, in this ſort.

Οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμὶν ποιμνίον, ἕως ἀναδείξη ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Antioch. Apud. Cypr. Ep. 1. Ep. 7.

After the death of Fabian Biſhop of Rome, there growing ſome trouble about the receiving of ſuch Perſons into the Church as had fallen away in perſecution, and did now repent their fall, the Preſbyters and Deacons of the ſame Church advertiſed St. Cyprian thereof, ſignifying, *That they muſt of neceſſity defer to deal in that cauſe till God did ſend them a new Biſhop which might moderate all things.* Much we read of extraordinary faſting uſually in the Church; and in this appeareth alſo ſomewhat concerning the chiefty of Biſhops. *The cuſtom is,* ſaith Tertullian,† *that Biſhops do appoint when the People ſhall all faſt. Yea, it is not a matter left to our own free choice whether Biſhops ſhall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is,* ſaith Cyprian, *that every act of the Church be governed by her Biſhops.* An argument it is of the Biſhop's high Pre-eminence, Rule and Government over all the reſt of the Clergy, even that the ſword of Perſecution did ſtrike, eſpecially, always at the Biſhop as at the Head, the reſt by reaſon of their lower eſtate being more ſecure, as the ſelf ſame Cyprian noteth; the very manner of whoſe ſpeech unto his own both Deacons and Preſbyters who remained ſafe, when himſelf then Biſhop was driven into exile, argueth likewiſe his eminent Authority and Rule over them. *By theſe letters,* ſaith he, *I both exhort and command that ye whoſe preſence there is not envied at, nor ſo much beſet with dangers, ſupply my room in doing thoſe things which the exerciſe of Religion doth re-*

Cypr. Ep. 39. Vide Ignat. ad Magneſ.

* 1 Tim. v. 19. Againſt a Preſbyter receive no accuſation under two or three witneſſes.

† Tertul. adverſ. Pſychic. Epiſcopi univerſæ plebi mandare jejunia aſſolent. Cypr. Ep. 27.

quire.

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quire. Unto the ſame purpoſe ſerve moſt directly thoſe compariſons, than which nothing is more familiar in the Books of the ancient Fathers, who as oft as they ſpeak of the ſeveral degrees in God's Clergy, if they chance to compare Preſbyters with Levitical Prieſts of the Law, the Biſhop * they compare unto Aaron the High-Prieſt; if they compare the one with the Apoſtles, the other they compare (although in a lower proportion) ſometime † to Chriſt, and ſometime to God himſelf, evermore ſhewing that they placed the Biſhop in an eminent degree of ruling authority and power above other Preſbyters. Ignatius comparing Biſhops with Deacons, and with ſuch Miniſters of the word and ſacraments as were but Preſbyters, and had no authority over Preſbyters; *What is*, ſaith he, *the Biſhop but one which hath all principality and power over all, ſo far forth as Man may have it, being to his power a follower even of God's own Chriſt?* Mr. Calvin himſelf, though an enemy unto Regiment by Biſhops, doth notwithſtanding confeſs, that in old time the Miniſters which had charge to teach, choſe of their company one in every city, to whom they appropriated the title of Biſhop, leſt equality ſhould breed diſſenſion. He addeth farther, that look what duty the Roman Conſuls did execute in propoſing matter unto the Senate, in aſking their opinions, in directing them by advice, admonition, exhortation, in guiding actions by their authority, and in ſeeing that performed which was with common conſent agreed on, the like charge had the Biſhop in the aſſembly of other Miniſters. Thus much Calvin being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the Biſhops to have been ſo in authority at the firſt as to bear rule over other Miniſters: wherein what rule he doth mean I know not. But if the Biſhops were ſo far in dignity above other Miniſters, as the Conſuls

Ignat. Ep. ad Tra.

Inſtit. l. iv. c. 4. ſect. 2.

* Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc Epiſcopum et Preſbyteros eſſe noverimus. Hier. Ep. 2. ad Nepotianum.

† Ita eſt ut in Epiſcopis Dominum, in Preſbyteris Apoſtolos recognoſcas. Auctor opuſc. de Septem Ord. Eccl. inter opera Hieron.

of

of Rome for their year above other Senators, it is as much as we require. And undoubtedly, if as the Conſuls of Rome, ſo the Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt had ſuch authority, as both to direct other Miniſters, and to ſee that every of them ſhould obſerve that which their common conſent had agreed on, how this could be done by the Biſhop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I muſt acknowledge that my poor conceit is not able to comprehend. One objection there is of ſome force to make againſt that which we have hitherto endeavoured to prove, if they miſtake it not who alledge it. St. Jerom comparing other Preſbyters with him, unto whom the name of Biſhop was then appropriate, aſketh, *What a Biſhop by virtue of his place and calling may do more than a Preſbyter, except it be only to ordain?* In like ſort Chryſoſtom having moved a queſtion, wherefore St. Paul would give Timothy precept concerning the quality of Biſhops, and deſcend from them to Deacons, omitting the Order of Preſbyters between, he maketh thereunto this anſwer: *What things he ſpake concerning Biſhops, the ſame are alſo meet for Preſbyters, whom Biſhops ſeem not to excel in any thing but only in the power of Ordination.* Wherefore ſeeing this doth import no ruling ſuperiority, it follows that Biſhops were as then no Rulers over that part of the Clergy of God. Whereunto we anſwer, that both St. Jerom and St. Chryſoſtom had in thoſe their ſpeeches an eye no farther than only to that function for which Preſbyters and Biſhops were conſecrated unto God. Now we know that their Conſecration had reference to nothing but only that which they did by force and virtue of the power of Order, wherein ſith Biſhops received their charge, only by that one degree, to ſpeak of, more ample than Preſbyters did theirs, it might be well enough ſaid that Preſbyters were that way authorized to do, in a manner, even as much as Biſhops could do, if we conſider what each of them did by virtue of ſolemn Conſecration; for as concerning power of Regiment

Hierom. Ep. adEvagr. 85.

Chryſ. x. in 1 Tim. 3.

and

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and Jurisdiction, it was a thing withal added unto Bishops for the necessary use of such certain Persons and People as should be thereunto subject in those particular Churches whereof they were Bishops, and belonging to them only, as Bishops of such or such a Church; whereas the other kind of power had relation indefinitely unto any of the whole society of Christian Men, on whom they should chance to exercise the same, and belonging to them absolutely, as they were Bishops, wheresoever they lived. St. Jerom's conclusion thereof is, *That seeing in the one kind of power there is no greater difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop, Bishops should not, because of their pre-eminence in the other, too much lift up themselves above the Presbyters under them.* St. Chrysostom's collection, *That where the Apostle doth set down the qualities, whereof regard should be had in the Consecration of Bishops, there was no need to make a several discourse how Presbyters ought to be qualified when they are ordained; because there being so little difference in the functions, whereunto the one and the other receive Ordination, the same precepts might well serve for both; at leastwise by the virtues required in the greater, what should need in the less might be easily understood. As for the difference of jurisdiction, the truth is, the Apostles yet living, and themselves where they were resident, exercising the jurisdiction in their own persons, it was not every where established in Bishops.* When the Apostles prescribed those laws, and when Chrysostom thus spake concerning them, it was not by him at all respected, but his eye was the same way with Jerom's; his cogitation was wholly fixed on that power which by Consecration is given to Bishops, more than to Presbyters, and not on that which they have over Presbyters by force of their particular accessary Jurisdiction. Wherein if any Man suppose that Jerom and Chrysostom knew no difference at all between a Presbyter and a Bishop, let him weigh but one or two of their sentences. The pride of insolent Bishops hath not a sharper enemy than Jerom, for which cause he taketh often

often occasions most severely to inveigh against them, sometimes for * shewing disdain and contempt of the Clergy under them; some times for not † suffering themselves to be told of their faults, and admonished of their duty by inferiors; sometimes for not ‡ admitting their Presbyters to teach, if so be themselves were in presence; sometimes for not vouchsafing to use any conference with them, or to take any counsel of them. Howbeit never doth he, in such wise, bend himself against their disorders as to deny their rule and authority over Presbyters. Of Vigilantius being a Presbyter he thus writeth: *Miror sanctum Episcopum in cujus parochia Presbyter esse dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus et non virga Apostolica virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile. I marvel that the holy Bishop under whom Vigilantius is said to be a Presbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable vessel with his Apostolick and iron rod.* With this agreeth most fitly the grave advice he giveth to Nepotian: *Be thou subject unto thy Bishop, and receive him as the Father of thy Soul. This also I say, that Bishops should know themselves to be Priests, and not Lords, § that they ought to honour the Clergy as becometh the Clergy to be honoured, to the end their Clergy may yield them the honour which, as Bishops, they ought to have.* That of the Orator Domitius is famous: *Wherefore should I esteem of thee as of a Prince,*

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Ep. 54. ad Ripar.

Hieron. ad Nepot.

* Velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti vix dignantur videre mortales et alloqui conservos suos. In 4. c. Epist. ad Gal.

† Nemo peccantibus Episcopis audet contradicere: nemo audet accusare majorem, propterea quasi sancti et beati et in præceptis Domini ambulantes augent peccata peccatis. Difficilis est accusatio in Episcopum. Si enim peccaverit, non creditur, et si convictus fuerit, non punitur. In cap. 8. Eccleslast.

‡ Pessimæ consuetudinis est, in quibusdam Ecclesiis tacere Presbyteros et præsentibus Episcopis non loqui; quasi aut invideant aut non dignentur audire. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

§ No Bishop may be a Lord in reference unto the Presbyters, which are under him, if we take that name in the worse part, as Jerom here doth. For a Bishop is to rule his Presbyters, not as Lords do their Slaves, but as Fathers do their Children.

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when thou makeſt not of me that reckoning, which ſhould in reaſon be made of a Senator? Let us know the Biſhop and his Preſbyters to be the ſame which Aaron ſometimes and his Sons were. Finally, writing againſt Heretics which were named Luciferians, *The very ſafety of the Church*, ſaith he, *dependeth on the dignity of the Chief Prieſt, to whom, unleſs Men grant an exceeding and an eminent power, there will grow in Churches even as many Schiſms as there are Perſons which have authority.*

Touching Chryſoſtom, to ſhew that by him there was alſo acknowledged a ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters, both then uſual, and in no reſpect unlawful, what need we alledge his words and ſentences, when the hiſtory of his own Epiſcopal actions in that very kind is till this day extant for all Men to read that will? For St. Chryſoſtom of a Preſbyter in Antioch, grew to be afterwards Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and in proceſs of time, when the Emperor's heavy diſpleaſure had, through the practice of a powerful faction againſt him, effected his baniſhment, Innocent the Biſhop of Rome underſtanding thereof, wrote his letters unto the Clergy of that Church, *That no Succeſſor ought to be choſen in Chryſoſtom's room: Nec ejus clerum alii parere Pontifici, Nor his Clergy OBEY any other Biſhop than him.* A fond kind of ſpeech, if ſo be there had been, as then, in Biſhops no ruling ſuperiority over Preſbyters. When two of Chryſoſtom's Preſbyters had joined themſelves to the faction of his mortal enemy Theophilus, Patriarch in the Church of Alexandria, the ſame Theophilus and other Biſhops which were of his conventicle, having ſent thoſe two amongſt others to cite Chryſoſtom their lawful Biſhop, and to bring him into public judgment, he taketh againſt this one thing ſpecial exception, as being contrary to all order, that thoſe Preſbyters ſhould come as Meſſengers, and call him to judgment who were a part of that Clergy, whereof himſelf was Ruler and Judge. So that Biſhops to have had in thoſe times a ruling ſuperiority over Preſbyters, neither could

In vita Chryſ. per Caſſiod. Sen.

Pallad. in vita Chryſ.

Jerom

Jerom nor Chryſoſtom be ignorant; and therefore, hereupon it were ſuperfluous that we ſhould any longer ſtand. BOOK VII.

7. Touching the next point, how Biſhops together with Preſbyters have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them—It is by Zonaras ſomewhat plainly and at large declared, that the Biſhop had his ſeat on high in the Church above the reſidue which were preſent; that a number of Preſbyters did always there aſſiſt him; and that in the overſight of the People thoſe Preſbyters were * after a ſort the Biſhop's Coadjutors. The Biſhops and Preſbyters, who, together with him, governed the Church, are for the moſt part by Ignatius jointly mentioned. In the Epiſtle to them of Trallis, he ſaith of Preſbyters, that they are Σύμβουλοι καὶ Συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, *Counſellors and Aſſiſtants of the Biſhop*, and concludeth in the end, *He that ſhould diſobey theſe, were a plain Atheiſt and an irreligious Perſon, and one that did ſet Chriſt himſelf and his own Ordinances at nought.* Which orders making Preſbyters or Prieſts the Biſhop's Aſſiſtants do not import that they were of equal authority with him, but rather ſo adjoined that they alſo were ſubject, as hath been proved. In the Writings of St. Cyprian † nothing is more uſual, than to make mention of the College of Preſbyters ſubject unto the Biſhop; although in handling the common affairs of the Church they aſſiſted him. But of all other places which open the ancient order of Epiſcopal Preſbyters, the moſt clear is that Epiſtle of Cyprian unto Cornelius, concerning certain Novatian Hereticks, received again upon their converſion into the unity of the Church. *After that Urbanus and Sidonius, Confeſſors, had come and ſignified unto our Preſbyters, that Maximus, a Confeſſor and Preſbyter, did, together with them, deſire to return into the Church, it ſeemed meet to hear from*

After what ſort Biſhops together with Preſbyters have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.

* Ὥσπερ σύμπονοι δοθέντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ. Zon. in Can. Apoſt.

† Cum Epiſcopo Preſbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti. Ep. 28. Ego et Com-preſbyteri noſtri qui nobis adſidebant. Ep. 27.

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their own mouths and confessions that which by messag they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the Presbyters touching those things they had committed, their answer was, That they had been deceived; and did request that such things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the Presbytery might be assembled. There were also present fiv Bishops that, upon settled advice, it might be with consent of all determined what should be done about their Persons.

Thus far St. Cyprian. Wherein it may be, peradventure, demanded, whether he and other Bishops did thus proceed with advice of their Presbyters in all such public affairs of the Church, as being thereunto bound by Ecclesiastical Canons, or else that they voluntarily so did, because they judged it in discretion as then most convenient. Surely the words of Cyprian are plain, that of his own accord he chose this way of proceeding. *Unto that*, saith he, *which Donatus, and Fortunatus, and Novatus, and Gordius our Com-presbyters have written, I could by myself also make no answer, forasmuch as at the very first entrance into my Bishoprick I resolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counsel and the People's consent.* The reason whereof he rendereth in the same Epistle, saying, *When by the grace of God myself shall come unto you,* (for St. Cyprian was now in exile) *of things which either have been, or must be done we will consider,* sicut honor mutuus poscit, *as the law of courtesy which one doth owe to another of us requireth.* And at this very mark doth St. Jerom ever more aim, in telling Bishops, that Presbyters were at the first their Equals; that, in some Churches, for a long time no Bishop was made, but only such as the Presbyters did create out amongst themselves, and therefore no cause why the Bishop should disdain to consult with them, and in weighty affairs of the Church to use their advice; sometime to countenance their own actions; or to repress the boldness of proud and

Cypr. Ep. 93.

and insolent Spirits, that which Bishops had in themselves sufficient authority and power to have done, notwithstanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and assistance of other Bishops, as in the case of those Novatian Hereticks, before alledged, Cyprian himself did. And in Cyprian we find of others the like practice. Rogatian, a Bishop, having been used contumeliously by a Deacon of his own Church, wrote thereof his complaint unto Cyprian and other Bishops. In which case their answer was, *That although in his own cause, he did of humility rather shew his grievance, than himself take revenge, which by the rigour of his Apostolical Office, and the authority of his chair, he might have presently done, without any further delay*; yet if the Party should do again, as before their judgments were, *Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, et eum vel deponas vel abstineas*; use on him that power which the honour of thy place giveth thee, either to depose him, or exclude him from access unto holy things. The Bishop, for his assistance and ease, had under him, to guide and direct Deacons in their charge, his Arch-deacon, so termed in respect of care over Deacons, albeit himself were not Deacon but Presbyter. For the guidance of Presbyters in their function, the Bishop had likewise under him one of the self-same Order with them, but above them in authority, one whom the Ancients termed usually an * Arch-Presbyter, we at this day name him Dean. For, most certain truth it is, that Churches Cathedral and the Bishops of them are as glasses, wherein the face and very countenance of Apostolical Antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time and the course of the World hath brought. For defence

Cypr. Ep. 38.

* Such a one was that Peter whom Cassiodor writing the life of Chrysostom doth call the Arch-Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria under Theophilus, at that time Bishop.

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and maintenance of them we are moſt earneſtly bound to ſtrive, even as the Jews were for their Temple and the High-Prieſt of God therein: the overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the ſacrilegious avarice of Atheiſts ſhould prevail ſo far, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwiſe to move us than the People of God were moved, when having beheld the ſack and combuſtion of his Sanctuary in moſt lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved ſpirits thoſe voices of doleful ſupplication, *Exſurge Domine et miſerearis Sion, Servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miſeret eos.*

Pſal. cxli.

How far the power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of territory or local compaſs.

8. How far the power which Biſhops had did reach, what number of Perſons was ſubject unto them at the firſt, and how large their Territories were, it is not for the queſtion we have in hand a thing very greatly material to know. For if we prove that Biſhops have lawfully of old ruled over other Miniſters, it is enough, how few ſoever thoſe Miniſters have been, how ſmall ſoever the circuit of place which hath contained them. Yet hereof ſomewhat, to the end we may ſo far forth illuſtrate Church Antiquities. A Law Imperial there is, which ſheweth that there was great care had to provide for every Chriſtian city a Biſhop as near as might be,* and that each city had ſome territory belonging unto it, which territory was alſo under the Biſhop of the ſame city; that becauſe it was not univerſally thus, but in ſome countries one Biſhop had ſubject unto him many cities and their territories, the Law which provided for eſtabliſhment of the

* Lib. xxxvi. c. de Epiſc. ad Cler. Ἑκάστη πόλις ἴδιον Ἐπίσκοπον ἐχέτω· Καὶ κἂν διὰ θείας ἀντιγραφῆς τολμήσῃ τὶς ἁφελεσθαι πόλιν τῷ ἰδίῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ ἢ τῆς περιοικίδος αὐτῆς ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου δικαίου, γυμνῶται τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀτιμῶται. Ἐξήρηται δὲ ἡ τομέων Σκυθίας πόλις. Ὁ γὰρ Ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοεῖ. Καὶ ἡ Λεοντόπολις Ἰσαυρίας ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον ἐστὶν Ἰσαυροπόλεως. Beſides Cypr. Ep. 52. Cum jampridem per omnes provincias et per urbes ſingulas ordinati ſunt Epiſcopi.

other

other Orders, ſhould not prejudice thoſe Churches wherein this contrary cuſtom had before prevailed. Unto the Biſhop of every ſuch city, not only the Preſbyters of the ſame city, but alſo of the territory thereunto belonging, were from the firſt beginning ſubject. For we muſt note, that when as yet there were in cities no Pariſh Churches, but only Colleges of Preſbyters under their Biſhop's regiment, yet ſmaller Congregations and Churches there were even then abroad, in which Churches there was but ſome one only Preſbyter to perform among them divine duties.* Towns and villages abroad receiving the faith of Chriſt from cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as ſpiritual and heavenly Colonies, by their ſubjection, honour thoſe ancient Mother Churches out of which they grew. And in the Chriſtian cities themſelves, when the mighty increaſe of Believers made it neceſſary to have them divided into certain ſeveral companies, and over every of thoſe companies one only Paſtor to be appointed for the Miniſtry of holy things; between the firſt, and the reſt after it, there could not be but a natural inequality, even as between the Temple and Synagogues in Jeruſalem. The Clergy of cities were termed *Urbici*, to ſhew a difference between them and the Clergies of towns, of villages, of caſtles abroad. And how many ſoever theſe Pariſhes or Congregations were in number which did depend on any one principal City Church, unto the Biſhop of that one Church they and their ſeveral ſole Preſbyters were all ſubject. Cypr. Ep. 25.

For if ſo be, as ſome imagine, every petty Congregation or Hamlet had had his own particular Biſhop, what ſenſe could there be in thoſe words of Jerome concerning caſtles, villages, and other places abroad, which having only Preſbyters to teach them, Hieron. adverſ. Luciferum.

* Ubi Eccleſiaſtici ordinis non eſt conſeſſus, et offert et tingit Sacerdos qui eſt ibi ſolus. Tert. exhort. ad caſtit.

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and to minister unto them the Sacraments, were resorted unto by Bishops for the administration of that wherewith their Presbyters were not licensed to meddle? To note a difference of that one Church where the Bishop hath his seat, and the rest which depend upon it, that one hath usually been termed Cathedral, according to the same sense wherein Ignatius speaking of the Church of Antioch termeth it his Throne; and Cyprian making mention of Euaristus who had been Bishop and was now deposed, termeth him *Cathedræ extorrem*, one that was thrust besides his Chair. The Church where the Bishop is set with his College of Presbyters about him we call a See; the local compass of his authority we term a Diocese. Unto a Bishop within the compass of his own both See and Diocese it hath by right of his place evermore appertained * to ordain Presbyters, to make Deacons, and with judgment to dispose of all things of weight. The Apostle St. Paul had Episcopal authority, but so at large, that we cannot assign unto him any one certain Diocese. His † positive orders and constitutions Churches every where did obey. Yea, *a charge and care*, saith he, *I have even of all the Churches*. The walks of Titus and Timothy were limited within the bounds of a narrow precinct. As for other Bishops, that which Chrysostom hath concerning them, if they be evil, could not possibly agree unto them, unless their authority had reached farther than to some one only Congregation. *The danger being so great, as it is, to him that scandalizeth one Soul, what shall he*, saith Chrysostom, speaking of a Bishop, *what shall be deserve, by whom so many Souls,*

Cypr. Ep. 49.

2 Cor. xi. 8.

Chrys. in 1. ad Tit.

* Con. Antioch. cap. 9. Ἀκλήτες δὲ Ἐπισκόπες ὑπερ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐθι χειροτονία ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς. Conc. Const. c. 2. Τῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τὰς διωσμὲς ἐγένετο ἀδιαφόρως. Socr. lib. v. cap. 8.

† 1 Cor. xvi. As I have ordained in the Churches of Galatia, the same do ye also.

yea,

yea, even whole Cities and Peoples, Men, Women, and Children, Citizens, Peaſants, Inhabitants, both of his own City, and of other Towns ſubject unto it, are offended? A thing ſo unuſual it was for a Biſhop not to have ample juriſdiction, that Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, for making one a Biſhop of a ſmall town, is noted a proud Deſpiſer of the commendable orders of the Church with this cenſure, *Such Novelties Theophilus preſumed every where to begin, taking upon him, as it had been another Moſes.* Whereby is diſcovered alſo their error, who think, that ſuch as in Eccleſiaſtical Writings they find termed *Chorepiſcopos* were the ſame in the Country, which the Biſhop was in the City: whereas the old *Chorepiſcopi* are they that were appointed of the Biſhops to have, as his Vicegerents, ſome overſight of thoſe Churches abroad, which were ſubject unto his See; in which Churches they had alſo power to make Sub-deacons, Readers, and ſuch like petty Church-Officers. With which power ſo ſtinted, they not contenting themſelves, but adventuring, at the length, to ordain even Deacons and Preſbyters alſo, as the Biſhop himſelf did, their preſumption herein was controuled and ſtayed by the ancient edict of Councils. For example, that of Antioch — *It hath ſeemed good to the holy Synod that ſuch in Towns and Countries as are called* Chorepiſcopi *do know their limits, and govern the Churches under them, contenting themſelves with the charge thereof, and with authority to make Readers, Sub-deacons, Exorciſts, and to be Leaders or Guiders of them; but not to meddle with the Ordination either of a Preſbyter or of a Deacon, without the Biſhop of that city, whereunto the* Chorepiſcopus *and his territory alſo is ſubject.* The ſame Synod appointeth likewiſe that thoſe *Chorepiſcopi* ſhall be made by none but the Biſhop of that city under which they are. Much might hereunto be added, if it were further needful to prove, that the local compaſs of a Biſhop's authority

Pallad. in vita Chryſ.

Concil. Antioch. c. 10.

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thority and power was never ſo ſtraightly liſted, as ſome Men would have the World to imagine. But to go forward; degrees there are, and have been of old, even amongſt Biſhops alſo themſelves; one ſort of Biſhops being Superiors unto Preſbyters only, another ſort having pre-eminence alſo above Biſhops. It cometh here to be conſidered in what reſpect inequality of Biſhops was thought, at the firſt, a thing expedient for the Church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher and greater than of another. Touching the cauſes for which it hath been eſteemed meet that Biſhops themſelves ſhould not every way be equals; they are the ſame for which the wiſdom both of God and Man hath evermore approved it as moſt requiſite that where many Governors muſt of neceſſity concur, for the ordering of the ſame affairs, of what nature ſoever they be, one ſhould have ſome kind of ſway or ſtroke more than all the reſidue. For where number is, there muſt be order, or elſe of force there will be confuſion. Let there be divers Agents, of whom each hath his private inducements with reſolute purpoſe to follow them, (as each may have) unleſs in this caſe ſome had pre-eminence above the reſt, a chance it were, if ever any thing ſhould be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any concluſion by them; deliberations and counſels would ſeldom go forward, their meetings would always be in danger to break up with jars and contradictions. In an Army a number of Captains, all of equal power, without ſome higher to over-ſway them—what good would they do? In all Nations where a number are to draw any one way, there muſt be ſome one principal Mover. Let the practice of our very Adverſaries themſelves herein be conſidered; are the Preſbyters able to determine of Church affairs, unleſs their Paſtors do ſtrike the chiefeſt ſtroke and have power above the reſt? Can their paſtoral Synod do any

any thing, unleſs they have ſome Preſident amongſt them? In Synods, they are forced to give one Paſtor pre-eminence and ſuperiority above the reſt. But they anſwer, that he, who being a Paſtor according to the order of their Diſcipline is for the time ſome little deal mightier than his Brethren, doth not continue ſo longer than only during the Synod. Which anſwer ſerveth not to help them out of the briars: for, by their practice they confirm our principle, touching the neceſſity of one Man's pre-eminence whereſoever a concurrency of many is required unto any one ſolemn action: this Nature teacheth, and this they cannot chuſe but acknowledge. As for the change of his Perſon to whom they give this pre-eminence, if they think it expedient to make for every Synod a new Superior, there is no law of God which bindeth them ſo to do; neither any that telleth them, that they might ſuffer one and the ſame Man being made Preſident, even to continue ſo during life, and to leave his pre-eminence unto his Succeſſors after him, as by the ancient order of the Church, Archbiſhops, Preſidents amongſt Biſhops, have uſed to do. The ground therefore of their pre-eminence above Biſhops, is the neceſſity of often concurrency of many Biſhops about the publick affairs of the Church; as Conſecrations of Biſhops, Conſultations of remedy of general diſorders, Audience judicial, when the actions of any Biſhop ſhould be called in queſtion, or appeals are made from his ſentence by ſuch as think themſelves wronged. Theſe, and the like affairs uſually requiring that many Biſhops ſhould orderly aſſemble, begin, and conclude ſomewhat; it hath ſeemed, in the eyes of reverend Antiquity, a thing moſt requiſite, that the Church ſhould not only have Biſhops, but even amongſt Biſhops ſome to be in authority chiefeſt. Unto which purpoſe, the very ſtate of the whole World, immediately before Chriſtianity took place, doth ſeem by the ſpecial Providence of God

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God to have been prepared. For we muſt know, that the Countries where the Goſpel was firſt planted, were for the moſt part ſubject to the Roman Empire. The Romans uſe was commonly, when by war they had ſubdued foreign Nations, to make them Provinces, that is, to place over them Roman Governors, ſuch as might order them according to the laws and cuſtoms of Rome. And to the end that all things might be the more eaſily and orderly done, a whole Country being divided into ſundry parts, there was in each part ſome one City, whereinto they about did reſort for juſtice. Every ſuch part was termed a * Dioceſe. Howbeit the name Dioceſe is ſometime ſo generally taken, that it containeth not only more ſuch parts of a Province, but even more Provinces alſo than one; as the Dioceſe of Aſia containing eight; the Dioceſe of Africa ſeven. Touching Dioceſes according unto a ſtricter ſenſe, whereby they are taken for a part of a Province, the words of Livy do plainly ſhew what orders the Romans did obſerve in them. For at what time they had brought the Macedonians into ſubjection, the Roman Governor, by order from the Senate of Rome, gave charge that Macedonia ſhould be divided into four Regions or Dioceſes. *Capita Regionum ubi conſilia fierent, primæ ſedis Amphipolim, ſecundæ Theſſalonicen, tertiæ Pellam, quartæ Pelagoniam fecit. Eo, conſilia ſuæ cujuſque Regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi Magiſtratus creari juſſit.* This being before the days of the Emperors, by their appointment Theſſalonica was afterwards the chiefeſt, and in it the higheſt Governor of Macedonia had his ſeat. Whereupon

* Cic. Fam. Ep. 53. Lib. xiii. Si quid habebis cum aliquo Helleſpontio controverſiæ ut in illam διοίκησιν rejicias. The ſuit which Tully maketh was this, that the Party in whoſe behalf he wrote to the Propractor, might have his cauſes put over to that Court which was held in the Dioceſe of Helleſpont, where the Man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at Epheſus, which was the chiefeſt Court in that Province.

the

the other three Dioceſes were in that reſpect inferior unto it as Daughters unto a Mother City; for not unto every town of juſtice was that title given, but was peculiar unto thoſe Cities wherein principal Courts were kept. Thus in Macedonia the Mother City was Theſſalonica; in Aſia, Epheſus: in Africa, Carthage; for ſo * Juſtinian in his time made it. The Governors, Officers, and Inhabitants of thoſe Mother-Cities were termed for difference-ſake Metropolites, that is to ſay, Mother-city-men; than which nothing could poſſibly have been deviſed more fit to ſuit with the nature of that form of ſpiritual Regiment, under which afterwards the Church ſhould live. Wherefore if the Prophet ſaw cauſe to acknowledge unto the Lord, that the light of his gracious Providence did ſhine no where more apparently to the eye, than in preparing the Land of Canaan to be a receptacle for that Church which was of old, *Thou haſt brought a Vine out of Egypt, thou haſt caſt out the Heathen and planted it, thou madeſt room for it, and when it had taken root it filled the Land*; how much more ought we to wonder at the handy-work of Almighty God, who, to ſettle the Kingdom of his dear Son, did not caſt out any one People, but directed in ſuch ſort the politick counſels of them who ruled far and wide over all, that they throughout all Nations, People and Countries upon Earth, ſhould unwittingly prepare the field wherein the Vine which God did intend, that is to ſay, the Church of his dearly beloved Son was to take root. For unto nothing elſe can we attribute it, ſaving only unto the very incomprehenſible force of Divine

Cic. ad Attic. lib. v. Ep. 13. Item, I. obſerv. D. de officio Proconſulis et Legati.

Pſal. xxx. 8, 9.

* Lib. i. Tit. 27. l. 1. ſect. 1. et 2. Sancimus ut ſicut Oriens atque Illyricum, ita et Africa prætoriana maxima poteſtate ſpecialiter a noſtra clementia decoretur. Cujus ſedem jubemus eſſe Carthaginem, et ab ea, auxiliante Deo, ſeptem provinciæ cum ſuis judicibus diſponantur.

Providence,

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Providence, that the World was in ſo marvellous fit ſort divided, levelled, and laid out before hand? Whoſe work could it be but his alone to make ſuch proviſion for the direct implantation of his Church? Wherefore inequality of Biſhops being found a thing convenient for the Church of God, in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, when it came ſecondly in queſtion, which Biſhops ſhould be higher and which lower, it ſeemed herein not to the civil Monarch only, but to the moſt, expedient that the dignity and celebrity of Mother-Cities ſhould be reſpected.* They which dream, that if Civil Authority had not given ſuch pre-eminence unto one City more than another, there had never grown an inequality among Biſhops, are deceived. Superiority of one Biſhop over another would be requiſite in the Church, although that Civil diſtinction were aboliſhed. Other cauſes having made it neceſſary, even amongſt Biſhops, to have ſome in degree higher than the reſt, the Civil dignity of place was conſidered only as a reaſon wherefore this Biſhop ſhould be preferred before that which deliberation had been likely enough to have raiſed no ſmall trouble, but that ſuch was the circumſtance of place, as being followed in that choice, beſides the manifeſt conveniency thereof, took away all ſhow of partiality, prevented ſecret emulations, and gave no Man occaſion to think his perſon diſgraced, in that another was preferred before him.

Thus we ſee upon what occaſion Metropolitan Biſhops became Archbiſhops. Now while the whole Chriſtian World, in a manner, ſtill continued under the Civil Government, there being oftentimes within ſome one more large territory, divers and ſundry

* Concil. Antiochen. c. 9. Τὸς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν Ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα Ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τ ἐπαρχίας διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τὸς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας, ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτόν.

Mother-

Mother-Churches, the Metropolitans whereof were Archbiſhops, as for order's ſake, it grew hereupon expedient, there ſhould be a difference alſo among them; ſo no way ſeemed, in thoſe times, more fit than to give pre-eminence unto them whoſe Metropolitan Sees were of ſpecial deſert or dignity. For which cauſe theſe, as being Biſhops in the chiefeſt Mother-Churches, were termed Primates, and at the length, by way of excellency, Patriarchs. For ignorant we are not, how ſometimes the title of Patriarch is generally given to all Metropolitan Biſhops. They are mightily therefore to blame which are ſo bold and confident, as to affirm that, for the ſpace of above four hundred and thirty years after Chriſt, all Metropolitan Biſhops were in every reſpect equals, till the ſecond Council of Conſtantinople exalted certain Metropolitans above the reſt. True it is, they were equals as touching the exerciſe of ſpiritual power within their Dioceſes, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compaſs of his own precinct, but another within his might do the ſame? But that there was no ſubordination at all, of one of them unto another; that when they all, or ſundry of them, were to deal in the ſame cauſes, there was no difference of firſt and ſecond in degree, no diſtinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongſt them, is moſt untrue. The great Council of Nice was after our Saviour Chriſt but three hundred twenty four years, and in that Council certain Metropolitans are ſaid even then to have had ancient pre-eminence and dignity above the reſt, namely, the Primate of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch. Threeſcore years after this, there were Synods under the Emperor Theodoſius, which Synod was the firſt at Conſtantinople, whereat one hundred and fifty Biſhops were aſſembled: at which Council it was decreed, that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople ſhould not only be added unto the former Primates, but alſo that his place

Villerius de ſtatu primitivæ Eccleſiæ.

Socr. l. iii. c. 8.

ſhould

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Can. 28. Can. 36.

should be second amongst them, the next to the Bishop of Rome in dignity. The same Decree again renewed concerning Constantinople, and the reason thereof laid open in the Council of Chalcedon. At the length came that second of Constantinople, whereat were six hundred and thirty Bishops for a third confirmation thereof. Laws Imperial there are likewise extant to the same effect. Herewith the Bishop of Constantinople being over much puffed up, not only could not endure that See to be in estimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any Christian Bishop in the world before either had, or with reason could have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refused by the Bishop of Rome, the same the Bishop of Rome in process of time obtained for himself, and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practices much worse. But Primates, according to their first institution, were all in relation unto Archbishops, the same by prerogative which Archbishops were, being compared unto Bishops. Before the Council of Nice, albeit there were both Metropolitans and Primates, yet could not this be a means forcible enough to procure the peace of the Church; but all things were wonderful tumultuous and troublesome, by reason of one special practice common unto the Heretics of those times; which was, that when they had been condemned and cast out of the Church by the sentence of their own Bishops, they, contrary to the ancient received orders of the Church, had a custom to wander up and down, and to insinuate themselves into favour where they were not known; imagining themselves to be safe enough, and not to be clean cut off from the body of the Church, if they could any where find a Bishop which was content to communicate with them; whereupon ensued, as in that case there needs must, every day quarrels and jars unappeasable amongst Bishops.

Novel. cxxiii. 22.

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The Nicene Council, for redreſs hereof, conſidered the bounds of every Archbiſhop's Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, what they had been in former times; and accordingly appointed unto each grand part of the Chriſtian World ſome one Primate, from whoſe judgment no Man living within his territory might appeal, unleſs it were to a Council general of all Biſhops. The drift and purport of which order was, that neither any Man oppreſt by his own particular Biſhop might be deſtitute of a remedy, through appeal unto the more indifferent ſentence of ſome other ordinary Judge; nor yet every Man be left to ſuch liberty, as before, to ſhift himſelf out of their hands for whom it was moſt meet to have the hearing and determining of his cauſe. The evil, for remedy whereof this order was taken, annoyed at that preſent eſpecially the Church of Alexandria in Egypt, where Arianiſm begun. For which cauſe the ſtate of that Church is in the Nicene Canons concerning this matter mentioned before the reſt. The words of their ſacred Edict are theſe: *Let thoſe cuſtoms remain in force which have been of old the cuſtoms of Egypt and Libya, and Pentapolis; by which cuſtoms the Biſhops of Alexandria hath authority over all theſe; the rather, for that this hath alſo been the uſe of the Biſhops of Rome, yea the ſame hath been kept in Antioch, and in other Provinces.* Now, becauſe the cuſtom likewiſe had been, that great honour ſhould be done to the Biſhop of Ælia or Jeruſalem; therefore leſt their decree concerning the Primate of Antioch ſhould any whit prejudice the dignity and honour of that See, ſpecial proviſion is made, that although it were inferior in degree, not only unto Antioch the chief of the Eaſt, but even unto Ceſarea too; yet ſuch pre-eminence it ſhould retain as belonged to a Mother-City, and enjoy whatſoever ſpecial prerogative or privilege it had beſides. Let Men therefore hereby judge of what continuance this Order which upholdeth de-

Conc. Nic. c. 6.

Ejuſd. Conc. c. 7.

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grees of Biſhops muſt needs have been, when a general Council of three hundred and eighteen Biſhops, living themſelves within three hundred years after Chriſt, doth reverence the ſame for antiquity's ſake, as a thing which had been even then of old obſerved in the moſt renowned parts of the Chriſtian World. Wherefore needleſs altogether are thoſe vain and wanton demands, No mention of an Archbiſhop in Theophilus Biſhop of Antioch? none in Ignatius? none in Clemens of Alexandria? none in Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian? none in all thoſe old Hiſtoriographers, out of which Euſebius gathereth his ſtory? none till the time of the Council of Nice, three hundred and twenty years after Chriſt?* As if the mention, which is thereof made in that very Council where ſo many Biſhops acknowledge Archiepiſcopal dignity even then ancient, were not of far more weight and value than if every of thoſe Fathers had written large diſcourſes thereof. But what is it which they will bluſh at who dare ſo confidently ſet it down, that in the Council of Nice ſome Biſhops being termed Metropolitans, the more difference is thereby meant to have been between one Biſhop and another than is ſhewed between one Miniſter and another, when we ſay ſuch one is a Miniſter in the City of London, and ſuch one a Miniſter in the Town of Newington. So that

* T. C. l. i. 92. What? no mention of him in Theophil. Biſhop of Antioch? none in Clemens Alexandrinus? none in Ignatius? none in Juſtin Martyr? in Irenæus, in Tertullian, in Origen, in Cyprian? in thoſe old Hiſtoriographers, out of which Euſebius gathered his Story? Was it for his baſeneſs or ſmallneſs that he could not be ſeen amongſt the Biſhops, Elders and Deacons, being the chief and principal of them all? Can the Cedar of Lebanon be hidden amongſt the Box-trees. T. C. l. i. ubi ſupra. A Metropolitan Biſhop was nothing elſe but a Biſhop of that place which it pleaſed the Emperor or Magiſtrate to make the chief of the Dioceſe or Shire; and as for this name it makes no more difference between a Biſhop and a Biſhop, than when I ſay a Miniſter of London, and a Miniſter of Newington

to be termed a Metropolitan Bishop did, in their conceit, import no more pre-eminence above other Bishops, than we mean, that a Girdler hath over others of the same trade, if we term him which doth inhabit some Mother-City for difference-sake a Metropolitan Girdler. But the truth is too manifest to be eluded; a Bishop at that time had power in his own Diocese over all other Ministers there, and a Metropolitan Bishop sundry pre-eminences above other Bishops, one of which pre-eminences was, in the Ordination of Bishops, to have κύρος τῶν γινομένων, the chief power of ordering all things done.* Which pre-eminence that Council itself doth mention, as also a greater belonging unto the Patriarch or Primate of Alexandria, concerning whom it is there likewise said, that to him did belong Ἐξουσία, *authority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Lybia:* within which compass sundry Metropolitan Sees to have been, there is no Man ignorant, which in those antiquities have any knowledge. Certain prerogatives there are wherein Metropolitans excelled other Bishops, certain also wherein Primates excelled other Metropolitans. Archiepiscopal or Metropolitan prerogatives are those mentioned in the old Imperial constitutions, to convocate the holy Bishops under them, within the compass of their own Provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquisition and redress of publick disorders; to grant unto Bishops under them leave and faculty of absence from their own Dioceses, when it seemed necessary that they should other where converse for some reasonable while; to give notice unto Bishops under them of things commanded by supreme authority; to have the hearing and first determining of such causes as any Man had against a Bishop; to

Nov. cxxiii. can. 10.

Nov. cxxiii. can. 9.

Nov. lxxix. can. 2.

Nov. cxxiii. can. 22.

Nov. cxxiii. can. 23.

* Conc. Nicen. c. 6. Illud autem omnino manifestum, quod siquis absque Metropolitani sententia factus sit Episcopus, hunc magna Synodus definivit Episcopum esse non oportere. Can. 4.

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receive the appeals of the inferior Clergy, in case they found themselves over-borne by the Bishop, their immediate Judge. And lest haply it should be imagined that Canons Ecclesiastical we want to make the self-same thing manifest; in the Council of Antioch it was thus decreed, *The Bishop in every Province must know, that he which is Bishop in the Mother-City, hath not only charge of his own Parish or Diocese, but even of the whole Province also.* Again, *It hath seemed good, that other Bishops, without him, should do nothing more than only that which concerns each one's Parish, and the places underneath it.* Further, by the self-same Council all Councils Provincial are reckoned void and frustrate, unless the Bishop of the Mother-City within that Province where such Councils should be, were present at them. So that the want of his presence, and, in Canons for Church-Government, want of his approbation also, did disannul them: not so the want of any others. Finally, concerning election of Bishops, the Council of Nice hath this general rule, that the chief ordering of all things here, is in every Province committed to the Metropolitan. Touching them, who amongst Metropolitans were also Primates, and had of sundry united Provinces, the chiefest Metropolitan See, of such that Canon in the Council of Carthage was eminent, whereby a Bishop is forbidden to go beyond seas without the licence of the highest Chair within the same Bishop's own Country; and of such which beareth the name of Apostolical, is that ancient Canon likewise, which chargeth the Bishop of each NATION to know him which is FIRST amongst them, and to esteem of him as an Head, and to do no extraordinary thing but with his leave. The chief Primates of the Christian World were the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. To whom the Bishop of Constantinople, being afterwards added, St. Chrysostom the Bishop of that See is in that respect said, to have had the care and charge, not only

Can. 9.

Can. 16.

Can. 4. τὸ κύρος τῶν γινομένων.

Can. 23. Can. 34.

Cassiod. in vita Chrys.

of the City of Conſtantinople, *ſed etiam totius Thraciæ quæ ſex præfecturis eſt diviſa, et Aſiæ totius quæ ab undecim præſidibus regitur.* The reſt of the Eaſt was under Antioch, the South under Alexandria, and the Weſt under Rome. Whereas therefore John the Biſhop of Jeruſalem being noted of Hereſy, had written an Apology for himſelf unto the Biſhop of Alexandria, named Theophilus; St. Jerome reproveth his breach of the Order of the Church herein, ſaying, *Tu qui regulas quæris Eccleſiaſticas, et Niceni Concilii canonibus uteris, reſponde mihi, ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Palæſtina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur ut Palæſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit, et totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum referre debueras, aut ſi procul expetendum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ.* Thus much concerning that local compaſs which was anciently ſet out to Biſhops; within the bounds and limits whereof we find, that they did accordingly exerciſe that Epiſcopal authority and power which they had over the Church of Chriſt. Hicrom. Ep. 91.

9. The firſt whom we read to have bent themſelves againſt the Superiority of Biſhops were Aerius and his Followers. Aerius ſeeking to be made a Biſhop, could not brook that Euſtathius was thereunto preferred before him. Whereas therefore he ſaw himſelf unable to riſe to that greatneſs which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was to try what wit, being ſharpened with envy and malice, could do, in raiſing a new ſeditious opinion that the Superiority which Biſhops had, was a thing which they ſhould not have; that a Biſhop might not ordain; and that a Biſhop ought not any way to be diſtinguiſhed from a Preſbyter.* For ſo

In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment hath been gainſaid of old by Aerius. Aug. de hær. ad quod vult deu.

* Aeriani ab Aerio quodam ſunt nominati qui quum eſſet Preſbyter, docuiſſe fertur, quod Epiſcopus non poteſt ordinare. Decebat Epiſcopum a Preſbytero nulla ratione debere diſcerni. Aug. de hær.

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doth St. Auguſtine deliver the opinion of Aerius: Epiphanius not ſo plainly, nor ſo directly, but after a more rhetorical ſort. His ſpeech was rather furious than convenient for Man to uſe: *What is*, ſaith he, *a Biſhop more than a Preſbyter? The one doth differ from the other nothing. For their Order is one, their Honour one, one their Dignity. A Biſhop impoſeth his hands, ſo doth a Preſbyter. A Biſhop baptizeth, the like doth a Preſbyter. The Biſhop is a Miniſter of Divine Service, a Preſbyter the ſame. The Biſhop ſitteth as a Judge in a throne, even the Preſbyter ſitteth alſo. A Preſbyter therefore doing thus far the ſelf-ſame thing which a Biſhop did, it was by Aerius inforced, that they ought not in any thing to differ.* Are we to think Aerius had wrong in being judged an Heretick for holding this opinion? Surely if Hereſy be an error falſly fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the Word of God, and by the conſent of the univerſal Church in the Councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole World, declared to be ſuch; and the opinion of Aerius in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but Aerius ſo ſchiſmatically, and ſtiffly maintaining it, muſt even ſtand where Epiphanius and Auguſtine have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God is held by them, whoſoever they be, that ſtand in defence of any concluſion drawn erroneouſly out of Scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of Aerius therefore being falſly collected out of Scripture, muſt needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God. His opinion was, that there ought not to be any difference between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter. His grounds and reaſons for his opinion were Sentences of Scripture. Under pretence of which Sentences, whereby it ſeemed that Biſhops and Preſbyters at the firſt did not differ, it was concluded by Aerius, that the Church did ill in permitting any difference to be made.

made. The anſwer which Epiphanius maketh unto ſome part of the proofs by Aerius alledged, was not greatly ſtudied or laboured; for through a contempt of ſo baſe an error, for this himſelf did perceive and profeſs, yieldeth he thereof expreſsly this reaſon; Men that have wit do evidently ſee that all this is mere fooliſhneſs. But how vain and ridiculous ſoever his opinion ſeemed unto wiſe Men, with it Aerius deceived many,* for which cauſe ſomewhat was convenient to be ſaid againſt it. And in that very extemporal ſlightneſs which Epiphanius there uſeth, albeit the anſwer made to Aerius be † in part but raw, yet ought not hereby the Truth to find any leſs favour than in other cauſes it doth, where we do not therefore judge Hereſy to have the better, becauſe now and then it alledgeth that for itſelf, which Defenders of the Truth do not always ſo fully anſwer. Let it therefore ſuffice, that Aerius did bring nothing unanſwerable. The weak ſolutions which the one doth give, are to us no prejudice againſt the cauſe, as long as the other's oppoſitions are of no greater ſtrength and validity. Did not Aerius, trow ye, deſerve to be eſteemed as a new Apollos, mighty and powerful in the word, which could for maintenance of his cauſe bring forth ſo plain divine authorities, to prove by the Apoſtles' own Writings that Biſhops ought not in any thing to differ from other Preſbyters? For example, where it is ſaid that Preſbyters made Timothy Biſhop, is it not clear

* Ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰς ἡπάτησε.

† As in that he ſaith, the Apoſtle doth name ſometimes Preſbyters and not Biſhops, 1 Tim. iv. 14. ſometimes Biſhops and not Preſbyters, Phil. i. 1. becauſe all Churches had not both, for want of able and ſufficient Men. In ſuch Churches therefore as had but the one, the Apoſtle could not mention the other. Which anſwer is nothing to the latter place above mentioned: for that the Church of Philippi ſhould have more Biſhops than one, and want a few able Men to be Preſbyters under the Regiment of one Biſhop, how ſhall we think it probable or likely?

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that a Biſhop ſhould not differ from a Preſbyter, by having power of Ordination? Again, if a Biſhop might by order be diſtinguiſhed from a Preſbyter, would the Apoſtle have given * as he doth unto Preſbyters, the title of Biſhops? Theſe were the invincible demonſtrations wherewith Aerius did ſo fiercely aſſault Biſhops. But the ſentence of Aerius perhaps was only, that the difference between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter hath grown by the order and cuſtom of the Church, the Word of God not appointing that any ſuch difference ſhould be. Well, let Aerius then find the favour to have his ſentence ſo conſtrued; yet his fault in condemning the order of the Church, his not ſubmitting himſelf unto that order, the Schiſm which he cauſed in the Church about it, who can excuſe? No, the truth is, that theſe things did even neceſſarily enſue, by force of the very opinion which he and his Followers did hold. His concluſion was, that there ought to be no difference between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop; his proofs, thoſe Scripture ſentences which make mention of Biſhops and Preſbyters without any ſuch diſtinction or difference. So that if between his concluſion and the proofs whereby he laboured to ſtrengthen the ſame, there be any ſhew of coherence at all, we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that when Aerius did plead, there is by the Word of God no difference between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop, his meaning was, not only that the Word of God itſelf appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, or allowing, that any ſuch difference ſhould be made.

* 1 Tim. iv. 14. With the Impoſition of the Preſbytery's hand. Of which Preſbytery St. Paul was chief, 2 Tim. i. 6. And I think no Man will deny that St. Paul had more than a ſimple Preſbyter's authority, Phil. i. 1. To all the Saints at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons. For as yet in the Church of Philippi, there was no one which had authority beſides Apoſtles, but their Preſbyters or Biſhops were all both in Title and in Power equal.

¶ 10. And

10. And of the ſelf-ſame mind are the Enemies of Government by Biſhops, even at this preſent day. They hold, as Aerius did, that if Chriſt and his Apoſtles were obeyed, a Biſhop ſhould not be permitted to ordain; that between a Preſbyter and a Biſhop the Word of God alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their Order, their Authority, their Power ought to be one; that it is but by uſurpation and corruption, that the one ſort are ſuffered to have rule over the other, or to be any way ſuperior unto them. Which opinion having now ſo many Defenders, ſhall never be able while the World doth ſtand to find in ſome, believing Antiquity, as much as one which hath given it countenance, or borne any friendly affection towards it. Touching theſe Men therefore, whoſe deſire is to have all equal, three ways there are whereby they uſually oppugn the received Order of the Church of Chriſt. Firſt, by diſgracing the inequality of Paſtors, as a new and mere human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of Scripture, where all Paſtors are found (they ſay) to have one and the ſame power both of Order and Juriſdiction. Secondly, by gathering together the differences between that power which we give to Biſhops, and that which was given them of old in the Church: ſo that, albeit even the ancient took more than was warrantable, yet ſo far they ſwerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the Scripture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgment of the wiſeſt, the holieſt, the beſt in all ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow.

In what reſpect Epiſcopal Regiment is gainſaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.

11. That inequality of Paſtors is a mere human invention, a thing not found in the Word of God, they prove thus:

Their Arguments in diſgrace of Regiment by Biſhops, as being a mere invention of Man, and not found in Scripture, anſwered.

1. *All the places of Scripture where the word* Biſhop *is uſed, or any other derived of that name, ſignify an overſight in reſpect of ſome particular Congregation only, and never in regard of Paſtors committed unto his overſight.*

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Titus i. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 5. Phil. i. 1. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

ſight. For which cauſe the names of Biſhops, and Preſbyters, or Paſtoral Elders, are uſed indifferently, to ſignify one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Which ſo indifferent and common uſe of theſe words for one and the ſelf-ſame office, ſo conſtantly and perpetually in all places, declareth that the word Biſhop *in the Apoſtles' Writing importeth not a Paſtor of higher Power and Authority over other Paſtors.*

2. *All Paſtors are called to their office by the ſame means of proceeding; the Scripture maketh no difference in the manner of their Trial, Election, Ordination: which proveth their Office and Power to be by Scripture all one.*

3. *The Apoſtles were all of equal Power, and all Paſtors do alike ſucceed the Apoſtles in their Miniſtry and Power, the Commiſſion and Authority whereby they ſucceed being in Scripture but one and the ſame that was committed to the Apoſtles, without any difference of committing to one Paſtor more, or to another leſs.*

4. *The power of the Cenſures and Keys of the Church, and of ordaining and ordering Miniſters (in which two points eſpecially this Superiority is challenged) is not committed to any one Paſtor of the Church, more than to another; but the ſame is committed as a thing to be carried equally in the guidance of the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that Scripture maketh all Paſtors, not only in the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, but alſo in all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Authority, equal.*

5. *The Council of Nice doth attribute this difference, not unto any Ordination of God, but to an ancient Cuſtom uſed in former times, which judgment is alſo followed afterward by other Councils,* Concil. Antioch. cap. ix.

6. Upon theſe Premiſes, their ſummary collection and concluſion is, *That the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven and of God,* Joh. i. 23. *that if they be of God, and from Heaven, then are they ſet down in the Word of God;**

* T. C. lib. i. p. 13. So that it appeareth that the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof ought to be from Heaven:

that if they be not in the Word of God (as by the premiſes it doth appear (they ſay) *that our kinds of Biſhops are not) it followeth, they are invented by the brain of Men, and are of the Earth, and that conſequently they can do no good in the Church of Chriſt, but harm.*

Our Anſwer hereunto is, firſt, that their proofs are unavailable to ſhew that Scripture affordeth no evidence for the inequality of Paſtors. Secondly, that albeit the Scripture did no way inſinuate the ſame to be God's Ordinance, and the Apoſtles to have brought it in, albeit the Church were acknowledged by all Men to have been the firſt beginner thereof a long time after the Apoſtles were gone, yet is not the Authority of Biſhops hereby diſannulled, it is not hereby proved unfit, or unprofitable for the Church. Anſwer.

1. *That the Word of God doth acknowledge no inequality of power amongſt Paſtors of the Church,* neither doth it appear by the ſignification of this word *Biſhop*, nor by the indifferent uſe thereof. For, concerning ſignification, firſt it is clearly untrue that no other thing is thereby ſignified but only an overſight in reſpect of a particular Church and Congregation. For, I beſeech you, of what Pariſh or particular Congregation was Matthias Biſhop? His Office Scripture doth term Epiſcopal; which being no other than was common unto all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, foraſmuch as in that number there is not any to whom the overſight of many Paſtors did not belong by force and virtue of that Office; it followeth that the very Word doth ſometimes, even in Scripture, ſignify an overſight ſuch as includeth charge over Paſtors themſelves. And if we look to the Acts i. 20.

ven: from Heaven, I ſay, and heavenly, becauſe although it be executed by earthly Men, and Miniſters are choſen alſo by Men like unto themſelves, yet becauſe it is done by the Word and Inſtitution of God, it may well be accounted to come from Heaven and from God.

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use of the Word, being applied with reference unto some one Church, as Ephesus, Philippi, and such like, albeit the Guides of those Churches be interchangeably in Scripture termed sometime Bishops, sometime Presbyters, to signify Men having oversight and charge, without relation at all unto other than the Christian Laity alone; yet this doth not hinder, but that Scripture may in some place have other names, whereby certain of those Presbyters or Bishops are noted to have the oversight and charge of Pastors, as out of all peradventure they had whom
Rev. ii. 1. St. John doth intitle Angels.

2. *As for those things which the Apostle hath set down concerning Trial, Election, and Ordination of Pastors, that he maketh no difference in the manner of their Calling*, this also is but a silly argument to prove their Office and their Power equal by the Scripture. The form of admitting each sort unto their Offices, needed no particular instruction: there was no fear, but that such matters of course would easily enough be observed. The Apostle therefore toucheth those things wherein judgment, wisdom, and conscience is required; he carefully admonisheth of what quality Ecclesiastical Persons should be, that their dealing might not be scandalous in the Church. And forasmuch as those things are general, we see that of Deacons there are delivered, in a manner, the self-same precepts which are given concerning Pastors, so far as concerneth their Trial, Election, and Ordination. Yet who doth hereby collect that Scripture maketh Deacons and Pastors equal? If notwithstanding it be yet demanded, *Wherefore he which teacheth what kind of Persons Deacons and Presbyters should be, hath nothing in particular about the quality of chief Presbyters, whom we call Bishops?* I answer briefly, that there it was no fit place for any such discourse to be made, inasmuch as the Apostle wrote unto Timothy and Titus, who having by commission Episcopal Authority, were to exercise

exerciſe the ſame in ordaining, not Biſhops (the Apoſtles themſelves yet living, and retaining that power in their own hands) but Preſbyters, ſuch as the Apoſtles at the firſt did create throughout all Churches. Biſhops by reſtraint (only James at Jeruſalem excepted) were not yet in being.

3. About Equality amongſt the Apoſtles there is by us no controverſy moved. If in the rooms of the Apoſtles, which were of equal authority, all Paſtors do by Scripture ſucceed alike, where ſhall we find a commiſſion in Scripture which they ſpeak of, which appointed all to ſucceed in the ſelf-ſame equality of power? except that commiſſion which doth authorize to preach and baptize, ſhould be alledged, which maketh nothing to the purpoſe; for in ſuch things, all Paſtors are ſtill equal. We muſt, I fear me, wait very long before any other will be ſhewed. For howſoever the Apoſtles were equals amongſt themſelves, all other Paſtors were not equals with the Apoſtles while they lived, neither are they any where appointed to be afterward each other's equals. Apoſtles had, as we know, authority over all ſuch as were no Apoſtles; by force of which their authority they might both command and judge. It was for the ſingular good and benefit of thoſe Diſciples whom Chriſt left behind him, and of the Paſtors which were afterwards choſen; for the great good, I ſay, of all ſorts, that the Apoſtles were in power above them. Every day brought forth ſomewhat wherein they ſaw by experience, how much it ſtood them in ſtead to be under controulment of thoſe Superiors and higher Governors of God's Houſe. Was it a thing ſo behoveful that Paſtors ſhould be ſubject unto Paſtors in the Apoſtles' own times? and is there any commandment that this ſubjection ſhould ceaſe with them, and that the Paſtors of the ſucceeding Ages ſhould be all Equals? No, no, this ſtrange and abſurd conceit of Equality amongſt Paſtors (the Mother of Schiſm, and of Confuſion)

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Confuſion) is but a dream newly brought forth, and ſeen never in the Church before.

4. *Power of Cenſure and Ordination* appeareth even by Scripture marvellous probable to have been derived from Chriſt to his Church, without this ſurmiſed Equality in them to whom he hath committed the ſame. For I would know, whether Timothy and Titus were commanded by St. Paul to do any thing more than Chriſt hath authorized Paſtors to do? And to the one it is Scripture which ſaith,

1 Tim. v. 19. *Againſt a Preſbyter receive thou no accuſation, ſaving under two or three Witneſſes:* Scripture which likewiſe hath ſaid to the other, *for this very cauſe left I*

Tit. i. 5. *THEE in Crete, that THOU ſhouldſt redreſs the things that remain, and ſhouldſt ORDAIN Preſbyters in every City, as I appointed THEE.* In the former place the power of Cenſure is ſpoken of, and the power of Ordination in the latter. Will they ſay that every Paſtor there was equal to Timothy and Titus in theſe things? If they do, the Apoſtle himſelf is againſt it, who ſaith, that of their two very perſons he had made choice, and appointed in thoſe places them for performances of thoſe duties; whereas, if the ſame had belonged unto others no leſs than to them, and not principally unto them above others, it had been fit for the Apoſtle accordingly to have directed his letters concerning theſe things in general unto them all which had equal intereſt in them; even as it had been likewiſe fit to have written thoſe Epiſtles in St. John's Revelation, unto whole Eccleſiaſtical Senates, rather than only unto the Angels of each Church, had not ſome one been above the reſt in authority to order the affairs of the Church. Scripture therefore doth moſt probably make for the Inequality of Paſtors, even in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and by very expreſs mention, as well in Cenſures as Ordinations.

5. In the Nicene Council there are confirmed certain Prerogatives and Dignities belonging unto Primates

Primates or Archbiſhops, and of them it is ſaid, that the ancient cuſtom of the Church had been to give them ſuch pre-eminence, but no ſyllable whereby any Man ſhould conjecture that thoſe Fathers did not honour the Superiority which Biſhops had over other Paſtors only upon ancient cuſtom, and not as a true Apoſtolical, Heavenly and Divine Ordinance.

6. Now, although we ſhould leave the general received perſuaſion held from the firſt beginning that the Apoſtles themſelves left Biſhops inveſted with Power above other Paſtors; although, I ſay, we would give over this opinion, and embrace that other conjecture which ſo many have thought good to follow,* and which myſelf did ſometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do, merely that after the Apoſtles were deceaſed, Churches did agree amongſt themſelves, for preſervation of peace and order, to make one Preſbyter in each City, chief over the reſt, and to tranſlate into him that power by force and virtue whereof the Apoſtles, while they were alive, did preſerve and uphold order in the Church, exerciſing ſpiritual Juriſdiction, partly by themſelves, and partly by Evangeliſts, becauſe they could not always every where themſelves be preſent: this order taken by the Church itſelf (for ſo let us ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles did neither by word nor deed appoint it) were notwithſtanding more warrantable, than that it ſhould give place and be abrogated, becauſe the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven. There came Chief-Prieſts and Elders unto our Saviour Chriſt as he was teaching in the Temple, and the queſtion which they moved unto him was this: *By what Authority doſt thou theſe things, and who gave* Tit. i. 5.

* They of Walden, Aen. Syl. hiſt. Boem. Marſilius Defenſ. pac. Nicl. Thomas Wald. c. 1. l. ii. c. 60. Calvin. Com. in 1. ad Tit. Bullenger, Decad. 1 Ser. iii. Juel. Def. apol. par. ii. c. 9. Di. i. Fulk. Anſw. to the Teſt.

thee

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thee this Authority? their queſtion he repelled with a counter-demand: *The Baptiſm of John whence was it, from Heaven, or of Men?* Hereat they pauſed, ſecretly diſputing within themſelves, *If we ſhould ſay from Heaven, he will aſk, Wherefore did ye not then believe him? And if we ſay of Men, we fear the People, for all hold John a Prophet.* What is it now which hereupon theſe Men would infer? That all functions Eccleſiaſtical ought in ſuch ſort to be from Heaven, as the function of John was? No ſuch matter here contained. Nay, doth not the contrary rather appear moſt plainly by that which is here ſet down? For when our Saviour doth aſk concerning the Baptiſm, that is to ſay, the whole ſpiritual function of John, whether it were from Heaven or of Men, he giveth clearly to underſtand that Men give authority unto ſome, and ſome God himſelf from Heaven doth authorize. Nor is it ſaid, or in any ſort ſignified, that none have lawful authority which have it not in ſuch manner as John, from Heaven. Again, when the Prieſts and Elders were loth to ſay, that John had his calling from Men, the reaſon was not becauſe they thought that ſo John ſhould not have any good or lawful calling, but becauſe they ſaw that by this means they ſhould ſomewhat embaſe the calling of John; whom all Men knew to have been ſent from God, according to the manner of Prophets by a mere celeſtial vocation. So that out of the evidence here alledged, theſe things we may directly conclude; firſt, that whoſo doth exerciſe any kind of function in the Church, he cannot lawfully ſo do, except authority be given him: ſecondly, that if authority be not given him from Men, as the authority of teaching was given unto Scribes and Phariſees, it muſt be given him from Heaven, as authority was given unto Chriſt, Elias, John Baptiſt, and the Prophets. For theſe two only ways there are to have authority. But a ſtrange concluſion it is, God himſelf did from Heaven authorize John

John i. 25. Mat. xxi. 23.

to

to bear witneſs of the Light, to prepare a way for the promiſed Meſſiah, to publiſh the nearneſs of the Kingdom of God, to preach Repentance, and to baptize (for by this part, which was in the function of John moſt noted, all the reſt are together ſignified); therefore the Church of God hath no power upon new occurrences to appoint, to ordain an Eccleſiaſtical function, as Moſes did upon Jethro's advice deviſe a Civil. All things we grant which are in the Church ought to be of God. But, foraſmuch as they may be two ways accounted ſuch; one, if they be of his own inſtitution, and not of ours; another, if they be of ours, and yet with his approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the ſame thing which is of Men, may be alſo juſtly and truly ſaid to be of God, the ſame thing from Heaven which is from Earth. Of all good things God himſelf is Author, and conſequently an approver of them. The rule to diſcern when the Actions of Men are good, when they are ſuch as they ought to be, is more ample and large than the Law which God hath ſet particular down in his Holy Word, the Scripture is but a part of that rule, as hath been heretofore at large declared. If there- Lib. ..
fore all things be of God which are well done; and if all things be well done, which are according to the rule of well-doing; and if the rule of well-doing be more ample than the Scripture, what neceſſity is there, that every thing which is of God, ſhould be ſet down in Holy Scripture? True it is in things of ſome one kind, true it is, that what we are now of neceſſity for ever bound to believe or obſerve in the ſpecial Myſteries of Salvation, Scripture muſt needs give notice of it unto the World; yet true it cannot be, touching all things that are of God. Sufficient it is for the proof of lawfulneſs in any thing done, if we can ſhew that God approveth it: and of his approbation, the evidence is ſufficient, if either himſelf have by Revelation in his

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Word warranted it, or we by ſome diſcourſe of Reaſon find it good of itſelf, and unrepugnant unto any of his revealed Laws and Ordinances. Wherefore injurious we are unto God, the Author and Giver of human capacity, judgment and wit, when, becauſe of ſome things wherein he preciſely forbiddeth Men to uſe their own inventions, we take occaſion to diſ-authorize and diſgrace the works which he doth produce by the hand either of Nature, or of Grace in them. We offer contumely, even unto him, when we ſcornfully reject what we liſt, without any other exception than this, *The brain of Man hath deviſed it.* Whether we look into the Church or Commonweal, as well in the one as in the other, both the Ordination of Officers, and the very inſtitution of their Offices, may be truly derived from God, and approved of him, although they be not always of him in ſuch ſort as thoſe things are which are in Scripture. Doth not the Apoſtle term the Law of Nature even as the Evangeliſt doth the Law of Scripture, Δικαίωμα τȣ̃ Θεȣ̃, God's own righteous Ordinance? The Law of Nature then being his Law, that muſt needs be of him which it hath directed Men unto. Great odds, I grant, there is between things deviſed by Men, although agreeable with the Law of Nature, and things in Scripture ſet down by the finger of the Holy Ghoſt. Howbeit the dignity of theſe is no hindrance, but that thoſe be alſo reverently accounted of in their place. Thus much they very well ſaw, who although not living themſelves under this kind of Church Polity, yet being, through ſome experience, more moderate, grave, and circumſpect in their judgment, have given hereof their founder and better adviſed ſentence. That which the holy Fathers (ſaith Zanchius) have by common conſent, without contradiction of Scripture, received, for my part, I neither will, nor dare with good conſcience diſallow. And what more certain, than that the ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons,

Rom. i. 32. Luke i. 6.

Confeſ. 169.

sons, one in authority above another, was received into the Church by the common consent of the Christian World? What am I, that I should take upon me to controul the whole Church of Christ in that which is so well known to have been lawfully, religiously, and to notable purpose instituted? Calvin maketh mention even of Primates that have authority above Bishops: *It was*, saith he, *the insti-* Epist. 190. *tution of the Ancient Church, to the end that the Bishops might, by this bond of concord, continue the faster linked amongst themselves.* And, lest any Man should think that as well he might allow the Papacy itself, to prevent this he addeth, *Aliud est moderatum gerere et honorem, quam totum terrarum orbem immenso imperio complecti.* These things standing as they do, we may conclude, that, albeit the Offices which Bishops execute, had been committed unto them only by the Church, and that the Superiority which they have over other Pastors were not first by Christ himself given to the Apostles, and from them descended to others, but afterwards in such consideration brought in and agreed upon, as is pretended; yet could not this be a just or lawful Exception against it.

The Arguments to prove there was no necessity of instituting Bishops in the Church.

12. But they will say, *There was no necessity of instituting Bishops; the Church might have stood well enough without them; they are as those superfluous things, which neither while they continue do good, nor do harm when they are removed, because there is not any profitable use whereunto they should serve. For first, in the Primitive Church their Pastors were all equal, the Bishops of those days were the very same which Pastors of Parish Churches at this day are with us, no one at commandment or controulment by any other's authority amongst them. The Church therefore may stand and flourish without Bishops: if they be necessary, wherefore were they not sooner instituted? 2. Again, if any such thing were needful for the Church, Christ would have set it down in Scripture, as he did all kind of Officers necessary for Jewish Regiment. He which prescribed*

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unto the Jews so particularly the least thing pertinent unto their Temple, would not have left so weighty Offices undetermined of in Scripture, but that he knew the Church could never have any profitable use of them.

Epist. 3. lib. i.

3. *Furthermore, it is the judgment of Cyprian, that equity requireth every Man's cause to be heard, where the fault he is charged with was committed: and the reason he alledgeth is, forasmuch as there they may have both Accusers and Witnesses in their cause. Sith therefore every Man's cause is meetest to be handled at home by the Judges of his own Parish, to what purpose serveth their device, which have appointed Bishops, unto whom such causes may be brought, and Archbishops to whom they may be also from thence removed?*

The foregoing Arguments answered.

13. What things have necessary use in the Church, they of all others are the most unfit to judge, who bend themselves purposely against whatsoever the Church useth, except it please themselves to give it the grace and countenance of their favourable approbation; which they willingly do not yield unto any part of Church Polity, in the forehead whereof there is not the mark of that new devised stamp. But howsoever Men like or dislike, whether they judge things necessary or needless in the House of God, a conscience they should have touching that which they boldly affirm or deny. 1. *In the Primitive Church no Bishops, no Pastor having power over other Pastors, but all Equals, every Man supreme Commander and Ruler within the kingdom of his own Congregation or Parish? The Bishops that are spoken of in the time of the Primitive Church, all such as Parsons or Rectors of Parishes are with us?* If thus it have been in the prime of the Church, the question is how far they will have that prime to extend? and where the latter spring of that new-supposed disorder to begin? That Primitive Church wherein they hold that amongst the Fathers, all which had pastoral charge were equal, they must of necessity so far enlarge as to contain some hundred of years, be-

cause

cauſe for proof hereof they alledge boldly and confidently St. Cyprian, who ſuffered Martyrdom about two hundred and threeſcore years after our bleſſed Lord's Incarnation. A Biſhop, they ſay, ſuch as Cyprian doth ſpeak of, had only a Church or Congregation, ſuch as the Miniſters and Paſtors with us, which are appointed unto ſeveral Towns. Every Biſhop in Cyprian's time was Paſtor of one only Congregation, aſſembled in one place to be taught of one Man.* A thing impertinent, although it were true. For the queſtion is about perſonal inequality amongſt Governors of the Church. Now to ſhew there was no ſuch thing in the Church at ſuch time as Cyprian lived, what bring they forth? Forſooth that Biſhops had then but a ſmall circuit of place for the exerciſe of their authority. Be it ſuppoſed, that no one Biſhop had more than one only Town to govern, one only Congregation to rule; doth it by Cyprian appear, that in any ſuch Town or Congregation, being under the cure and charge of ſome one Biſhop, there were not, beſides that one Biſhop, others alſo Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, yet ſubject to the power of the ſame Biſhop? If this appear not, how can Cyprian be alledged for a witneſs that in thoſe times there were no Biſhops which did differ from other Miniſters, as being above them in degree of Eccleſiaſtical power? But a groſs and a palpable untruth it is, *That Biſhops with Cyprian were as Miniſters are with us in Pariſh Churches; and that each of them did guide ſome Pariſh without any other Paſtors under him.* St. Cyprian's own perſon may ſerve for a manifeſt diſproof hereof. Pontius being Deacon under Cyprian noteth, that his admirable

* T. C. lib. i. p. 99. et 100. The Biſhop which Cyprian ſpeaketh of, is nothing elſe but ſuch as we call Paſtor, or as the common name with us is, Parſon; and his Church whereof he is Biſhop, is neither Dioceſe nor Province, but a Congregation which met together in one place, and to be taught of one Man.

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virtues caused him to be Bishop with the soonest; which advancement therefore himself endeavoured for a while to avoid. It seemed in his own eyes too soon for him to take the title of so great honour, in regard whereof a Bishop is termed *Pontifex*, *Sacerdos*, *Antistes Dei*. Yet such was his quality, that whereas others did hardly perform that duty, whereunto the discipline of their order, together with the religion of the oath they took at their entrance into the office, even constrained them; him the chair did not make, but receive such a one, as behoved that a Bishop should be. But soon after followed that Prescription, whereby being driven into exile, and continuing in that estate for the space of some two years, he ceased not by letters to deal with his Clergy, and to direct them about the publick affairs of the Church. They unto whom these * Epistles were written, he commonly entitleth the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church. If any Man doubt whether those Presbyters of Carthage were Ministers of the Word and Sacraments or no, let him consider but that one only place of Cyprian, where he giveth them this careful advice, how to deal with circumspection in the perilous times of the Church, that neither they which were for the truth's sake imprisoned might want those ghostly comforts which they ought to have, nor the Church by ministering the same unto them incur unnecessary danger and peril. In which Epistle it doth expressly appear,

* Etsi Fratres pro dilectione sua cupidi sunt ad conveniendum et visitandum Confessores bonos, quos illustravit jam gloriosis initiis divina dignatio; tamen caute hoc, et non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam, puto esse faciendum, ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, et introeundi aditus denegetur, et dum insatiabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus; consulite ergo et providete ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit: ita ut Presbyteri quoque qui illic apud Confessores offerunt singuli cum singulis Diaconis per vices alternent, quia et mutatio personarum, et vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Ep. v.

that

that the Presbyters of whom he speaketh, did offer, that is to say, administer the Eucharist; and that many there were of them in the Church of Carthage, so as they might have every day change for performance of that duty. Nor will any Man of sound judgment I think deny, that Cyprian was in Authority and Power above the Clergy of that Church, above those Presbyters unto whom he gave direction. It is apparently therefore untrue, that in Cyprian's time Ministers of the Word and Sacraments were all equal, and that no one of them had either Title more excellent than the rest, or Authority and Government over the rest. Cyprian being Bishop of Carthage, was clearly superior unto all other Ministers there: yea, Cyprian was, by reason of the dignity of his See, an Archbishop, and so consequently superior unto Bishops. Bishops, we say, there have been always, even as long as the Church of Christ itself hath been. The Apostles who planted it, did themselves rule as Bishops over it; *neither* could they so well have kept things in order during their own times, but that Episcopal Authority was given them from above, to exercise far and wide over all other Guides and Pastors of God's Church. The Church indeed for a time continued without Bishops by restraint, every where established in Christian Cities. But shall we thereby conclude that the Church hath no use of them, that without them it may stand and flourish? No, the cause wherefore they were so soon universally appointed was, for that it plainly appeared, that without them the Church could not have continued long. It was by the special Providence of God no doubt so disposed, that the evil whereof this did serve for remedy, might first be felt, and so the reverend Authority of Bishops be made by so much the more effectual, when our general experience had taught Men what it was for Churches to want them. Good Laws are never esteemed so good, nor acknowledged so necessary, as

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when precedent crimes are as ſeeds out of which they grow. Epiſcopal Authority was even in a manner ſanctified unto the Church of Chriſt by that little bitter experience which it firſt had of the peſtilent evil of Schiſms. Again, when this very thing was propoſed as a remedy, yet a more ſuſpicious and fearful acceptance it muſt needs have found, if the ſelf-ſame provident Wiſdom of Almighty God had not alſo given before-hand ſufficient trial thereof in the Regiment of Jeruſalem, a Mother-Church, which having received the ſame order even at the firſt, was by it moſt peaceably governed, when other Churches without it had trouble. So that by all means the neceſſary uſe of Epiſcopal Government is confirmed, yea ſtrengthened it is and ratified, even by the not eſtabliſhment thereof in all Churches every where at the firſt. 2. When they further diſpute, *That if any ſuch thing were needful, Chriſt would in Scripture have ſet down particular Statutes and Laws appointing that Biſhops ſhould be made, and preſcribing in what order, even as the Law doth for all kind of Officers which were needful in the Jewiſh Regiment*; might not a Man that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the Petrobruſian Hereticks, in pulling down Oratories, uſe the ſelf-ſame argument with as much countenance of reaſon? *If it were needful that we ſhould aſſemble ourſelves in Churches, would that God which taught the Jews ſo exactly the frame of their ſumptuous Temple, leave us no particular inſtructions in writing, no not ſo much as which way to lay any one ſtone?* Surely ſuch kind of argumentation doth not ſo ſtrengthen the ſinews of their cauſe, as weaken the credit of their judgment which are led therewith. 3. And whereas, thirdly, in diſproof of that uſe which Epiſcopal Authority hath in judgment of Spiritual cauſes, they bring forth the verdict of Cyprian, who ſaith, *That equity requireth every Man's cauſe to be heard, where the fault he was charged with was committed, foraſmuch as there they may have both Accuſers*

Cypr. lib. i. Ep. 3.

Accuſers and Witneſſes in the cauſe; this argument grounding itſelf on principles no leſs true in Civil than in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, unleſs it be qualified with ſome exceptions or limitations, over-turneth the higheſt Tribunal Seats both in Church and Commonwealth; it taketh utterly away all Appeals; it ſecretly condemneth even the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf, as having tranſgreſſed the Law of Equity, by his appeal from the Court of Judea unto thoſe higher which were in Rome. The generality of ſuch kind of axioms deceiveth, unleſs it be conſtrued with ſuch cautions as the matter whereunto they are appliable doth require. An uſual and ordinary tranſportation of cauſes out of Africa into Italy, out of one Kingdom into another, as diſcontented Perſons liſt, which was the thing which Cyprian diſalloweth, may be unequal and unmeet; and yet not therefore a thing unneceſſary to have the Courts erected in higher places, and judgment committed unto greater Perſons, to whom the meaner may bring their cauſes, either by way of appeal or otherwiſe, to be determined according to the order of juſtice; which hath been always obſerved every where in Civil States; and is no leſs requiſite alſo for the State of the Church of God. The reaſons which teach it to be expedient for the one, will ſhew it to be for the other, at leaſtwiſe not unneceſſary. Inequality of Paſtors is an Ordinance both divine and profitable. Their exceptions againſt it in theſe two reaſons we have ſhewed to be altogether cauſeleſs, unreaſonable and unjuſt. Acts xxv.

14. The next thing which they upbraid us with, is the difference between that inequality of Paſtors which hath been of old, and which now is. For at length they grant, *That the Superiority of Biſhops and of Archbiſhops is ſomewhat ancient, but no ſuch kind of Superiority as ours have.* By the Laws of our

An Anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected, concerning the difference between that power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had more than other Prieſbyters.

Diſcipline

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Diſcipline a Biſhop may ordain without aſking the People's conſent, a Biſhop may excommunicate and releaſe alone, a Biſhop may impriſon, a Biſhop may bear civil office in the Realm, a Biſhop may be a Counſellor of State; thoſe things ancient Biſhops neither did nor might do. Be it granted, that ordinarily neither in elections nor deprivations, neither in excommunicating nor in releaſing the excommunicate, in none of the weighty affairs of Government, Biſhops of old were wont to do any thing without conſultation with their Clergy and conſent of the People under them; be it granted that the ſame Biſhops did neither touch any Man with corporal puniſhment, nor meddle with ſecular affairs and offices, the whole Clergy of God being then tied by the ſtrict and ſevere Canons of the Church to uſe no other than ghoſtly power, to attend no other buſineſs than heavenly. Tarquinus was in the Roman Commonwealth deſervedly hated, of whoſe unorderly proceedings the Hiſtory ſpeaketh thus: *Hic Regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus Senatum conſulendi ſolvit; domeſticis conſiliis Rempublicam adminiſtravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, ſocietates, per ſeipſum, cum quibus voluit injuſſu Populi ac Senatus, fecit diremitque.* Againſt Biſhops the like is objected, *That they are Invaders of other Men's rights, and by intolerable uſurpation take upon them to do that alone, wherein ancient Laws have appointed that others, not they only, ſhould bear ſway.* Let the caſe of Biſhops be put, not in ſuch ſort as it is, but even as their very heavieſt Adverſaries would deviſe it: ſuppoſe that Biſhops at the firſt had encroached upon the Church, that by ſleights and cunning practices they had appropriated Eccleſiaſtical, as Auguſtus did Imperial power; that they had taken the advantage of Men's inclinable affections, which did not ſuffer them for revenue ſake to be ſuſpected of ambition; that in the mean while their uſurpation had gone forward by certain eaſy and inſenſible degrees;

Liv. lib. i.

grees; that being not discerned in the growth, when it was thus far grown, as we now see it hath proceeded, the World at length perceiving there was just cause of complaint but no place of remedy left, had assented unto it by a general secret agreement to bear it now as an helpless evil; all this supposed for certain and true, yet surely a thing of this nature, as for the Superior to do that alone unto which of right the consent of some other Inferiors should have been required by them; though it had an indirect entrance at the first, must needs, through continuance of so many ages as this hath stood, be made now a thing more natural to the Church, than that it should be oppress with the mention of contrary orders worn so many ages since quite and clean out of ure. But with Bishops the case is otherwise; for in doing that by themselves, which others together with them have been accustomed to do, they do not any thing, but that whereunto they have been upon just occasions authorized by orderly means. All things natural have in them naturally, more or less, the power of providing for their own safety: and as each particular Man hath this power, so every politick Society of Men must needs have the same, that thereby the whole may provide for the good of all parts therein. For other benefit we have not any by sorting ourselves into Politick Societies, saving only that by this mean each part hath that relief, which the virtue of the whole is able to yield it. The Church therefore being a Politick Society or Body, cannot possibly want the power of providing for itself: and the chiefest part of that power consisteth in the authority of making Laws. Now, foraimuch as Corporations are perpetual, the Laws of the ancienter Church cannot choose but bind the latter, while they are in force. But we must note withal, that because the body of the Church continueth the same, it hath the same Authority still, and may abrogate old Laws, or make new, as need

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need ſhall require. Wherefore vainly are the ancient Canons and Conſtitutions objected as Laws, when once they are either let ſecretly to die by diſ-uſage, or are openly abrogated by contrary Laws. The Ancients had cauſe to do no otherwiſe than they did; and yet ſo ſtrictly they judged not themſelves in conſcience bound to obſerve thoſe Orders, but that in ſundry caſes they eaſily diſpenſed therewith, which I ſuppoſe they would never have done had they eſteemed them as things whereunto everlaſting, immutable, and undiſpenſable obſervation did belong. The Biſhop uſually promoted none which were not firſt allowed as fit by conference had with the reſt of his Clergy and with the People. Notwithſtanding, in the caſe of Aurelius, St. Cyprian did otherwiſe. In matters of deliberation and counſel, for diſpoſing of that which belongeth generally to the whole body of the Church, or which being more particular, is nevertheleſs of ſo great conſequence, that it needeth the force of many judgments conferred; in ſuch things the common ſaying muſt neceſſarily take place, *An eye cannot ſee that which eyes can.* As for Clerical Ordinations, there are no ſuch reaſons alledged againſt the Order which is, but that it may be eſteemed as good in every reſpect, as that which hath been; and in ſome conſiderations better, at leaſtwiſe (which is ſufficient to our purpoſe) it may be held in the Church of Chriſt without tranſgreſſing any Law, either ancient or late, divine or human, which we ought to obſerve and keep. The form of making Eccleſiaſtical Officers hath ſundry parts, neither are they all of equal moment. When Deacons having not been before in the Church of Chriſt, the Apoſtles ſaw it needful to have ſuch ordained, they firſt aſſemble the multitude, and ſhew them how needful it is that Deacons be made: ſecondly, they name unto them what number they judge convenient, what quality the Men muſt be of, and to the People they commit the care of finding ſuch out: thirdly, the

the People hereunto assenting, make their choice of Stephen and the rest; those chosen Men they bring and present before the Apostles; howbeit, all this doth not endue them with any Ecclesiastical Power. But when so much was done, the Apostles finding no cause to take exception, did with prayer and imposition of hands make them Deacons. This was it which gave them their very being; all other things besides were only preparations unto this. Touching the form of making Presbyters, although it be not wholly of purpose any where set down in the Apostles' Writings, yet sundry speeches there are which insinuate the chiefest things that belong unto that action: as when Paul and Barnabas are said to have fasted, prayed, and made Presbyters; when Timothy is willed to *lay hands suddenly on no Man*, for fear of participating with other Men's sins. For this cause the Order of the Primitive Church was, between Choice and Ordination to have some space for such prohibition and trial as the Apostle doth mention in Deacons, saying, *Let them first be proved, and then minister, if so be they be found blameless.*

Acts xiv. 23. 1 Tim. v. 22.

Alexander Severus beholding in his time how careful the Church of Christ was, especially for this point; how, after the choice of their Pastors, they used to publish the names of the Parties chosen, and not to give them the usual act of approbation, till they saw whether any let or impediment would be alledged; he gave commandment, that the like should also be done in his own Imperial Elections, adding this as a reason wherefore he so required, namely, *For that both Christians and Jews being so wary about the Ordination of the Priests, it seemed very unequal for him not to be in like sort circumspect, to whom he committed the Government of Provinces, containing power over Men's both estates and lives.* This the Canon itself doth provide for, requiring before Ordination, Scrutiny: *Let them diligently be examined three days together before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath let them*

Lamprid. in Alex. Severa.

Dece. quando Epis. sect. Igitur.

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them be presented unto the Bishop. And even this in effect also is the very use of the Church of England, at all solemn ordaining of Ministers; and if all ordaining were solemn, I must confess it were much the better.

The pretended disorder of the Church of England is, that Bishops ordain them, to whose Election the People give no voices, and so the Bishops make them alone; that is to say, they give Ordination without Popular Election going before, which ancient Bishops neither did, nor might do. Now in very truth, if the Multitude have hereunto a right, which right can never be translated from them for any cause, then is there no remedy but we must yield, that unto the lawful making of Ministers the voice of the People is required; and that, according to the adverse Parties' assertion, such as make Ministers without asking the People's consent, do but exercise a certain tyranny.

Eccl. Discip. P. 34.

At the first erection of the Commonwealth of Rome, the People (for so it was then fittest) determined of all affairs: afterwards, this growing troublesome, their Senators did that for them, which themselves before had done: in the end all came to one Man's hands; and the Emperor alone was instead of many Senators.

In these things, the experience of time may breed both Civil and Ecclesiastical change from that which hath been before received; neither do latter things always violently exclude former; but the one growing less convenient than it hath been, giveth place to that which is now become more. That which was fit for the People themselves to do at the first, might afterwards be more convenient for them to do by some other: which other is not hereby proved a Tyrant because he alone doth that which a Multitude were wont to do, unless by violence he take that authority upon him, against the order of Law, and without any publick appointment; as with us, if

if any did, it ſhould (I ſuppoſe) not long be ſafe for him ſo to do.

This anſwer (I hope) will ſeem to be ſo much the more reaſonable, in that themſelves, who ſtand againſt us, have furniſhed us therewith. For, whereas againſt the making of Miniſters by Biſhops alone, their uſe hath been to object, what ſway the People did bear when Stephen and the reſt were ordained Deacons; they begin to eſpy how their own Platform ſwerveth not a little from that example wherewith they controul the practices of others. For, touching the form of the People's concurrence in that action, they obſerve it not; no, they plainly profeſs, that they are not in this point bound to be followers of the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles ordained whom the People had firſt choſen. They hold, that their Eccleſiaſtical Senate ought both to chooſe, and alſo to ordain. Do not themſelves then take away that which the Apoſtles gave the People, namely, the privilege of chooſing Eccleſiaſtical Officers? They do. But behold in what ſort they anſwer it.

By the ſixth and the fourteenth of the Acts (ſay they) *it doth appear, that the People had the chiefeſt power of chooſing. Howbeit that, as unto me it ſeemeth, was done upon ſpecial cauſe which doth not ſo much concern us, neither ought it to be drawn unto the ordinary and perpetual form of governing the Church. For, as in eſtabliſhing Commonweals, not only if they be popular, but even being ſuch as are ordered by the power of a few the chiefeſt, or as by the ſole authority of one, till the ſame be eſtabliſhed the whole ſway is in the People's hands, who voluntarily appoint thoſe Magiſtrates by whoſe authority they may be governed; ſo that afterward not the Multitude itſelf, but thoſe Magiſtrates which are choſen by the Multitude, have the ordering of publick affairs; after the ſelf-ſame manner it fared in eſtabliſhing alſo the Church: when there was not as yet any placed over the People, all authority was in them all; but when they all had choſen certain to whom the Regiment* Eccleſ. Diſ. fol. 41.

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Regiment of the Church was committed, this power is not now any longer in the hands of the whole Multitude, but wholly in theirs who are appointed Guides of the Church. Beſides, in the choice of Deacons, there was alſo another ſpecial cauſe wherefore the whole Church at that time ſhould chooſe them. For inaſmuch as the Grecians murmured againſt the Hebrews, and complained that in the daily diſtribution which was made for relief of the Poor, they were not indifferently reſpected, nor ſuch regard had of their Widows as was meet; this made it neceſſary that they all ſhould have to deal in the choice of thoſe unto whom that care was afterwards to be committed, to the end that all occaſion of jealouſies and complaints might be removed. Wherefore that which was done by the People for certain cauſes before the Church was fully ſettled, may not be drawn out and applied unto a conſtant and perpetual form of ordering the Church.

Let them caſt the Diſcipline of the Church of England into the ſame ſcales where they weigh their own, let them give us the ſame meaſure which here they take, and our ſtrifes ſhall ſoon be brought to a quiet end. When they urge the Apoſtles as precedents; when they condemn us of tyranny, becauſe we do not in making Miniſters the ſame which the Apoſtles did; when they plead, *That with us one alone doth ordain, and that our Ordinations are without the People's knowledge, contrary to that example which the bleſſed Apoſtles gave*; we do not requeſt at their hands allowance as much as of one word we ſpeak in our own defence, if that which we ſpeak be of our own; but that which themſelves ſpeak, they muſt be content to liſten unto. To exempt themſelves from being over-far preſt with the Apoſtles' example, they can anſwer, *That which was done by the People once upon ſpecial cauſes, when the Church was not yet eſtabliſhed, is not to be made a rule for the conſtant and continual ordering of the Church.* In defence of their own Election, although they do not therein depend on the People ſo much as the

Apoſtles

Apoſtles in the choice of Deacons, they think it a very ſufficient apology, that there were ſpecial conſiderations why Deacons at that time ſhould be choſen by the whole Church, but not ſo now. In excuſe of diſſimilitudes between their own and the Apoſtles' Diſcipline, they are contented to uſe this anſwer, *That many things were done in the Apoſtles' times, before the ſettling of the Church, which afterward the Church was not tied to obſerve.* For countenance of their own proceedings, wherein their Governors do more than the Apoſtles, and their People leſs, than under the Apoſtles the firſt Churches are found to have done, at the making of Eccleſiaſtical Officers, they deem it a marvellous reaſonable kind of pleading to ſay, *That even as in Commonweals, when the Multitude have once choſen many, or one to rule over them, the right which was at the firſt in the whole body of the People, is now derived into thoſe many, or that one which is ſo choſen; and that this being done, it is not the whole Multitude, to whom the adminiſtration of ſuch publick affairs any longer appertaineth, but that which they did, their Rulers may now do lawfully without them; after the ſelf-ſame manner it ſtandeth with the Church alſo.*

How eaſy and plain might we make our defence, how clear and allowable even unto them, if we could but obtain of them to admit the ſame things conſonant unto equity in our mouths, which they require to be ſo taken from their own! If that which is truth, being uttered in maintenance of Scotland and Geneva, do not ceaſe to be truth when the Church of England once alledgeth it, this great crime of tyranny wherewith we are charged, hath a plain and an eaſy defence. Yea, but we do not at all aſk the People's approbation, which they do, whereby they ſhew themſelves more indifferent and more free from taking away the People's right. Indeed, when their Lay-Elders have choſen whom they think good, the People's conſent thereunto is aſked, and if they give their approbation, the thing ſtandeth

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warranted for ſound and good. But if not, is the former choice overthrown? No, but the People is to yield to reaſon; and if they which have made the choice, do ſo like the People's reaſon, as to reverſe their own deed at the hearing of it, then a new election to be made; otherwiſe the former to ſtand, notwithſtanding the People's negative and diſlike. What is this elſe but to deal with the People, as thoſe Nurſes do with Infants, whoſe mouths they beſmear with the backſide of the ſpoon, as though they had fed them, when they themſelves do devour the food? They cry in the ears of the People, that all Men's conſent ſhould be had unto that which concerns all; they make the People believe we wrong them, and deprive them of their right in making Miniſters, whereas with us the People have commonly far more ſway and force than with them. For inaſmuch as there are but two main things obſerved in every Eccleſiaſtical Function, Power to exerciſe the duty itſelf, and ſome charge of People whereon to exerciſe the ſame; the former of theſe is received at the hands of the whole viſible Catholick Church. For it is not any one particular Multitude that can give power, the force whereof may reach far and wide indefinitely, as the power of Order doth, which whoſo hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto, but he may exerciſe effectually the ſame in any part of the World without iterated Ordination. They whom the whole Church hath from the beginning uſed as her Agents in conferring this power are not either one or more of the Laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of that ever any ſuch were allowed to ordain Miniſters: only Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and they, in place of calling, ſuperiors both unto Deacons, and unto Preſbyters; only ſuch Perſons Eccleſiaſtical have been authorized to ordain both, and give them the power of Order, in the name of the whole Church. Such were the Apoſtles, ſuch was Timothy, ſuch was Titus, ſuch are Biſhops.

Eccl. Diſ. p. 41.

Not

Not that there is between theſe no difference, but that they all agree in pre-eminence of place above both *Preſbyters* and Deacons, whom they otherwiſe might not ordain.* Now whereas hereupon ſome do infer, that no Ordination can ſtand but only ſuch as is made by Biſhops, which have had their Ordination likewiſe by other Biſhops before them, till we come to the very Apoſtles of Chriſt themſelves; in which reſpect it was demanded of Beza at Poiſſie, *By what authority he could adminiſter the holy Sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than Calvin, or by ſuch as to whom the power of Ordination did not belong, according to the ancient order and cuſtoms of the Church; ſith Calvin, and they who joined with him in that action, were no Biſhops?* and Athanaſius maintaineth the fact of Macarius a Preſbyter, which overthrew the holy Table whereat one Iſchyras would have miniſtered the bleſſed Sacrament, having not been conſecrated thereunto by laying on of ſome Biſhop's hands,† according to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; as alſo Epiphanius inveigheth ſharply againſt divers for doing the like, when they had not Epiſcopal Ordination — to this we anſwer, that there may be ſometimes very juſt and ſufficient reaſon to allow Ordination made without a Biſhop. The whole Church viſible being the true original ſubject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Biſhops alone to ordain: howbeit, as the ordinary courſe is ordinarily in all things to be obſerved, ſo it may be in ſome caſes not unneceſſary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto ſpiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himſelf doth of himſelf raiſe up any, whoſe labour he uſeth without requiring that Men ſhould authoriſe them; but then

* Neque enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ordinaret majorem. Comment. q. Ambroſ. tribuuntur, in 1 Tim. iii.

† Ἐπισκοπῆς χειροθεσίαν.

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he doth ratify their calling by manifeſt ſigns and tokens himſelf from Heaven: and thus even ſuch as believed not our Saviour's teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful Teacher ſent from God; *Thou art a Teacher ſent from God, otherwiſe none could do thoſe things which thou doſt.* Luther did but reaſonably therefore, in declaring that the Senate of Melheuſe ſhould do well to aſk of Muncer, from whence he received power to teach? who it was that had called him? and if his anſwer were, that God had given him his charge, then to require at his hands ſome evident ſign thereof for Men's ſatisfaction; becauſe ſo God is wont, when he himſelf is the author of any extraordinary calling. Another extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of neceſſity doth conſtrain to leave the uſual ways of the Church, which otherwiſe we would willingly keep: where the Church muſt needs have ſome ordained, and neither hath, nor can have poſſibly a Biſhop to ordain; in caſe of ſuch neceſſity, the ordinary Inſtitution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not, ſimply without exception, to urge a lineal deſcent of power from the Apoſtles by continued ſucceſſion of Biſhops in every effectual Ordination. Theſe caſes of inevitable neceſſity excepted, none may ordain but only Biſhops. By the impoſition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of Order, both unto Preſbyters and Deacons. Now when that power ſo received is once to have any certain ſubject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tied, here cometh in the People's conſent, and not before. The power of Order I may lawfully receive, without aſking leave of any Multitude; but that power I cannot exerciſe upon any one certain People utterly againſt their wills; neither is there in the Church of England any Man by order of Law poſſeſſed with Paſtoral charge over any Pariſh, but the People in effect do chooſe him thereunto. For, albeit

albeit they chooſe not by giving every Man perſonally his particular voice, yet can they not ſay, that they have their Paſtors violently obtruded upon them, inaſmuch as their ancient and original intereſt therein hath been by orderly means derived into the Patron who chooſeth for them. And if any Man be deſirous to know how Patrons came to have ſuch intereſt, we are to conſider, that at the firſt erection of Churches, it ſeemed but reaſonable in the eyes of the whole Chriſtian World, to paſs that right to them and their Succeſſors, on whoſe ſoil, and at whoſe charge the ſame were founded. This all Men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of ſo great piety, and for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure elſe would have been as ſlow to erect Churches, or to endow them, as we are forward both to ſpoil them, and to pull them down.

It is no true aſſertion therefore, in ſuch ſort as the pretended Reformers mean it, *That all Miniſters of God's Word ought to be made by conſent of many, that is to ſay, by the People's ſuffrages; that ancient Biſhops neither did nor might ordain otherwiſe; and that ours do herein uſurp a far greater power than was, or than lawfully could have been granted unto Biſhops which were of old.* Furthermore, as touching Spiritual Juriſdiction, our Biſhops, they ſay, do that which of all things is moſt intolerable, and which the Ancient never did; *Our Biſhops excommunicate and releaſe alone, whereas the Cenſures of the Church neither ought, nor were wont to be adminiſtered otherwiſe, than by conſent of many.* Their meaning here, when they ſpeak of many, is not as before it was. When they hold that Miniſters ſhould be made with conſent of many, they underſtand by *many*, the Multitude, or common People; but in requiring that many ſhould evermore join with the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of Church-Cenſures, they mean by many, a few Lay-Elders, choſen out of the reſt of the People to that purpoſe. This, they ſay, is ratified by ancient

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Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 23. Cypr. l. iii. Ep. 10. & 14. l. ii. Ep. 8.

Councils, by ancient Biſhops this was practiſed. And the reaſon hereof, as Beza ſuppoſeth, was, *Becauſe if the power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures did belong unto any one, there would this great inconvenience follow; Eccleſiaſtical Regiment ſhould be changed into mere Tyranny, or elſe into a Civil Royalty: therefore no one, either Biſhop or Preſbyter, ſhould or can alone exerciſe that power, but with his Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory he ought to do it, as may appear by the old Diſcipline.*

And is it poſſible, that one ſo grave and judicious ſhould think it in earneſt tyranny for a Biſhop to excommunicate, whom Law and Order hath authorized ſo to do? or be perſuaded, that Eccleſiaſtical Regiment degenerateth into Civil Regality, when one is allowed to do that which hath been at any time the deed of more? Surely, far meaner witted Men than the World accounteth Mr. Beza do eaſily perceive, that Tyranny is power violently exerciſed againſt Order, againſt Law; and that the difference of theſe two Regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, conſiſteth in the matter about which the actions of each are converſant; and not in this, that Civil Royalty admitteth but one, Eccleſiaſtical Government requireth many ſupreme correctors. Which allegation, were it true, would prove no more than only that ſome certain number is neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop: but that a number of ſuch as they do require is neceſſary, how doth it prove? Wherefore albeit Biſhops ſhould now do the very ſame which the Ancients did, uſing the College of Preſbyters under them as their Aſſiſtants when they adminiſter Church-Cenſures, yet ſhould they ſtill ſwerve utterly from that which theſe Men ſo buſily labour for, becauſe the Agents whom they require to aſſiſt in thoſe caſes are a ſort of Lay-Elders, ſuch as no ancient Biſhop ever was aſſiſted with.

Shall theſe fruitleſs jars and janglings never ceaſe? ſhall we never ſee end of them? How much happier were the World if thoſe eager Taſk-maſters, whoſe eyes

eyes are ſo curious and ſharp in diſcerning what ſhould be done by many, and what by few, were all changed into painful doers of that which every good Chriſtian Man ought either only or chiefly to do, and to be found therein doing when that great and glorious Judge of all Men's both deeds and words, ſhall appear? In the mean while, be it one that hath this charge, or be they many that be his Aſſiſtants, let there be careful proviſion that Juſtice may be adminiſtered, and in this ſhall our God be glorified more than by ſuch contentious diſputes.

Concerning the Civil Power and Authority which our Biſhops have.

15. Of which nature that alſo is, wherein Biſhops are over and beſides all this, accuſed *to have much more exceſſive power than the ancient, inaſmuch as unto their Eccleſiaſtical Authority, the Civil Magiſtrate, for the better repreſſing of ſuch as contemn Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, hath for divers ages annexed Civil. The crime of Biſhops herein is divided into theſe two ſeveral branches —the one, that in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical they ſtrike with the ſword of Secular puniſhments; the other, that offices are granted them, by virtue whereof they meddle with Civil affairs.* Touching the one, it reacheth no farther than only unto reſtraint of liberty by Impriſonment (which yet is not done but by the Laws of the Land, and by virtue of authority derived from the Prince). A thing which being allowable in Prieſts amongſt the Jews, muſt needs have received ſome ſtrange alteration in nature ſince, if it be now ſo pernicious and venomous to be coupled with a ſpiritual vocation in any Man which beareth office in the Church of Chriſt. Shemaia writing to the College of Prieſts which were in Jeruſalem, and to Zephania the principal of them, told them, they were appointed of *God, that they might be Officers in the Houſe of the Lord, for every Man which raved, and did make himſelf a Prophet,* to the end that they might by the force of this their authority *put ſuch in Priſon, and in the Stocks.* His malice is reproved, for that he provoked them to ſhew their power againſt the

Jer. xxix. 26.

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Innocent. But ſurely, when any Man juſtly puniſhable had been brought before them, it could be no unjuſt thing for them even in ſuch ſort then to have puniſhed. As for Offices, by virtue whereof Biſhops have to deal in Civil affairs, we muſt conſider that Civil affairs are of divers kinds; and as they be not all fit for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to meddle with, ſo neither is it neceſſary, nor at this day haply convenient, that from meddling with any ſuch thing at all they all ſhould without exception be ſecluded. I will therefore ſet down ſome few caſes, wherein it cannot but clearly appear unto reaſonable Men, that Civil and Eccleſiaſtical functions may be lawfully united in one and the ſame Perſon.

Firſt, therefore, in caſe a Chriſtian Society be planted amongſt their profeſſed Enemies, or by toleration do live under ſome certain State whereinto they are not incorporated, whom ſhall we judge the meeteſt Men to have the hearing and determining of ſuch mere civil controverſies as are every day wont to grow between Man and Man? Such being the ſtate of the Church of Corinth, the Apoſtle

1 Cor. vi. giveth them this direction; *Dare any of you, having buſineſs againſt another, be judged by the unjuſt, and not under Saints? Do ye not know, that the Saints ſhall judge the World? If the World then ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters? Know ye not that we ſhall judge the Angels? how much more things that appertain to this life? If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, ſet up them which are leaſt eſteemed in the Church. I ſpeak it to your ſhame; is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe Man amongſt you? no, not one that can judge between his Brethren, but a Brother goeth to law with a Brother, and that under the Infidels? Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, becauſe ye go to law one with another; why rather ſuffer ye not wrong; why rather ſuſtain ye not harm?* In which ſpeech there are theſe degrees; better to ſuffer and to put up injuries, than

to

to contend; better to end contention by arbitrement, than by judgment; better by judgment before the wiſeſt of their own, than before the ſimpler: better before the ſimpleſt of their own, than the wiſeſt of them without: ſo that if judgment of Secular affairs ſhould be committed unto wiſe Men, unto Men of chiefeſt credit and account amongſt them, when the Paſtors of their Souls are ſuch, who more fit to be alſo their Judges for the ending of ſtrifes? The wiſeſt in things Divine, may be alſo in things Human the moſt ſkilful. At leaſtwiſe they are by likelihood commonly more able to know right from wrong than the common unlettered ſort. And what St. Auguſtine did hereby gather, his own words do ſufficiently ſhew. *I call God to witneſs upon my Soul*, ſaith he, *that according to the order which is kept in well-ordered Monaſteries, I could wiſh to have every day my hours of labouring with my hands, my hours of reading, and of praying, rather than to endure theſe moſt tumultuous perplexities of other Men's cauſes, which I am forced to bear when I travel in Secular buſineſſes, either by judging to diſcuſs them, or to cut them off by intreaty: unto which toils that Apoſtle, who himſelf ſuſtained them not, for any thing we read, hath notwithſtanding tied us, not of his own accord, but being thereunto directed by that Spirit which ſpeaks in him. His own Apoſtleſhip, which drew him to travel up and down, ſuffered him not to be any where ſettled to this purpoſe; wherefore the wiſe, faithful and holy Men which were ſeated here and there, and not them which travelled up and down to preach, be made examiners of ſuch buſineſſes. Whereupon of him it is no where written, that he had leiſure to attend theſe things, from which we cannot excuſe ourſelves although we be ſimple: becauſe even ſuch he requireth, if wiſe Men cannot be had, rather than that the affairs of Chriſtians ſhould be brought into publick judgment. Howbeit, not without comfort in our Lord are theſe travels undertaken by us, for the hope's ſake of eternal life, to the end that with patience we may reap*

Vide Barna. Briſſon. Antiq. Jur. l. xl. c. 16.

Aug. de Oper. Monach. c. 29.

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reap fruit. So far is St. Auguſtine from thinking it unlawful for Paſtors in ſuch ſort to judge Civil Cauſes, that he plainly collecteth out of the Apoſtle's words, a neceſſity to undertake that duty; yea himſelf he comforteth with the hope of a bleſſed reward, in lieu of travail that way ſuſtained.

Again, even where whole Chriſtian Kingdoms are, how troubleſome were it for Univerſities, and other great Collegiare Societies, erected to ſerve as Nurſeries unto the Church of Chriſt, if every thing which civilly doth concern them were to be carried from their own peculiar Governors, becauſe for the moſt part they are (as fitteſt it is they ſhould be) Perſons of Eccleſiaſtical calling? It was by the wiſdom of our famous Predeceſſors foreſeen how unfit this would be, and hereupon provided by grant of ſpecial Charters, that it might be, as now it is in the Univerſities; where their Vice-Chancellors, being for the moſt part Profeſſors of Divinity, are nevertheleſs Civil Judges over them in the moſt of their ordinary cauſes.

And to go yet ſome degrees further—a thing impoſſible it is not, neither altogether unuſual, for ſome who are of royal blood to be conſecrated unto the Miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo to be Nurſes of God's Church, not only as the Prophet did foretel, but alſo as the Apoſtle St. Paul was. Now in caſe the Crown ſhould by this means deſcend unto ſuch Perſons, perhaps when they are the very laſt, or perhaps the very beſt of their race, ſo that a greater benefit they are not able to beſtow upon a Kingdom, than by accepting their right therein; ſhall the ſanctity of their Order deprive them of that honour whereunto they have right by blood? or ſhall it be a bar to ſhut out the publick good that may grow by their virtuous regiment? If not, then muſt they caſt off the Office which they received by divine impoſition of hands; or, if they carry a more religious opinion concerning that heavenly function, it followeth, that being

being inveſted as well with the one as the other, they remain God's lawfully anointed both ways. With Men of ſkill and mature judgment there is of this ſo little doubt, that concerning ſuch as at this day are under the Archbiſhops of Ments, Colen, and Trevers, being both Archbiſhops and Princes of the Empire; yea, ſuch as live within the Pope's own civil territories, there is no cauſe why any ſhould deny to yield them civil obedience in any thing which they command, not repugnant to Chriſtian piety; yea, even that civilly, for ſuch as are under them, not to obey them, were the part of ſeditious Perſons: howbeit for Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, thus to exerciſe civil dominion of their own, is more than when they only ſuſtain ſome publick office, or deal in ſome buſineſs civil, being thereunto even by ſupreme authority required. As Nature doth not any thing in vain, ſo neither Grace. Wherefore, if it pleaſe God to bleſs ſome principal Attendants on his own Sanctuary, and to endue them with extraordinary parts of excellency, ſome in one kind, ſome in another, ſurely a great derogation it were to the very honour of him who beſtowed ſo precious Graces, except they on whom he hath beſtowed them ſhould accordingly be employed, that the fruit of thoſe heavenly gifts might extend itſelf unto the body of the Commonwealth wherein they live; which being of purpoſe inſtituted (for ſo all Commonwealths are) to the end that all might enjoy whatſoever good it pleaſeth the Almighty to endue each one with, muſt needs ſuffer loſs, when it hath not the gain which eminent civil ability in Eccleſiaſtical Perſons is now and then found apt to afford. Shall we then diſcommend the People of Milan for uſing Ambroſe their Biſhop as an Ambaſſador about their publick and politick affairs; the Jews for electing their Prieſts ſometimes to be Leaders in War; David for making the High-Prieſt his chiefeſt Counſellor of State; finally, all Chriſtian Kings and Princes

Zanch. p. 214. Obſer. Inconfeſt.

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Princes which have appointed unto like ſervices; Biſhops or other of the Clergy under them? No, they have done in this reſpect that which moſt ſincere and religious wiſdom alloweth. Neither is it allowable only, when either a kind of neceſſity doth caſt Civil Offices upon them, or when they are thereunto preferred in regard of ſome extraordinary fitneſs; but further alſo, when there are even of right annexed unto ſome of their places, or of courſe impoſ-d upon certain of their Perſons, functions of dignity and account in the Commonwealth; albeit, no other conſideration be had therein ſave this, that their credit and countenance may by ſuch means be augmented. A thing, if ever to be reſpected, ſurely moſt of all now, when God himſelf is for his own ſake generally no where honoured, Religion almoſt no where, no where religiouſly adored, the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments of Chriſt a very cauſe of diſgrace in the eyes both of high and low, where it hath not ſomewhat beſides itſelf to be countenanced with. For unto this very paſs are things come, that the glory of God is conſtrained even to ſtand upon borrowed credit, which yet were ſomewhat the more tolerable, if there were not that diſſuade to lend it him. No practice ſo vile, but pretended Holineſs is made ſometimes a cloak to hide it.

The French King Philip Valois in his time made an Ordinance, that all Prelates and Biſhops ſhould be clean excluded from Parliaments, where the affairs of the Kingdom were handled; pretending that a King, with good conſcience, cannot draw Paſtors, having cure of Souls, from ſo weighty a buſineſs, to trouble their heads with conſultations of State. But irreligious intents are not able to hide themſelves, no not when Holineſs is made their cloak. This is plain and ſimple truth, that the counſels of wicked Men hate always the preſence of them whoſe virtue, though it ſhould not be able to prevail

prevail againſt their purpoſes, would notwithſtanding be unto their minds a ſecret corroſive; and therefore, till either by one ſhift or another they can bring all things to their own hands alone, they are not ſecure. Ordinances holier and better there ſtand as yet in force by the grace of Almighty God and the works of his Providence, amongſt us. Let not envy ſo far prevail, as to make us account that a blemiſh, which if there be in us any ſpark of ſound judgment or of religious conſcience, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge to be one of the chiefeſt ornaments unto this land: by the ancient Laws whereof, the Clergy being held for the chief of thoſe Three Eſtates, which together make up the entire body of this Commonwealth, under one ſupreme Head and Governor; it hath all this time ever borne a ſway proportionable in the weighty affairs of the land; wiſe and virtuous Kings condeſcending moſt willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the Moſt High; with the flower of whoſe ſanctified inheritance, as it were with a kind of Divine Preſence, unleſs their chiefeſt Civil Aſſemblies were ſo far forth beautified as might be without any notable impediment unto their heavenly functions, they could not ſatisfy themſelves as having ſhewed towards God an affection moſt dutiful.

Thus, firſt, in defect of other Civil Magiſtrates; ſecondly, for the eaſe and quietneſs of Scholaſtical Societies; thirdly, by way of political neceſſity; fourthly, in regard of quality, care, and extraordinancy; fifthly, for countenance unto the Miniſtry; and laſtly, even of devotion and reverence towards God himſelf, there may be admitted, at leaſtwiſe in ſome particulars, well and lawfully enough, a conjunction of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, except there be ſome ſuch Law or reaſon to the contrary, as may prove it to be a thing ſimply in itſelf naught.

Againſt it many things are objected, as, firſt, *That the*

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the matters which are noted in the holy Scriptures to have belonged unto the ordinary office of any Miniſters of God's holy Word and Sacraments, are theſe which follow, with ſuch like, and no other; namely, the watch of the Sanctuary, the buſineſs of God, the miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, overſight of the Houſe of God, watching over his Flock, Prophecy, Prayer, diſpenſations of the Myſteries of God, charge and care of Men's Souls. If a Man would ſhew what the offices and duties of a Chirurgeon or Phyſician are, I ſuppoſe it were not his part, ſo much as to mention any thing belonging to the one or the other, in caſe either ſhould be alſo a Soldier or a Merchant, or an Houſe-keeper, or a Magiſtrate; becauſe the functions of theſe are different from thoſe of the former, albeit one and the ſame Man may haply be both. The caſe is like, when the Scripture teacheth what duties are required in an Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter; in deſcribing of whoſe office, to teach any other thing than ſuch as properly and directly toucheth his office that way, were impertinent.

Yea, *But in the Old Teſtament the two Powers Civil and Eccleſiaſtical were diſtinguiſhed, not only in Nature, but alſo in Perſon; the one committed unto Moſes, and the Magiſtrates joined with him; the other to Aaron and his Sons. Jehoſaphat in his reformation doth not only diſtinguiſh cauſes Eccleſiaſtical from Civil, and erecteth divers Courts for them, but appointeth alſo divers Judges.* With the Jews theſe two Powers were not ſo diſtinguiſhed, but that ſometimes they might, and did concur in one and the ſame Perſon. Was not Eli both Prieſt and Judge? after their return from Captivity, Eſdras a Prieſt, and the ſame their chief Governor even in Civil affairs alſo? Theſe Men which urge the neceſſity of making always a perſonal diſtinction of theſe two Powers, as if by Jehoſaphat's example the ſame Perſon ought not to deal in both cauſes, yet are not ſcrupulous to make Men of Civil place and calling Preſbyters and Miniſters of Spiritual

Spiritual Jurisdiction in their own Spiritual Consistories.

If it be against the Jewish precedents for us to give Civil Power unto such as have Ecclesiastical; is it not as much against the same for them to give Ecclesiastical Power unto such as have Civil? They will answer perhaps, that their position is only against conjunction of Ecclesiastical Power of Order, and the Power of Civil Jurisdiction in one Person. But this answer will not stand with their proofs, which make no less against the Power of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in one Person; for of these two Powers Jehosaphat's example is: besides, the contrary example of Eli and of Ezra, by us alledged, do plainly shew, that amongst the Jews even the power of Order Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction were sometimes lawfully united in one and the same Person. Pressed further we are with our Lord and Saviour's example, who *denieth his Kingdom to be of this World, and therefore, as not standing with his calling, refused to be made a King, to give sentence in a Criminal cause of Adultery, and in a Civil of dividing an Inheritance.*

The Jews, imagining that their Messiah should be a potent Monarch upon earth, no marvel, though when they did otherwise wonder at Christ's greatness, they sought forthwith to have him invested with that kind of dignity, to the end he might presently begin to reign. Others of the Jews, which likewise had the same imagination of the Messiah, and did somewhat incline to think that peradventure this might be he, thought good to try whether he would take upon him that which he might do, being a King, such as they supposed their true Messiah should be. But Christ refused to be a King over them, because it was no part of the office of their Messiah, as they did falsely conceive; and to intermeddle in those acts of Civil Judgment he refused also, because he had no such jurisdiction in that Commonwealth, being,

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in regard of his Civil Perſon, a Man of mean and low calling. As for repugnancy between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power, or any inconvenience that theſe two Powers ſhould be united, it doth not appear, that this was the cauſe of his reſiſtance either to reign, or elſe to judge.

2 Tim. ii. 4. What ſay we then to the bleſſed Apoſtles, who teach, *That Soldiers entangle not themſelves with the buſineſſes of this life, but leave them, to the end they may pleaſe him who hath choſen them to ſerve; and that ſo the good Soldiers of Chriſt ought to do?*

The Apoſtles which taught this, did never take upon them any place or office of Civil Power. No; they gave over the Eccleſiaſtical care of the Poor, that they might wholly attend upon the Word and Prayer. St. Paul indeed doth exhort Timothy after this manner, *Suffer thou evil as a noble Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt: no Man warring is entangled with the affairs of life, becauſe he muſt ſerve ſuch as have preſſed him unto warfare.* The ſenſe and meaning whereof is plain, that Soldiers may not be nice and tender, that they muſt be able to endure hardneſs, that no Man betaking himſelf unto wars continueth entangled with ſuch kind of buſineſſes, as tend only unto the eaſe and quiet felicity of this life; but if the ſervice of him who hath taken them under his banner require the hazard, yea, the loſs of their lives, to pleaſe him, they muſt be content and willing with any difficulty, any peril, be it never ſo much againſt the natural deſire which they have to live in ſafety. And at this point the Clergy of God muſt always ſtand; thus it behoveth them to be affected as oft as their Lord and Captain leadeth them into the field, whatſoever conflicts, perils, or evils they are to endure. Which duty being not ſuch, but that therewith the Civil Dignities, which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons amongſt us do enjoy, may well enough ſtand, the exhortation of Paul to Timothy is but a ſlender allegation againſt them. As well might we

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gather out of this place, that Men having Children or Wives, are not fit to be Miniſters; (which alſo hath been collected, and that by ſundry of the Ancients *) and that it is requiſite the Clergy be utterly forbidden Marriage. For, as the burthen of Civil Regiment doth make them who bear it the leſs able to attend their Eccleſiaſtical Charge; even ſo St. Paul doth ſay, that the married are careful for the World, the unmarried freer to give themſelves wholly to the ſervice of God. Howbeit, both experience hath found it ſafer, that the Clergy ſhould bear the cares of honeſt Marriage, than be ſubject to the inconveniencies which ſingle life, impoſed upon them, would draw after it; and as many as are of ſound judgment know it to be far better for this preſent age, that the detriment be borne which haply may grow through the leſſening of ſome few Men's Spiritual labours, than that the Clergy and Commonwealth ſhould lack the benefit which both the one and the other may reap through their dealing in Civil affairs. In which conſideration, that Men conſecrated unto the Spiritual ſervice of God be licenſed ſo far forth to meddle with the Secular affairs of the World, as doth ſeem for ſome ſpecial good cauſe requiſite, and may be without any grievous prejudice unto the Church, ſurely, there is not in the Apoſtle's words, being rightly underſtood, any let. That no Apoſtle did ever bear Office, may it not be a wonder, conſidering the great devotion of the age wherein they lived, and the zeal of Herod, of Nero the great Commander of the known World, and of other Kings of the Earth at that time, to advance by all means Chriſtian Religion?

* Convenit hujuſmodi eligi et ordinari Sacerdotes, quibus nec Liberi ſunt nec Nepotes. Etenim fieri vix poteſt ut vacans hujus vitæ quotidianæ curis quas Liberi creant Parentibus maxime, omne ſtudium omnemque cogitationem circa divinam liturgiam et res Eccleſiaſticas conſumat. Lib. xlii. ſect. 1. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

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Their deriving unto others that ſmaller charge of diſtributing of the goods which were laid at their feet, and of making proviſion for the Poor, which charge, being in part Civil, themſelves had before (as I ſuppoſe, lawfully) undertaken, and their following of that which was weightier, may ſerve as a marvellous good example for the dividing of one Man's office into divers ſlips, and the ſubordinating of Inferiors to diſcharge ſome part of the ſame, when, by reaſon of multitude increaſing, that labour waxeth great and troubleſome, which before was eaſy and light: but very ſmall force it hath to infer a perpetual divorce between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power in the ſame Perſons. The moſt that can be ſaid in this caſe is, *That ſundry eminent Canons, bearing the name of Apoſtolical, and divers Councils likewiſe there are, which have forbidden the Clergy to bear any Secular Office; and have enjoined them to attend altogether upon Reading, Preaching, and Prayer: whereupon the moſt of the ancient Fathers have ſhewed great diſlikes that theſe two Powers ſhould be united in one Perſon.*

For a full and final Anſwer whereunto, I would firſt demand, whether commenſion and ſeparation of theſe two Powers be a matter of mere poſitive Law, or elſe a thing ſimply with or againſt the Law immutable of God and Nature? That which is ſimply againſt this latter Law can at no time be allowable in any Perſon, more than Adultery, Blaſphemy, Sacrilege, and the like. But conjunction of Power Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, what Law is there which hath not at ſome time or other allowed as a thing convenient and meet? In the Law of God we have examples ſundry, whereby it doth moſt manifeſtly appear, how of him the ſame hath oftentime been approved. No Kingdom or Nation in the World, but hath been thereunto accuſtomed without inconvenience and hurt. In the prime of the World, Kings and Civil Rulers were Prieſts for the moſt

most part all. The * Romans note it as a thing beneficial in their own Commonwealth, and even to † them apparently forcible for the ſtrengthening of the Jews' Regiment under Moſes and Samuel. I deny not, but ſometime there may be, and hath been perhaps juſt cauſe to ordain otherwiſe. Wherefore we are not to urge thoſe things which heretofore have been either ordered or done as thereby to prejudice thoſe Orders, which, upon contrary occaſion, and the exigence of the preſent time, by like authority have been eſtabliſhed. For, what is there which doth let, but that from contrary occaſions, contrary Laws may grow, and each be reaſoned and diſputed for by ſuch as are ſubject thereunto, during the time they are in force; and yet neither ſo oppoſite to other, but that both may laudably continue, as long as the ages which keep them do ſee no neceſſary cauſe which may draw them unto alteration? Wherefore in theſe things, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Laws which have been at one time meet, do not prove that the Church ſhould always be bound to follow them. Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were by ancient Order forbidden to be Executors of

* Cum multa divinitus Pontifices, a majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt, tum nihil præclarius quam quod vos eoſdem et Religionibus Deorum immortalium, et ſummæ Reipublicæ præeſſe voluerunt. Cic. pro domo ſua ad Pontif.

† Honor Sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ aſſumebatur. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. v. He ſheweth the reaſon wherefore their Rulers were alſo Prieſts. The joining of theſe two Powers, as now, ſo then likewiſe profitable for the publick ſtate, but in reſpects clean oppoſite and contrary. For, whereas then Divine things being more eſteemed, were uſed as helps for the countenance of Secular Power; the caſe in theſe latter ages is turned upſide down, Earth hath now brought Heaven under foot, and in the courſe of the World, hath of the two the greater credit. Prieſthood was then a ſtrengthening to Kings, which now is forced to take ſtrength and credit from far meaner degrees of Civil Authority. Hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eoſdem Reges et Sacerdotes haberent, quorum juſtitia religioni permixta incredibile quantum evaluere. Juſt. Hiſt. l. xxxvi. Lib. xlii. Sect. 22. C. de Epiſc.

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any Man's Teſtament, or to undertake the Wardſhip of Children. Biſhops, by the Imperial Law, are forbidden to bequeath by Teſtament, or otherwiſe to alienate any thing grown unto them after they were made Biſhops. Is there no remedy but that theſe, or the like Orders, muſt therefore every where ſtill be obſerved? The reaſon is not always evident, why former Orders have been repealed and other eſtabliſhed in their room. Herein therefore we muſt remember the axiom uſed in the Civil Laws, *That the Prince is always preſumed to do that with reaſon, which is not againſt reaſon being done, although no reaſon of his deed be expreſt.* Which being in every reſpect as true of the Church, and her Divine Authority in making Laws, it ſhould be ſome bridle unto thoſe malapert and proud ſpirits, whoſe wits not conceiving the reaſon of Laws that are eſtabliſhed, they adore their own private fancy as the ſupreme Law of all, and accordingly take upon them to judge that whereby they ſhould be judged. But why labour we thus in vain? For even to change that which now is, and to eſtabliſh inſtead thereof, that which themſelves would acknowledge the very ſelf-ſame which hath been, to what purpoſe were it, ſith they proteſt, *That they utterly condemn as well that which hath been, as that which is; as well the ancient, as the preſent Superiority, Authority, and Power of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons?*

T. C. lib. i. p. 126.

The Arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove that the Law of God, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemneth the ruling Superiority of one Miniſter over another. T. C. lib. i. p. 22.

16. Now where they laſtly alledge, *That the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemn all ruling Superiority of Miniſters over Miniſters*; they are in this, as in the reſt, more bold to affirm, than able to prove the things which they bring for ſupport of their weak and feeble cauſe. *The bearing of Dominion, or the exerciſing of Authority* (they ſay) *is that wherein the Civil Magiſtrate is ſevered from the Eccleſiaſtical Officer, according to the words of our Lord and Saviour,* Kings of Nations bear rule over them, but it ſhall not be ſo with you: *therefore*

therefore bearing of Dominion doth not agree to one Minister over another. This place hath been, and ſtill is, although falſely, yet with far greater ſhew and likelihood of truth brought forth by the Anabaptiſts, to prove that the Church of Chriſt ought to have no Civil Magiſtrates, but be ordered only by Chriſt. Wherefore they urge the oppoſition between Heathens, and them unto whom our Saviour ſpeaketh. For, ſith the Apoſtles were oppoſite to Heathens, not in that they were Apoſtles, but in that they were Chriſtians, the Anabaptiſts' inference, is, *That Chriſt doth here give a Law, to be for ever obſerved by all true Chriſtian Men, between whom and Heathens there muſt be always this difference, that whereas Heathens have their Kings and Princes to rule, Chriſtians ought not in this thing to be like unto them.* Wherein their conſtruction hath the more ſhew, becauſe that which Chriſt doth ſpeak to his Apoſtles, is not found always agreeable unto them as Apoſtles, or as Paſtors of Men's Souls, but oftentimes it toucheth them in generality, as they are Chriſtians; ſo that Chriſtianity being common unto them with all Believers, ſuch ſpeeches muſt be ſo taken that they may be applied unto all, and not only unto them. They which conſent with us, in rejecting ſuch collections as the Anabaptiſt maketh with more probability, muſt give us leave to reject ſuch as themſelves have made with leſs; for a great deal leſs likely it is, that our Lord ſhould here eſtabliſh an everlaſting difference, not between his Church and Pagans, but between the Paſtors of his Church and Civil Governors. For if herein they muſt always differ, that the one may not bear rule, the other may; how did the Apoſtles themſelves obſerve this difference, the exerciſe of whoſe authority, both in commanding and in controuling others, the Scripture hath made ſo manifeſt that no gloſs can over-ſhadow it? Again, it being, as they would have it, our Saviour's purpoſe to withhold his Apoſtles, and in them all other Paſtors

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from bearing rule, why ſhould Kingly Dominion be mentioned, which occaſions Men to gather, that not all Dominion and Rule, but this one only form was prohibited, and that Authority was permitted them, ſo it were not Regal? Furthermore, in caſe it had been his purpoſe to withhold Paſtors altogether from bearing Rule, why ſhould Kings of Nations be mentioned, as if they were not forbidden to exerciſe, no not Regal Dominion itſelf, but only ſuch Regal Dominion as Heathen Kings do exerciſe? The very truth is, our Lord and Saviour did aim at a far other mark than theſe Men ſeem to obſerve. The end of his ſpeech was to reform their particular miſ-perſuaſion to whom he ſpake: and their miſ-perſuaſion was, that which was alſo the common fancy of the Jews at that time, that their Lord being the Meſſias of the World, ſhould reſtore unto Iſrael that Kingdom, whereof the Romans had as then bereaved them; they imagined that he ſhould not only deliver the State of Iſrael, but himſelf reign as King in the Throne of David with all ſecular pomp and dignity; that he ſhould ſubdue the reſt of the World, and make Jeruſalem the ſeat of an univerſal Monarchy. Seeing therefore they had forſaken all to follow him, being now in ſo mean condition, they did not think, but that together with him they alſo ſhould riſe in ſtate; that they ſhould be the firſt and the moſt advanced by him.

Of this conceit it came, that the Mother of the Sons of Zebedee ſued for her Children's preferment, and of this conceit it grew, that the Apoſtles began to queſtion amongſt themſelves which of them ſhould be greateſt; and in controulment of this conceit, it was, that our Lord ſo plainly told them, *that the thoughts of their hearts were vain.* The Kings of Nations have indeed their large and ample Dominions, they reign far and wide, and their Servants they advance unto honour in the World, they beſtow upon them large and ample ſecular preferments, in which

which reſpect they are alſo termed many of them Benefactors, becauſe of the liberal hand which they uſe in rewarding ſuch as have done them ſervice: but, was it the meaning of the ancient Prophets of God that the Meſſias, the King of Iſrael, ſhould be like unto theſe Kings, and his retinue grow in ſuch ſort as theirs? "Wherefore ye are not to look for at my hands ſuch preferment as Kings of Nations are wont to beſtow upon their Attendants, *With you not ſo*. Your reward in Heaven ſhall be moſt ample, on Earth your chiefeſt honour muſt be to ſuffer perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake; Submiſſion, Humility, and Meekneſs, are things fitter for you to inure your minds withal, than theſe aſpiring cogitations; if any amongſt you be greater than other, let him ſhew himſelf greateſt in being lowlieſt; let him be above them in being under them, even as a Servant for their good. Theſe are affections which you muſt put on; as for degrees of preferment and honour in this World, if ye expect any ſuch thing at my hands, ye deceive yourſelves, for in the World your portion is rather the clear contrary." Wherefore they who alledge this place againſt Epiſcopal Authority abuſe it, they many ways deprave and wreſt it clean from the true underſtanding wherein our Saviour himſelf did utter it.

For firſt, whereas he by way of mere negation had ſaid, *With you it ſhall not be ſo*, foretelling them only that it ſhould not ſo come to paſs as they vainly ſurmiſed, theſe Men take his words in a plain nature of a prohibition, as if Chriſt had thereby forbidden all inequality of Eccleſiaſtical Power. Secondly, whereas he did but cut off their idle hope of ſecular advancements, all ſtanding Superiority amongſt Perſons Eccleſiaſtical theſe Men would raſe off with the edge of his ſpeech. Thirdly, whereas he in abating their hope even of ſecular advancements ſpake but only with relation unto himſelf, informing them that he would be no ſuch munificent Lord

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unto them in their temporal dignity and honour, as they did erroneouſly ſuppoſe; ſo that any Apoſtle might afterwards have grown by means of others to be even Emperor of Rome, for any thing in thoſe words to the contrary; theſe Men removing quite and clean the hedge of all ſuch reſtraints, enlarge ſo far the bounds of his meaning, as if his very preciſe intent and purpoſe had been not to reform the error of his Apoſtles, conceived as touching him, and to teach what himſelf would not be towards them; but to preſcribe a ſpecial Law both to them and their Succeſſors for ever; a Law determining what they ſhould not be in relation of one to another; a Law forbidding that any ſuch title ſhould be given to any Miniſter as might import or argue in him a Superiority over other Miniſters. Being thus defeated of that ſuccour which they thought their cauſe might have had out of the words of our Saviour Chriſt, they try their adventure in ſeeking what aid Man's teſtimony will yield them: *Cyprian objecteth it to Florentinus as a proud thing, that by believing evil reports, and miſ-judging of Cyprian, he made himſelf Biſhop of a Biſhop, and Judge over him whom God had for the time appointed to be Judge. The endeavour of godly Men to ſtrike at theſe inſolent names may appear in the Council of Carthage: where it was decreed, That the Biſhop of the chief See ſhould not be entituled the Exarch of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſt, or any other thing of like ſenſe, but only the Biſhop of the chiefeſt See;* whereby are ſhut out the name of Archbiſhop, and all other ſuch haughty titles.* In theſe allegations it fareth as in broken reports ſnatched out of the Author's mouth, and broached before they be half either told on the one part, or on the other underſtood. The matter which Cyprian complaineth of in Florentinus was

T. C. lib. i. p. 10. p. 95.

Lib. iv. Ep. 9.

* Ὥστε ἓν τῇ τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι Ἐξάρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ Ἀκρὸν Ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτό τοπον τί ποτε, ἀλλὰ μόνον Ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας. Can. 39.

thus;

thus; Novatus miſliking the eaſineſs of Cyprian to admit Men into the fellowſhip of Believers after they had fallen away from the bold and conſtant confeſſion of Chriſtian Faith, took thereby occaſion to ſeparate himſelf from the Church; and being united with certain excommunicate Perſons, they joined their wits together, and drew out againſt Cyprian their lawful Biſhop ſundry grievous accuſations; the crimes ſuch, as being true, had made him uncapable of that office whereof he was ſix years as then poſſeſſed: they went to Rome, and to other places, accuſing him every where as guilty of thoſe faults of which themſelves had lewdly condemned him; pretending that twenty-five African Biſhops (a thing moſt falſe) had heard and examined his cauſe in a ſolemn Aſſembly, and that they all had given their ſentence againſt him, holding his election by the Canons of the Church void. The ſame factious and ſeditious Perſons coming alſo unto Florentinus, who was at that time a Man impriſoned for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, but yet a favourer of the error of Novatus, their malicious accuſations he over-willingly hearkened unto, gave them credit, concurred with them, and unto Cyprian in fine wrote his letters againſt Cyprian: which letters he juſtly taketh in marvellous evil part, and therefore ſeverely controuleth his ſo great preſumption in making himſelf a Judge of a Judge; and, as it were, a Biſhop's Biſhop, to receive accuſations againſt him, as one that had been his Ordinary. *What height of pride is this*, ſaith Cyprian, *what arrogancy of ſpirit, what a puffing up of mind, to call Guides and Prieſts to be examined and ſifted before him? So that unleſs we ſhall be cleared in your Court, and abſolved by your Sentence, behold for theſe ſix years' ſpace, neither ſhall the Brotherhood have had a Biſhop, nor the People a Guide, nor the Flock a Shepherd, nor the Church a Governor, nor Chriſt a Prelate, nor God a Prieſt.* This is the pride which Cyprian condemneth in Florentinus, and not the

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the title or name of Archbiſhop; about which matter there was not at that time ſo much as the dream of any controverſy at all between them. A ſilly collection it is, that becauſe Cyprian reproveth Florentinus for lightneſs of belief, and preſumptuous raſhneſs of judgment, therefore he held the title of Archbiſhop to be a vain and a proud name. Archbiſhops were chief amongſt Biſhops, yet Archbiſhops had not over Biſhops that full authority which every Biſhop had over his own particular Clergy. Biſhops were not ſubject unto their Archbiſhops as an Ordinary, by whom at all times they were to be judged, according to the manner of inferior Paſtors, within the compaſs of each Dioceſe. A Biſhop might ſuſpend, excommunicate, depoſe ſuch as were of his own Clergy, without any other Biſhop's aſſiſtance; not ſo an Archbiſhop the Biſhops that were in his own Province, above whom divers prerogatives were given him, howbeit no ſuch authority and power, as alone to be Judge over them. For as a Biſhop could not be ordained, ſo neither might he be judged by any one only Biſhop, albeit that Biſhop were his Metropolitan. Wherefore Cyprian, concerning the liberty and freedom which every Biſhop had, ſpake in the Council of Carthage, whereat fourſcore and ſeven Biſhops were preſent, ſaying, *It reſteth that every of us declare what we think of this matter, neither judging nor ſevering from the right of communion any that ſhall think otherwiſe: for of us there is not any which maketh himſelf a Biſhop of Biſhops, or with tyrannical fear conſtraineth his Colleagues unto the neceſſity of obedience, inaſmuch as every Biſhop, according to the reach of his liberty and power, hath his own free judgment, and can have no more another his Judge, than himſelf be Judge to another.* Whereby it appeareth, that among the African Biſhops none did uſe ſuch authority over any, as the Biſhop of Rome did afterwards claim over all, forcing upon them opinions by main and abſolute power. Wherefore unto the Biſhop

Concil. Carthag. de hær. baptizandis.

Lib. ii. Ep. 1.

Bishop of Rome the same Cyprian also writeth concerning his opinion about Baptism: *These things we present unto your conscience, most dear Brother, as well for common honour's sake, as of single and sincere love, trusting that as you are truly yourself religious and faithful, so those things which agree with Religion and Faith will be acceptable unto you: howbeit we know, that what some have over-drunk in, they will not let go, neither easily change their mind, but, with care of preserving whole amongst their Brethren the bond of peace and concord, retain still to themselves certain their own opinions wherewith they have been inured: wherein we neither use force, nor prescribe a Law unto any, knowing that in the government of the Church every Ruler hath his own voluntary free judgment, and of that which he doth shall render unto the Lord himself an account.* As for the Council of Carthage, doth not the very first Canon thereof establish with most effectual terms all things which were before agreed on in the Council of Nice? *and that the Council of Nice did ratify the pre-eminence of Metropolitan Bishops, who is ignorant? The name of an Archbishop importeth only, a Bishop having chiefty of certain prerogatives above his Brethren of the same order. Which thing, since the Council of Nice doth allow, it cannot be that the other of Carthage should condemn it, inasmuch as this doth yield unto that a Christian unrestrained approbation.

The thing provided for by the Synod of Carthage can be no other therefore, than only that the chiefest Metropolitan, where many Archbishops were within any greater Province, should not be termed by those names, as to import the power of an ordinary jurisdiction, belonging in such degree and manner unto him over the rest of the Bishops and Archbishops, as did belong unto every Bishop over other Pastors

* Ὥστε τὰ ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συνόδῳ ὁρισθέντα παντὶ τρόπῳ παραφυλαχθήσεται.

under

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under him. But much more abſurd it is to affirm, that both Cyprian and the Council of Carthage condemn even ſuch Superiority alſo of Biſhops themſelves, over Paſtors their Inferiors, as the words of Ignatius imply, in terming the Biſhop, *a Prince of Prieſts*. Biſhops to be termed Arch-Prieſts, in regard of their Superiority over Prieſts, is in the writings of the ancient Fathers a thing ſo uſual and familiar, as almoſt no one thing more. At the Council of Nice, ſaith Theodoret, three hundred and eighteen Arch-Prieſts were preſent.* Were it the meaning of the Council of Carthage, that the title of Chief-Prieſts and ſuch like, ought not in any ſort at all to be given unto any Chriſtian Biſhop, what excuſe ſhould we make for ſo many ancient both Fathers, and Synods of Fathers, as have generally applied the title of Arch-Prieſt unto every Biſhop's office? High time I think it is, to give over the obſtinate defence of this moſt miſerable forſaken cauſe; in the favour whereof neither God, nor amongſt ſo many wiſe and virtuous Men as antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly ſpoken. Irkſome confuſion muſt of neceſſity be the end whereunto all ſuch vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to bear it out but only an exceſſive meaſure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the ſtart of a little time, before they came to be examined. In the writings of the ancient Fathers, there is not any thing with more ſerious aſſeveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh Biſhops, that their Authority hath Divine allowance, that the Biſhop is the Prieſt of God, that he is Judge in Chriſt's ſtead,

T. C. lib. i. p. 113.

* Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 7. Ἀρχιερεῖς. Hieronymus contra Lucifer. ſalutem Eccleſiæ pendere dicit a ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate, id eſt, Epiſcopi. Idem eſt in Hieronymo ſummus Sacerdos quod ἀκρὸς ἱερεὺς in Carthaginenſi Concilio. Vide C. omnes 38 diſt. Item C. Pontifices 12. q. 3. Item C. De his, De conſeq. diſt. 5.

that,

that, according to God's own Law, the whole Christian Fraternity standeth bound to obey him. Of this there was not in the Christian World of old any doubt or controversy made; it was a thing universally every where agreed upon. What should move Men to judge that, now so unlawful and naught, which then was so reverently esteemed? Surely no other cause but this; Men were in those times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful awe and subjection unto the Pastors of their Souls: now, we imagine ourselves so able, every Man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have Superiors; and for a mask to hide our pride, we pretend falsely the Law of Christ, as if we did seek the execution of his will, when in truth we labour for the mere satisfaction of our own against his.

The second main thing wherein the state of Bishops suffereth obloquy, is their Honour.

17. The chiefest cause of disdain and murmur against Bishops in the Church of England is, that evil-affected eye wherewith the World looked upon them since the time that irreligious prophaneness, beholding the due and just advancements of God's Clergy, hath under pretence of enmity unto ambition and pride proceeded so far, that the contumely of old offered unto Aaron in the like quarrel may seem very moderate and quiet dealing, if we compare it with the fury of our own times. The ground and original of both their proceedings one and the same; in declaration of their grievances they differ not; the complaints as well of the one as the other are, *Wherefore lift ye up yourselves thus far above the Congregation of the Lord? It is too much which you take upon you, too much Power, and too much Honour.* Numb. xvi. 3. Wherefore, as we have shewed, that there is not in their Power any thing unjust or unlawful, so it resteth that in their Honour also the like be done. The labour we take unto this purpose is by so much the harder, in that we are forced to wrestle with the stream of obstinate affection, mightily carried by a wilful prejudice, the dominion whereof is so powerful

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ful over them in whom it reigneth, that it giveth them no leave, no not so much as patiently to hearken unto any speech which doth not profess to feed them in this their bitter humour. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as I am persuaded that against God they will not strive, if they perceive once that in truth it is he against whom they open their mouths, my hope is their own confession will be at the length, *Behold we have done exceeding foolishly; it was the Lord, and we knew it not; him in his Ministers we have despised, we have in their honour impugned his.* But the alteration of Men's hearts must be his good and gracious work, whose most Omnipotent Power framed them. Wherefore to come to our present purpose, Honour is no where due, saving only unto such as have in them that whereby they are found, or at the least presumed, voluntarily beneficial unto them of whom they are honoured. Wheresoever Nature seeth the countenance of a Man, it still presumeth that there is in him a mind willing to do good, if need require, inasmuch as by nature so it should be; for which cause Men unto Men do honour, even for very humanity's sake: and unto whom we deny all Honour, we seem plainly to take from them all opinion of human dignity, to make no account or reckoning of them, to think them so utterly without virtue, as if no good thing in the World could be looked for at their hands. Seeing therefore it seemeth hard, that we should so hardly think of any Man, the precept of St. Peter is, *Honour all Men.* Which duty of every Man towards all, doth vary according to the several degrees whereby they are more or less beneficial, whom we do honour. *Honour the Physician*, saith the Wise Man: the reason why, because for necessity's sake, God created him. Again, *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the person of the Aged:* the reason why, because the younger sort have great benefit by their gravity, experience, and wisdom, for which cause, these things

1 Pet. ii. 17.

Eccles. xxxviii. 1.

Levit. xix. 32.

the

the Wiſe Man termeth the crown or diadem of the Aged. *Honour is due to Parents:* the reaſon why, becauſe we have our beginning from them; *Obey the Father that hath begotten thee, the Mother that bare thee deſpiſe thou not.* Honour due unto Kings and Governors: the reaſon why, becauſe God hath ſet them *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Thus we ſee by every of theſe particulars, that there is always ſome kind of virtue beneficial, wherein they excel who receive Honour; and that degrees of Honour are diſtinguiſhed according to the value of thoſe effects which the ſame beneficial virtue doth produce. BOOK VII. Ecclus. xxv. 6. Prov. xxiii. 22. 1 Pet. ii. 14.

Nor is Honour only an inward Eſtimation, whereby they are reverenced and well thought of in the minds of Men; but Honour, whereof we now ſpeak, is defined to be an external Sign, by which we give a ſenſible teſtification that we acknowledge the beneficial virtue of others. Sarah honoured her Huſband Abraham; this appeareth by the title ſhe gave him. The Brethren of Joſeph did him Honour in the Land of Egypt; their lowly and humble Geſture ſheweth it. Parents will hardly perſuade themſelves that this intentional Honour, which reacheth no farther than the inward conception only, is the Honour which their Children owe them. Pſal. lxxii. 15.

Touching that Honour which, myſtically agreeing unto Chriſt, was yielded literally and really unto Solomon, the words of the Pſalmiſt concerning it are, *Unto him they ſhall give of the gold of Sheba, they ſhall pray for him continually, and daily bleſs him.* Weigh theſe things in themſelves, Titles, Geſtures, Preſents, other the like external ſigns wherein Honour doth conſiſt, and they are matters of no great moment. Howbeit, take them away, let them ceaſe to be required, and they are not things of ſmall importance, which that ſurceaſe were likely to draw after it. Let the Lord Mayor of London, or any other unto whoſe Office Honour belongeth, be deprived

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prived but of that Title which in itſelf is a matter of nothing; and ſuppoſe we that it would be a ſmall maim unto the credit, force, and countenance of his Office? It hath not without the ſingular wiſdom of God been provided, that the ordinary outward Tokens of Honour ſhould for the moſt part be in themſelves things of mean account; for to the end they might eaſily follow as faithful teſtimonies of that beneficial virtue whereunto they are due, it behoveth them to be of ſuch nature, that to himſelf no Man might over-eagerly challenge them, without bluſhing; nor any Man where they are due withhold them, but with manifeſt appearance of too great malice or pride. Now, foraſmuch as, according to the ancient Orders and Cuſtoms of this Land, as of the Kingdom of Iſrael, and of all Chriſtian Kingdoms through the World, the next in degree of Honour unto the Chief Sovereign, are the Chief Prelates of God's Church; what the reaſon hereof may be, it reſteth next to be enquired.

What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy.

18. Other reaſon there is not any wherefore ſuch Honour hath been judged due, ſaving only that publick good which the Prelates of God's Clergy are authors of. For I would know which of theſe things it is whereof we make any queſtion, either that the favour of God is the chiefeſt pillar to bear up Kingdoms and States; or, that true Religion publickly exerciſed is the principal mean to retain the Favour of God; or, that the Prelates of the Church are they, without whom the exerciſe of true Religion cannot well and long continue. If theſe three be granted, then cannot the publick benefit of Prelacy be diſſembled. And of the firſt or ſecond of theſe I look not for any profeſt denial: the World at this will bluſh, not to grant, at the leaſtwiſe in word, as much as * Heathens themſelves have of old with

* Quis eſt tam vecors, qui aut cum ſuſpexerit in cœlum, Deos eſſe non ſentiat, et ea quæ tanta mente fiunt ut vix quiſquam arte ulla

moſt earneſt aſſeveration acknowledged, concerning the force of Divine Grace in upholding Kingdoms. Again, though his mercy doth ſo far ſtrive with Men's ingratitude, that all kind of publick iniquities deſerving his indignation, their ſafety is through his gracious Providence many times nevertheleſs continued, to the end that amendment might, if it were poſſible, avert their envy; ſo that as well Commonweals as particular Perſons both may and do endure much longer when they are careful, as they ſhould be, to uſe the moſt effectual means of procuring his favour on whom their continuance principally dependeth; yet this point no Man will ſtand to argue, no Man will openly arm himſelf to enter into ſet diſputation againſt the Emperors Theodoſius and Valentinian, for making unto their Laws concerning Religion this Preface, *Decere arbitramur noſtrum Imperium, ſubditos noſtros de Religione commonefacere. Ita enim et pleniorem acquiri Dei ac Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti benignitatem poſſibile eſſe exiſtimamus, ſi quando et nos pro viribus ipſi placere ſtuduerimus, et noſtros ſubditos ad eam rem inſtituerimus*: Or againſt the Emperor Juſtinian, for that he alſo maketh the like profeſſion, *Per Sanctiſſimas Eccleſias et noſtrum Imperium ſuſtineri, et communes res clementiſſimi Dei gratia muniri, credimus.* And in another place, *Certiſſime credimus, quia Sacerdotum puritas et decus, et ad Dominum Deum ac Salvatorem noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum fervor, et ab ipſis miſſæ perpetuæ preces, multum favorem noſtræ Reipublicæ et incrementum præbent.*

Tit. 1. lib. iii. C. de ſumma trinit.

Lib. iii. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

Lib. xxxiv. C. de Epiſc. audiend.

Wherefore only the laſt point is that which Men will boldly require us to prove; for no Man feareth now to make it a Queſtion, *Whether the Prelacy of the Church be any thing available or no, to effect the good*

ulla ordinem rerum ac viciſſitudinem perſequi poſſit, caſu fieri putet; aut, cum Deos eſſe intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum Imperium eſſe natum et auctum et retentum? Cic. Orat. de Haruſ. reſp.

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and long continuance of true Religion? Amongſt the principal bleſſings wherewith God enriched Iſrael, the Prophet in the Pſalm acknowledgeth eſpecially this for one, *Thou didſt lead thy People like Sheep by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.* That which Sheep are, if Paſtors be wanting, the ſame are the People of God, if ſo be they want Governors: and that which the principal Civil Governors are, in compariſon of Regents under them, the ſame are the Prelates of the Church, being compared with the reſt of God's Clergy.

Pſal. lxxvii. 20.

Wherefore inaſmuch as amongſt the Jews the benefit of Civil Government grew principally from Moſes, he being their principal Civil Governor; even ſo the benefit of Spiritual Regiment grew from Aaron principally, he being in the other kind their principal Rector, although even herein ſubject to the ſovereign dominion of Moſes. For which cauſe, theſe two alone are named as the heads and well-ſprings of all. As for the good which others did in ſervice either of the Commonwealth, or of the Sanctuary, the chiefeſt glory thereof did belong to the chiefeſt Governors of the one ſort and of the other, whoſe vigilant care and overſight kept them in their due order. Biſhops are now as High-Prieſts were then, in regard of power over other Prieſts, and in reſpect of ſubjection unto High-Prieſts.* What Prieſts were then, the ſame now Preſbyters are by way of their place under Biſhops. The one's authority therefore being ſo profitable, how ſhould the other's be thought unneceſſary? Is there any Man profeſſing Chriſtian Religion which holdeth it not as a maxim, that the Church of Jeſus Chriſt did reap a ſingular benefit by Apoſtolical Regiment, not only for other reſpects, but even in regard of that Prelacy whereby

* Qui Sacerdotes in veteri teſtamento vocabantur, hi ſunt qui nunc Preſbyteri appellantur; et qui tunc Princeps Sacerdotum, nunc Epiſcopus vocatur. Raba. Maur. de inſtit. Cler. l. iii. c. 6.

whereby they had and exercised power of Jurisdiction over lower Guides of the Church? Prelates are herein the Apostles' Successors, as hath been proved.

Thus we see, that Prelacy must needs be acknowledged exceedingly beneficial in the Church; and yet for more perspicuity's sake, it shall not be pains superfluously taken, if the manner how be also declared at large. For this one thing not understood by the vulgar sort, causeth all contempt to be offered unto higher Powers, not only Ecclesiastical, but Civil; whom when proud Men have disgraced, and are therefore reproved by such as carry some dutiful affection of mind, the usual apologies which they make for themselves, are these; *What more virtue in these great ones, than in others? We see no such eminent good which they do above other Men.* We grant indeed, that the good which higher Governors do, is not so immediate and near unto every of us, as many times the meaner labours of others under them, and this doth make it to be less esteemed.

But we must note, that it is in this case as in a ship; he that sitteth at the stern is quiet, he moveth not, he seemeth in a manner to do little or nothing in comparison of them that sweat about other toil, yet that which he doth is in value and force more than all the labours of the residue laid together. The influence of the Heavens above worketh infinitely more to our good, and yet appeareth not half so sensible as the force doth of things below. We consider not what it is which we reap by the authority of our chiefest Spiritual Governors, nor are likely to enter into any consideration thereof, till we want them; and that is the cause why they are at our hands so unthankfully rewarded. Authority is a constraining power; which power were needless if we were all such as we should be, willing to do the things we ought to do without constraint. But, because generally we are otherwise, therefore we all

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reap ſingular benefit by that authority which permitteth no Men, though they would, to ſlack their duty. It doth not ſuffice, that the Lord of an Houſhold appoint Labourers what they ſhould do, unleſs he ſet over them ſome chief Workman to ſee they do it. Conſtitutions and Canons made for the ordering of Church affairs are dead Taſk-maſters. The due execution of Laws Spiritual dependeth moſt upon the vigilant care of the chiefeſt Spiritual Governors, whoſe charge is to ſee that ſuch Laws be kept by the Clergy and People under them: with thoſe Duties which the Law of God and the Eccleſiaſtical Canons require in the Clergy, Lay-Governors are neither for the moſt part ſo well acquainted, nor ſo deeply and nearly touched. Requiſite therefore it is, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons have authority in ſuch things; which kind of authority maketh them that have it Prelates. If then it be a thing confeſt, as by all good Men it needs muſt be, to have Prayers read in all Churches, to have the Sacraments of God adminiſtered, to have the Myſteries of Salvation painfully taught, to have God every where devoutly worſhipped, and all this perpetually, and with quietneſs, bringeth unto the whole Church, and unto every Member thereof, ineſtimable good; how can that Authority, which hath been proved the Ordinance of God for preſervation of theſe duties in the Church, how can it chooſe but deſerve to be held a thing publickly moſt beneficial? It were to be wiſhed, and is to be laboured for, as much as can be, that they who are ſet in ſuch rooms may be furniſhed with honourable qualities and graces every way fit for their calling. But, be they otherwiſe, howſoever ſo long as they are in authority, all Men reap ſome good by them, albeit not ſo much good as if they were abler Men. There is not any amongſt us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another Man's duty, than the beſt of us is to diſcharge exactly his own; and therefore Prelates, although

though neglecting many ways their duty unto God and Men, do notwithstanding by their authority great good, in that they keep others at the leastwise in some awe under them. BOOK VII.

It is our duty therefore in this consideration, to honour them that rule as Prelates, which Office if they discharge well, the Apostle's own verdict is, that the Honour they have they be worthy of, yea, though it were double. And if their Government be otherwise, the judgment of sage Men hath ever been this, that albeit the dealings of Governors be culpable, yet honourable they must be, in respect of that authority by which they govern. Great caution must be used that we neither be emboldened to follow them in evil, whom for authority's sake we honour, nor induced in authority to dishonour them, whom as examples we may not follow. In a word, not to dislike sin, though it should be in the highest, were unrighteous meekness, and proud righteousness it is to contemn or dishonour highness, though it should be in the sinfullest Men that live. But so hard it is to obtain at our hands, especially as now things stand, the yielding of Honour to whom Honour in this case belongeth, that by a brief declaration only what the duties of Men are towards the principal Guides and Pastors of their Souls, we cannot greatly hope to prevail, partly for the malice of their open Adversaries, and partly for the cunning of such as in a sacrilegious intent work their dishonour under covert, by more mystical and secret means. Wherefore requisite, and in a manner necessary it is, that by particular instances we make it even palpably manifest what singular benefit and publick use the nature of Prelates is apt to yield.

1 Tim. v. 17.

Rom. xiii. 7.

First, no Man doubteth, but that unto the happy condition of Commonweals it is a principal help and furtherance, when in the eye of foreign States their estimation and credit is great. In which respect, the Lord himself commending his own Laws unto

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his People, mentioneth this as a thing not meanly to be accounted of, that their careful obedience yielded thereunto ſhould purchaſe them a great good opinion abroad, and make them every where famous for wiſdom. Fame and reputation grow eſpecially by the virtue, not of common ordinary Perſons, but of them which are in each eſtate moſt eminent by occaſion of their higher place and calling. The mean Man's actions, be they good or evil, they reach not far, they are not greatly enquired into, except perhaps by ſuch as dwell at the next door; whereas Men of more ample dignity are as cities on the tops of hills, their lives are viewed afar off; ſo that the more there are which obſerve aloof what they do, the greater glory by their well-doing they purchaſe both unto God whom they ſerve, and to the State wherein they live. Wherefore if the Clergy be a beautifying unto the body of this Commonweal in the eyes of foreign beholders, and if in the Clergy the Prelacy be moſt expoſed unto the World's eye, what publick benefit doth grow from that Order in regard of reputation thereby gotten to the Land from abroad, we may ſoon conjecture. Amongſt the Jews (their Kings excepted) who ſo renowned throughout the World as their High-Prieſt? who ſo much or ſo often ſpoke of as their Prelates?

Deut. iv. 6.

Matth. v. 14.

2. Which Order is not for the preſent only the moſt in ſight, but for that very cauſe alſo the moſt commended unto Poſterity. For if we ſearch thoſe Records wherein there hath deſcended from age to age whatſoever notice and intelligence we have of thoſe things which were before us, is there any thing almoſt elſe, ſurely not any thing ſo much kept in memory as the ſucceſſions, doings, ſufferings, and affairs of Prelates. So that either there is not any publick uſe of that light which the Church doth receive from Antiquity, or if this be abſurd to think, then muſt we neceſſarily acknowledge ourſelves beholden more unto Prelates than unto others their Inferiors,

ſeriors, for that good of direction which Eccleſiaſtical actions recorded do always bring.

3. But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with ourſelves, what principal commodity that Order yieldeth, or at leaſtwiſe is of its own diſpoſition and nature apt to yield; Kings and Princes, partly for information of their own conſciences, partly for inſtruction what they have to do in a number of moſt weighty affairs, entangled with the cauſe of Religion, having, as all Men know, ſo uſual occaſion of often conſultations and conferences with their Clergy; ſuppoſe we, that no publick detriment would follow upon the want of honourable Perſonages Eccleſiaſtical to be uſed in thoſe caſes? It will be haply ſaid, *That the higheſt might learn to ſtoop, and not to diſdain the advice of ſome circumſpect, wiſe, and virtuous Miniſter of God, albeit the Miniſtry were not by ſuch degrees diſtinguiſhed.* What Princes in that caſe might or ſhould do, it is not material. Such difference being preſuppoſed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the Ordinance of God, there is no judicious Man will ever make any queſtion or doubt, but that fit and direct it is for the higheſt and chiefeſt Order in God's Clergy to be employed before others about ſo near and neceſſary offices as the ſacred eſtate of the greateſt on Earth doth require. For this cauſe Joſhua had Eliazer; David, Abiathar; Conſtantine, Hoſius Biſhop of Corduba; other Emperors and Kings their Prelates, by whom in private (for with Princes this is the moſt effectual way of doing good) to be admoniſhed, counſelled, comforted, and, if need were, reproved.

Whenſoever ſovereign Rulers are willing to admit theſe ſo neceſſary private conferences for their ſpiritual and ghoſtly good, inaſmuch as they do for the time, while they take advice, grant a kind of ſuperiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented even ſo far to bend to

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the graveſt and chiefeſt Perſons in the order of God's Clergy, yet this of the very beſt being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whoſe greater and higher callings do ſomewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and ſpirit wherewith the minds of ſo powerable Perſons are poſſeſſed; what ſhould we look for in caſe God himſelf not authorizing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his Prophets, the equal meanneſs of all did leave, in reſpect of calling, no more place of decency for one than for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagine what pleaſeth them, in having to deal with ſo great Perſonages theſe perſonal differences are ſo neceſſary, that there muſt be regard had of them.

4. Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's Almightineſs, and the ſovereignty of the higheſt under God) upheld by Wiſdom and by Valour, as by the chiefeſt human means to cauſe continuance in ſafety with honour (for the labours of them who attend the ſervice of God, we reckon as means Divine, to procure our protection from Heaven); from hence it riſeth, that Men excelling in either of theſe, or deſcending from ſuch, as for excellency either way have been ennobled, or poſſeſſing howſoever the rooms of ſuch as ſhould be in politick Wiſdom, or in martial Proweſs eminent, are had in ſingular recommendation. Notwithſtanding, becauſe they are by the ſtate of Nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things, ſuch they oftentimes prove even under the beſt Princes, as under David certain of the Jewiſh Nobility were. In polity and council the World had not Achitophel's equal, nor Hell his equal in deadly malice. Joab the General of the Hoſt of Iſrael, valiant, induſtrious, fortunate in war, but withal headſtrong, cruel, treacherous, void of piety towards God; in a word, ſo conditioned, that eaſy it is not to define, whether it were for David harder to miſs the benefit of his warlike ability, or to

to bear the enormity of his other crimes. As well for the cherifhing of thofe virtues therefore, wherein if Nobility do chance to flourifh, they are both an ornament and a ftay to the Commonwealth wherein they live; as alfo for the bridling of thofe diforders, which if they loofely run into, they are by reafon of their greatnefs dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more divine, than the fort-ing of the Clergy into fuch degrees, that the chiefeft of the Prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of Nobility, the reverend authority of the one might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are ex-orbitant, and to correct fuch exceffes in them, as whereunto their courage, ftate, and dignity make them over-prone? O that there were for encourage-ment of Prelates herein, that inclination of all Chriftian Kings and Princes towards them, which fometime a famous King of this Land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal Prelate under him in the actions of fpiritual authority!

Let my Lord Archbifhop know, (faith he) *that if a Bifhop, or Earl, or any other great Perfon, yea, if my own chofen Son, fhall prefume to withftand, or to hinder his will and difpofition, whereby he may be with-held from performing the work of the embaffage committed unto him; fuch a one fhall find, that of his contempt I will fhew myfelf no lefs a perfecutor and revenger, than if treafon were committed againft mine own very crown and dignity.* Sith therefore by the Fathers and firft Founders of this Commonweal, it hath, upon great experience and forecaft, been judged moft for the good of all forts, that as the whole Body Politick wherein we live, fhould be for ftrength's fake a threefold cable, confifting of the King as a fupreme head over all, of Peers and Nobles under him, and of the People under them; fo likewife, that in this conjunction of States, the fecond wreath of that cable fhould, Petr. Bleffenf. Ep. 5.

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should, for important respects, consist as well of Lords Spiritual as Temporal. Nobility and Prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it possibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one, must needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by consequent impair greatly the good of all?

5. The force of which detriment there is no doubt, but that the common sort of Men would feel to their helpless woe, how goodly a thing soever they now surmise it to be, that themselves and their godly Teachers did all alone without controlment of their Prelate. For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a People destitute of Pastors is subject, be unavoidable without Government, and if the benefit of Government, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the Prophet, who albeit the People of Israel had sundry inferior Governors, ascribeth not unto them the publick benefit of Government, but maketh mention of Moses and Aaron only, the Chief Prince and Chief Prelate, because they were the well-spring of all the good which others under them did; may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the People their Prelate, is to leave them in effect without Guides; at leastwise, without those Guides which are the strongest hands that God doth direct them by? *Thou didst lead thy People like sheep*, saith the Prophet, *by the hand of Moses and Aaron*.

Psal. lxxvii. 20.

If now there arise any matter of grievance between the Pastor and the People that are under him, they have their Ordinary, a Judge indifferent to determine their causes, and to end their strife. But in case there were no such appointed to sit, and to hear both, what would then be the end of their quarrels? They will answer perhaps, *That for such purposes, their Synods shall serve.* Which is, as if in the Commonwealth, the higher Magistrates being removed, every Town-ship should be a State, altogether free and independent; and the controversies which they cannot end speedily within them-

themſelves, to the contentment of both parties, ſhould be all determined by ſolemn Parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of wit and judgment, which this age doth ſo much vaunt of and glory in, when unto theſe ſuch odd imaginations, ſo great, not only aſſent, but alſo applauſe is yielded?

6. As for thoſe in the Clergy, whoſe place and calling is lower; were it not that their eyes are blinded, leſt they ſhould ſee the thing that of all others is for their good moſt effectual, ſomewhat they might conſider the benefit which they enjoy by having ſuch in authority over them as are of the ſelf-ſame Profeſſion, Society, and Body with them; ſuch as have trodden the ſame ſteps before; ſuch as know by their own experience, the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful Paſtors, intermingled with the multitude, are conſtrained every day to ſuffer in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual charge and function; unleſs their Superiors, taking their cauſes even to heart, be, by a kind of ſympathy, drawn to relieve and aid them in their virtuous proceedings no leſs effectually, than loving Parents their dear Children.

Thus therefore Prelacy being unto all ſorts ſo beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honour at the hands of all; but we have juſt cauſe exceedingly to fear that thoſe miſerable times of confuſion are drawing on, wherein *the People ſhall be oppreſſed one of another*; inaſmuch as already that which prepareth the way thereunto is come to paſs, *Children preſume againſt the Ancient, and the Vile againſt the Honourable.* Prelacy, the temperature of exceſſes in all Eſtates, the glue and ſoder of the Public-weal, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this Body Politic each to other, hath, inſtead of deſerved Honour, all extremity of Diſgrace; the Fooliſh every where plead, that unto the Wiſe in heart they owe neither ſervice, ſubjection, nor honour. Iſa. iii. 5.

19. Now that we have laid open the cauſes for which Honour is due unto Prelates, the next thing we

What kinds of Honour be due unto Biſhops.

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we are to consider is, what kinds of Honour be due. The good Government either of the Church or the Commonwealth dependeth scarcely on any one external thing so much as on the publick marks and tokens whereby the estimation that Governors are in, is made manifest to the eyes of Men. True it is, that Governors are to be esteemed according to the excellency of their virtues; the more virtuous they are, the more they ought to be honoured, if respect be had unto that which every Man should voluntarily perform unto his Superiors. But the question is now of that Honour which publick order doth appoint unto Church-Governors, in that they are Governors; the end whereof is, to give open sensible testimony, that the place which they hold is judged publickly in such degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the Honours appointed to be done unto them do import. Wherefore this honour we are to do them, without presuming ourselves to examine how worthy they are; and withdrawing it, if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that publick judgment which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable, that Men in private should, by refusal to do them such honour, reverse as much as in them lieth the publick judgment. If it deserve such grievous punishment, when any particular Person adventureth to deface those marks whereby is signified what value some small piece of coin is publickly esteemed at; is it sufferable that Honours, the character of that estimation which publickly is had of publick estates and callings in the Church or Commonwealth, should at every Man's pleasure be cancelled? Let us not think that, without most necessary cause, the same have been thought expedient. The first Authors thereof were wise and judicious Men; they knew it a thing altogether impossible for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their Prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honour. Wherefore that all sorts might

might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their Superiors of every degree, not which every Man's ſpecial fancy ſhould think meet, but which being beforehand agreed upon as meet, by publick ſentence and deciſion, might afterwards ſtand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more neceſſary than to allot unto all degrees their certain honour, as marks of publick judgment concerning the dignity of their places; which mark when the Multitude ſhould behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of ſuch or ſuch eſtimation their Governors are, and in token thereof do carry thoſe notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and ſigns of honour do leave a correſpondent impreſſion in the minds of common Beholders. Let the People be aſked, who are the chiefeſt in any kind of calling? who moſt to be liſtened unto? who of greateſt account and reputation? and ſee if the very diſcourſe of their minds lead them not unto thoſe ſenſible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their ſuitable judgment, eſteeming them the worthieſt perſons who carry the principal note and public mark of worthineſs. If therefore they ſee in other eſtates a number of tokens ſenſible, whereby teſtimony is given what account there is publickly made of them, but no ſuch thing in the Clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they elſe conclude, but that where they behold this, ſurely in that Commonwealth, Religion, and they that are converſant about it, are not eſteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time, the open contempt of God and Godlineſs muſt needs enſue: *Qui bona fide Deos colit, amat et Sacerdotes*, ſaith Papinius. In vain doth that Kingdom or Commonwealth, pretend zeal to the honour of God, which doth not provide that his Clergy alſo may have honour. Now if all that are employed in the ſervice of God ſhould have one kind of honour, what more confuſed, abſurd and unſeemly?

Præf. l. v. Silv.

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unseemly? Wherefore in the honour which hath been allotted unto God's Clergy, we are to observe, how not only the kinds thereof, but also in every particular kind, the degrees do differ. The honour which the Clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed consisteth especially in the pre-eminence of Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, Privilege, Endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there should be no small odds between Prelates, and the inferior Clergy.

Honour in Title, Place, Ornaments, Attendancy and Privilege.

20. Concerning Title, albeit even as under the Law, all they whom God had severed to offer him Sacrifice were generally termed Priests, so likewise the name of Pastor or Presbyter be now common unto all that serve him in the Ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; yet both then and now, the higher Orders as well of the one sort as of the other have by one and the same congruity of reason their different Titles of honour, wherewith we find them in the phrase of ordinary speech exalted above others. Thus the Heads of the twenty-four Companies of Priests are in Scripture termed Arch-Priests; Aaron and the Successors of Aaron being above those Arch-Priests, themselves are in that respect further intituled High and Great. After what sort Antiquity hath used to style Christian Bishops, and to yield them in that kind Honour more than was meet for inferior Pastors, I may the better omit to declare, both because others have sufficiently done it already; and in so slight a thing, it were but a loss of time to bestow further travel.

Ἀρχιερεῖς.

The allegation of Christ's prerogative to be named an Arch-Pastor simply, in regard of his absolute excellency over all, is no impediment but that the like Title in an unlike signification may be granted unto others besides him, to note a more limited superiority, whereof Men are capable enough without derogation from his glory, than which nothing is more sovereign. To quarrel at syllables, and to take so poor exceptions,

tions at the first four letters in the name of an Archbishop, as if they were manifestly stolen goods, whereof restitution ought to be made to the Civil Magistrate, toucheth no more the Prelates that now are, than it doth the very blessed Apostle, who giveth unto himself the title of an Arch-builder.

As for our Saviour's words alledged against the stile of Lordship and Grace, we have before sufficiently opened how far they are drawn from their natural meaning to bolster up a cause which they nothing at all concern. Bishops Theodoret entituleth most honourable: Emperors writing unto Bishops have not disdained to give them their appellations of Honour, *Your Holiness*, *your Blessedness*, *your Amplitude*, *your Highness*, and the like: such as purposely have done otherwise, are noted of insolent singularity, and pride. Honour done by giving Pre-eminence of Place unto one sort before another, is for decency, order and quietness-sake so needful, that both Imperial Laws and Canons Ecclesiastical have made their special provisions for it. Our Saviour's invective against the vain affectation of superiority, whether in Title, or in Place, * may not hinder these seemly differences usual in giving and taking Honour, either according to the one or the other.

Lib. v. c. 8. Hist. Eccles. L. vii. C. de summa Trinit. L. xxxiii. C. de Episc. et Cler. et L. xvi. C. de Sacros. Eccles.

Something there is even in the Ornaments of Honour also: otherwise idle it had been for the Wise Man, speaking of Aaron, to stand so much upon the circumstance of his Priestly Attire, and to urge it as an argument of such dignity and greatness in him: *An everlasting Covenant God made with Aaron, and gave him the Priesthood among the People, and made him blessed through his comely Ornament, and clothed him with the Garment of Honour.* The Robes of a Judge do not add to his virtue; the chiefest Ornament of Kings is Justice; Holiness and Purity of

Eccles. xlv. 7.

* Matth. xxiii. 6, 7. They love to have the chief seats in the Assemblies, and to be called of Men, Rabbi.

conver-

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converſation doth much more adorn a Biſhop, than his peculiar form of Clothing. Notwithſtanding both Judges, through the Garments of Judicial Authority, and through the Ornaments of Sovereignty, Princes; yea, Biſhops through the very Attire of Biſhops are made bleſſed, that is to ſay, marked and manifeſted they are to be ſuch as God hath poured his bleſſing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good ſervice. Thus to be called is to be bleſſed, and therefore to be honoured with the ſigns of ſuch a calling muſt needs be in part a bleſſing alſo; for of good things even the ſigns are good.

Of Honour, another part is Attendancy; and therefore in the viſions of the glory of God Angels are ſpoken of as his Attendants. In ſetting out the Honour of that Myſtical Queen, the Prophet mentioneth the Virgin Ladies which waited on her. Amongſt the Tokens of Solomon's honourable condition, his Servants and Waiters the ſacred Hiſtory omitteth not. This doth prove Attendants a part of Honour: but this as yet doth not ſhew with what Attendancy Prelates are to be honoured. Of the High Prieſt's Retinue amongſt the Jews, ſomewhat the Goſpel itſelf doth intimate. And, albeit our Saviour came to miniſter, and not, as the Jews did imagine their Meſſias ſhould, to be miniſtered unto into in this World, yet attended on he was by his bleſſed Apoſtles, who followed him not only as Scholars, but even as Servants about him. After that he had ſent them, as himſelf was ſent of God, in the midſt of that hatred and extreme contempt which they ſuſtained at the World's hands, by Saints and Believers this part of Honour was moſt plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went; which cuſtom of the Church was ſtill continued in Biſhops their Succeſſors, as by Ignatius it is plain to be ſeen. And from hence no doubt thoſe Acolythes took their beginning,

of

of whom ſo frequent mention is made; the Biſhop's Attendants, his Followers they were: in regard of which ſervice the name of Acolythes ſeemeth plainly to have been given. The cuſtom for Biſhops to be attended upon by many is, as Juſtinian doth ſhew, ancient: the affairs of Regiment, wherein Prelates are employed, make it neceſſary that they always have many about them whom they may command, although no ſuch thing did by way of Honour belong unto them. Novel 6.

Some Men's judgment is, that if Clerks, Students, and religious Perſons were more, common Serving-Men and Lay-Retainers fewer than they are in Biſhops' Palaces, the uſe and the honour thereof would be much more ſuitable than now. But theſe things concerning the number and quality of Perſons fit to attend on Prelates, either for neceſſity, or for honour's ſake, are rather in particular diſcretion to be ordered than to be argued of by diſputes. As for the vain imagination of ſome, who teach the original hereof to have been a prepoſterous imagination of Maximinus the Emperor, who being addicted unto Idolatry, choſe of the choiceſt Magiſtrates to be Prieſts, and, to the end they might be in great eſtimation, gave unto each of them a train of Followers; and that Chriſtian Emperors thinking the ſame would promote Chriſtianity which promoted Superſtition, endeavoured to make their Biſhops encounter and match with thoſe idolatrous Prieſts; ſuch frivolous conceits having no other ground than conceit, we weigh not ſo much as to frame any anſwer unto them; our declaration of the true original of ancient Attendancy on Biſhops being ſufficient. Now, if that which the light of ſound Reaſon doth teach to be fit, have upon like inducements reaſonable, allowable, and good, approved itſelf in ſuch wiſe as to be accepted, not only of us but of Pagans and Infidels alſo, doth conformity with them that are evil in that

T. C. l. iii. p. 126. out of Jul. l. viii. c. 15.

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which is good, make that thing which is good, evil? We have not herein followed the Heathens, nor the Heathens us, but both we and they one and the self same divine rule, the light of a true and sound understanding; which sheweth what Honour is fit for Prelates, and what Attendancy convenient to be a part of their Honour.

L. xii. C. de sacr. Eccles. I. v. C. de sacr. Eccles. I. ii. C. de Episc. et Cler. I. x. C. de Episc. et Cler.

Touching Privileges granted for Honour's sake, partly in general unto the Clergy, and partly unto Prelates, the chiefest Persons ecclesiastical, in particular; of such quality and number they are, that to make but rehearsal of them we scarce think it safe, lest the very entrails of some of our godly Brethren, as they term themselves, should thereat haply burst in sunder.

Honour by endowment with Lands and Livings.

21. And yet of all these things rehearsed, it may be there never would have grown any question, had Bishops been honoured only thus far forth. But the honouring of the Clergy with Wealth, this is in the eyes of them which pretend to seek nothing but mere reformation of abuses, a sin that can never be remitted.

How soon, O how soon might the Church be perfect, even without any spot or wrinkle, if publick authority would at the length say *Amen* unto the holy and devout requests of those godly Brethren, who as yet with outstretched necks groan in the pangs of their zeal to see the Houses of Bishops rifled, and their so long desired Livings gloriously divided amongst the Righteous! But there is an impediment, a lett, which somewhat hindereth those good Men's prayers from taking effect: they, in whose hands the sovereignty of Power and Dominion over this Church doth rest, are persuaded there is a God; for undoubtedly, either the name of Godhead is but a feigned thing, or, if in Heaven there be a God, the sacrilegious intention of Church Robbers, which lurketh under this plausible name of Reformation, is in his sight

ſight a thouſand times more hateful than the plain profeſſed malice of thoſe very Miſcreants who threw their vomit in the open face of our Bleſſed Saviour.

They are not words of perſuaſion by which true Men can hold their own when they are over-beſet with thieves. And therefore to ſpeak in this cauſe at all, were but labour loſt, ſaving only in reſpect of them, who being as yet unjoined unto this conſpiracy, may be haply ſomewhat ſtayed, when they ſhall know betimes what it is to ſee Thieves, and to run on with them, as the Prophet in the Pſalm ſpeaketh; *When thou ſaweſt a Thief, then thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been partaker with Adulterers.* Pſal. l. 18.

For the better information therefore of Men which carry true, honeſt, and indifferent minds, theſe things we will endeavour to make moſt clearly manifeſt.

Firſt, That in Goods and Livings of the Church none hath propriety but God himſelf.

Secondly, That the honour which the Clergy therein hath, is to be, as it were, God's Receivers; the honour of Prelates, to be his chief and principal Receivers.

Thirdly, That from him they have right, not only to receive, but alſo to uſe ſuch goods, the lower ſort in ſmaller, and the higher in larger meaſure.

Fourthly, That in caſe they be thought, yea, or found to abuſe the ſame, yet may not ſuch honour be therefore lawfully taken from them, and be given away unto Perſons of other calling.

22. Poſſeſſions, Lands, and Livings Spiritual, the wealth of the Clergy, the goods of the Church, are in ſuch ſort the Lord's own, that Man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours; all things are his, in that from him they have their being: *My corn, and my wine, and mine oil*, ſaith the Lord. All things his, in that he hath abſolute power to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure: *Mine*, ſaith he, *are the ſheep and oxen of a thouſand hills?* All things his, in that when we have them we may ſay with

That of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and conſequently of the Lands and Livings which Biſhops enjoy, the propriety belongeth unto God alone. Hoſ. ii. 5. Pſal. l. 10.

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Job i. 21. Job, *God hath given*, and when we are deprived of them, *The Lord*, whose they are, hath likewise *taken them away* again. But these sacred Possessions are his by another tenure: his, because those Men who first received them from him have unto him returned them again by way of religious gift, or oblation: and in this respect it is that the Lord doth term those houses wherein such gifts and oblations were

Mal. iii. 10. laid, *his Treasuries*.

The ground whereupon Men have resigned their own interest in things temporal, and given over the same unto God, is that precept which Solomon

Prov. iii. 9. borroweth from the Law of Nature, *Honour the Lord out of thy substance, and of the chiefest of all thy revenue; so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and with new wine the fat of thy press shall overflow.* For although it be by one most fitly spoken against those superstitious Persons, who only are scrupulous in external rites; *Wilt thou win the favour of God? Be*

Seneca. *virtuous. They best worship him that are his Followers;* it is not the bowing of your knees, but of your hearts; it is not the number of your oblations, but the integrity of your lives; not your incense, but your obedience, which God is delighted to be honoured by; nevertheless, we must beware, lest simply understanding this, which comparatively is meant; that is to say, whereas the meaning is, that God doth chiefly respect the inward disposition of the heart, we must take heed we do not hereupon so worship him in spirit, that outwardly we take all Worship, Reverence, and Honour from him.

Our God will be glorified both of us himself, and for us by others: to others because our hearts are known, and yet our example is required for their good; therefore it is not sufficient to carry religion in our hearts, as fire is carried in flint-stones, but we are outwardly, visibly, apparently to serve and honour the living God; yea, to employ that way as not only our Souls, but our Bodies; so not only our

our Bodies, but our Goods; yea, the choice, the flower, the chiefeſt of all thy Revenue, ſaith Solomon. If thou haſt any thing in all thy poſſeſſions of more value and price than other, to what uſe ſhouldeſt thou convert it, rather than to this? Samuel was dear unto Hannah his Mother; the child that Hannah did ſo much eſteem, ſhe could not chooſe but greatly wiſh to advance; and her religious conceit was, that the honouring of God with it, was the advancing of it unto honour. The chiefeſt of the Offspring of Men, are the Males which be firſt born; and, for this cauſe, in the ancient World they all were by right of their birth Prieſts of the moſt High. By theſe and the like precedents, it plainly enough appeareth, that in what heart ſoever doth dwell unfeigned Religion, in the ſame there reſteth alſo a willingneſs to beſtow upon God that ſooneſt, which is moſt dear. Amongſt us the Law is, that ſith gold is the chiefeſt of metals, if it be any where found in the bowels of the earth, it belongeth in right of honour, as all Men know, to the King: whence hath this cuſtom grown, but only from a natural perſuaſion, whereby Men judge it decent, for the higheſt Perſons always to be honoured with the choiceſt things? *If ye offer unto God the blind*, ſaith the Prophet Malachi, *is it not evil? if the lame and ſick, is it good enough? Preſent it unto thy Prince, and ſee if he will content himſelf, or accept thy perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* When Abel preſented God with an offering, it was the fatteſt of all the lambs in his whole flock; he honoured God not only out of his ſubſtance, but out of the very chiefeſt therein; whereby we may ſomewhat judge how religiouſly they ſtand affected towards God, who grudge that any thing worth the having ſhould be his. Long it were to reckon up particularly, what God was owner of under the Law; for of this ſort was all which they ſpent in legal Sacrifices; of this ſort, their uſual Oblations

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and Offerings; of this ſort, Tythes and Firſt-Fruits; of this ſort, that which by extraordinary occaſions they vowed unto God; of this ſort, all that they gave to the building of the Tabernacle; of this ſort, all that which was gathered amongſt them for erecting of the Temple, and the * adorning of it erected; of this ſort, whatſoever their Corban contained, wherein that bleſſed Widow's Deodate was laid up. Now either this kind of honour was prefiguratively altogether ceremonial, and then our Saviour accepteth it not; or, if we find that to him alſo it hath been done, and that with divine approbation given for encouragement of the World, to ſhew, by ſuch kind of ſervice, their dutiful hearts towards Chriſt; there will be no place left for Men to make any queſtion at all whether herein they do well or no.

Wherefore to deſcend from the Synagogue, unto the Church of Chriſt: albeit Sacrifices, wherewith ſometimes God was highly honoured, be not accepted as heretofore at the hands of Men, yet, forPſal. l. 13, 14. aſmuch as *Honour God with thy Riches* is an Edict of the inſeparable Law of Nature, ſo far forth as Men are therein required by ſuch kind of homage to teſPhil. iv. 18. tify their thankful minds, this Sacrifice God doth Pſal. lxxii. 11. accept ſtill. Wherefore as it was ſaid of Chriſt, *That all Kings ſhould worſhip him, and all Nations do him ſervice*; ſo this very kind of worſhip or ſervice was likewiſe mentioned, leſt we ſhould think that our Lord and Saviour would allow of no ſuch thing: *The Kings of Tarſhiſh, and of the Iſles, ſhall bring Preſents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba ſhall bring Gifts.* And, as it maketh not a little to the praiſe of thoſe Sages mentioned in the Goſpel, that the firſt amongſt Men which did ſolemnly honour our Saviour on earth

* Becauſe (ſaith David) I have a delight in the Houſe of my God, therefore I have given thereunto of my own both gold and ſilver, to adorn it with. 2 Chron. ii. 5.

were

were they; so it soundeth no less to the dignity of this particular kind, that the rest by it were prevented; *They fell down and worshipped him, and opened their Treasures, and presented unto him Gifts; Gold, Incense, and Myrrh.* BOOK VII. Matth. ii. 11.

Of all those things which were done to the honour of Christ in his life-time, there is not one whereof he spake in such sort, as when Mary, to testify the largeness of her affection, seemed to waste away a Gift upon him, the price of which gift might, as they thought who saw it, much better have been spent in works of mercy towards the Poor: *Verily, I say unto you, wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached throughout all the World, there shall also this that she hath done be spoken of, for memorial of her.* Of service to God, the best works are they which continue longest: and, for permanency, what like Donation, whereby things are unto him for ever dedicated? That the ancient Lands and Livings of the Church were all in such sort given into the hands of God by the just Lords and Owners of them, that unto him they passed over their whole interest and right therein, the form of sundry the said Donations as yet extant, most plainly sheweth. And where time hath left no such evidence as now remaining to be seen, yet the same intention is presumed in all Donors, unless the contrary be apparent. But to the end it may yet more plainly appear unto all Men under what title the several kinds of Ecclesiastical Possessions are held, *Our Lord himself* (saith Saint Augustine) *had coffers to keep those things which the Faithful OFFERED unto him. Then was the form of the Church-Treasury first instituted, to the end, that withal we might understand, that in forbidding to be careful for to-morrow, his purpose was not to bar his Saints from keeping money, but to withdraw them from doing God service for wealth's sake, and from forsaking Righteousness through fear of losing their wealth.* Mat. xxvi. 13. John xv. 16. Aug. cap. 15. de mendacia.

The first Gifts consecrated unto Christ after his

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departure out of the World were ſums of Money, in proceſs of time other moveables were added, and at length Goods unmoveable; Churches and Oratories hallowed to the honour of his glorious Name; Houſes and Lands for perpetuity conveyed unto him; Inheritance given to remain his as long as the World ſhould endure. *The Apoſtles* (ſaith Melchiades) *they foreſaw that God would have his Church amongſt the Gentiles, and for that cauſe in Judea they took no Lands, but Price of Lands ſold.* This he conjectureth to have been the cauſe why the Apoſtles did that which the Hiſtory reporteth of them.

C. 12 p. 1. cap. 15. & 16.

The truth is, that ſo the ſtate of thoſe times did require, as well other where as in Judea. Wherefore when afterwards it did appear much more commodious for the Church to dedicate ſuch Inheritances, than the value and price of them being ſold, the former cuſtom was changed for this, as for the better. The devotion of Conſtantine herein, all the World, even till this very day, admireth. They that lived in the prime of the Chriſtian World thought no Teſtament chriſtianly made, nor any thing therein well bequeathed, unleſs ſomething were thereby added unto Chriſt's patrimony Touching which Men, what judgment that the World doth now give, I know not; perhaps we deem them to have been herein but blind and ſuperſtitious Perſons. Nay, we in theſe cogitations are blind; they contrariwiſe did with Solomon plainly know and perſuade themſelves, that thus to diminiſh their wealth was, not to diminiſh but to augment it; according to that which God doth promiſe to his own People by the Prophet Malachi, and which they by their own particular experience found true. If Wickliff therefore were of that opinion which his Adverſaries aſcribe unto him (whether truly, or of purpoſe to make him odious, I cannot tell, for in his Writings I do not find it), namely, *That Conſtantine, and others following his ſteps, did evil, as having no ſufficient ground whereby*

Prov. iii. 10.

Mal. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xxxi. 10.

Th. Wald. tom. 1. l.b. iv. c. 39.

whereby they might gather, that such Donations are acceptable to Jesus Christ; it was in Wickliff a palpable error. I will use but one only argument to stand in the stead of many. Jacob taking his journey unto Haran, made in this sort his solemn vow; *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this journey which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and clothes to put on, so that I come again to my Father's house in safety; then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up a pillar shall be the House of God, and of all that thou shalt give me will I give the Tenth unto thee.* Gen. xxviii. 20. May a Christian Man desire as great things as Jacob did at the hands of God? may he desire them in as earnest manner? may he promise as great thankfulness in acknowledging the goodness of God? may he vow any certain kind of publick acknowledgment before-hand? or, though he vow it not, perform it after, in such sort that Men may see he is persuaded how the Lord hath been his God? are these particular kinds of testifying thankfulness to God, the erecting of Oratories, the dedicating of Lands and Goods to maintain them, forbidden any where? Let any mortal Man living shew but one reason wherefore in this point to follow Jacob's example should not be a thing both acceptable unto God, and in the eyes of the World for ever most highly commendable. Concerning Goods of this nature, Goods whereof when we speak we term them τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερωθέντα, the Goods that are consecrated unto God, and as Tertullian speaketh, *Deposita Pietatis*, things which Piety and Devotion hath laid up as it were in the bosom of God; touching such Goods, the Law Civil following mere light of Nature, defineth them to be no Man's, because no mortal Man or Community of Men hath right of Propriety in them.

That Ecclesiastical Persons are Receivers of God's

23. Persons Ecclesiastical are God's Stewards, not only for that he hath set them over his Family, as the Ministers of ghostly food, but even for this very cause

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cauſe alſo, that they are to receive and diſpoſe his Temporal Revenues, the Gifts and Oblations which Men bring him. Of the Jews it is plain that their Tithes they offered unto the Lord, and thoſe Offerings the Lord beſtowed upon the Levites. When the Levites gave the Tenth of their Tithes, this their gift the Law doth term the Lord's Heave-offering, and appoint that the High-Prieſt ſhould receive the ſame. Of ſpoils taken in war, that part which they were accuſtomed to ſeparate unto God they brought it before the Prieſt of the Lord, by whom it was laid up in the Tabernacle of the Congregation for a memorial of their thankfulneſs towards God, and his goodneſs towards them in fighting for them againſt their Enemies. As therefore the Apoſtle magnifieth the Honour of Melchiſedech, in that he being an High-Prieſt did receive at the Hands of Abraham the Tithes which Abraham did honour God with; ſo it argueth in the Apoſtles themſelves great honour, that at their feet the price of thoſe poſſeſſions was laid, which Men thought good to beſtow on Chriſt. St. Paul commending the Churches which were in Macedonia for their exceeding liberality this way, ſaith of them, that he himſelf would bear record, they had declared their forward minds according to their power, yea, beyond their power, and had ſo much exceeded his expectation of them; *that they ſeemed as it were even to give away themſelves firſt to the Lord*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *and then by the will of God unto us*: to him, as the Owner of ſuch gifts; to us, as his appointed Receivers and Diſpenſers. The gift of the Church of Antioch, beſtowed unto the uſe of diſtreſſed brethren which were in Judea, Paul and Barnabas did deliver unto the Preſbyters of Jeruſalem; and the Head of thoſe Preſbyters was James, he therefore the chiefeſt Diſpoſer thereof.

Rents; and that the honour of Prelates is, to be thereof his chief Receivers; not without liberty from him granted, of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large manner.

Num. xviii. 24.

Num. xviii. 28.

Num. xxxi.

Heb. vii. 3.

Acts iv. 34.

2 Cor. viii. 5.

Acts xi. 30. Acts xxi. 18. & xii. 17.

Amongſt thoſe Canons which are entituled Apoſtolical, one is this: *We appoint that the Biſhop have care of*

of those things which belong to the Church; * the meaning is, of Church-goods, as the reason following sheweth: *For if the precious Souls of Men must be committed unto him of trust, much more it behoveth the charge of money to be given him, that by his authority the Presbyters and Deacons may administer all things to them that stand in need.* So that he which hath done them the honour to be, as it were, his Treasurers, hath left them also authority and power to use these Treasures, both otherwise, and for the maintenance even of their own estate; the lower sort of the Clergy, according unto a meaner; the higher, after a larger proportion. The use of spiritual Goods and Possessions hath been a matter much disputed of; grievous complaints there are usually made against the evil and unlawful usage of them, but with no certain determination hitherto on what Things and Persons, with what proportion and measure they being bestowed, do retain their lawful use. Some Men condemn it as idle, superfluous, and altogether vain, that any part of the Treasure of God should be spent upon costly ornaments appertaining unto his service: who being best worshipped, when he is served in spirit and truth, hath not for want of pomp and magnificence rejected at any time those who with faithful hearts have adored him. Whereupon the Hereticks, termed *Henriciani* and *Petrobusiani*, threw down Temples and Houses of Prayer, erected with marvellous great charge, as being in that respect not fit for Christ by us to be honoured in. We deny not, but that they who sometime wandered as Pilgrims on Earth, and had no Temples, but made Caves and Dens to pray in, did God such honour as was most acceptable in his sight: God did not reject them for their poverty and nakedness' sake; their Sacraments were not abhorred for want of vessels of gold.

John iv. 24.

Heb. xi. 38.

* Can. 41. et Concil. Antioch. c. 25. Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας δουμένους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ.

Howbeit,

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Howbeit, let them who thus delight to plead answer me: When Moſes firſt, and afterwards David exhorted the People of Iſrael unto matter of charge about the ſervice of God; ſuppoſe we it had been allowable in them to have thus pleaded: *Our Fathers in Egypt ſerved God devoutly; God was with them in all their afflictions, he heard their prayers, pitied their caſe, and delivered them from the tyranny of their Oppreſſors; what Houſe, Tabernacle, or Temple had they?* Such argumentations are childiſh and fond; God doth not refuſe to be honoured at all where there lacketh wealth; but where abundance and ſtore is, he there requireth the flower thereof, being beſtowed on him, to be employed even unto the ornament of his ſervice. In Egypt the ſtate of his People was ſervitude, and therefore his ſervice was accordingly. In the Deſart they had no ſooner aught of their own, but a Tabernacle is required; and in the Land of Canaan, a Temple. In the eyes of David it ſeemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himſelf ſhould be more richly ſeated than God.

But concerning the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Goods beſtowed this way, there is not ſo much contention amongſt us, as what meaſure of allowance is fit for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to be maintained with. A better rule in this caſe to judge things by we cannot poſſibly have, than the Wiſdom of God himſelf; by conſidering what he thought meet for each degree of the Clergy to enjoy in time of the Law, what for Levites, what for Prieſts, and what for High-Prieſts, ſomewhat we ſhall be the more able to diſcern rightly what may be fit, convenient, and right for the Chriſtian Clergy likewiſe. Prieſts for their maintenance had thoſe firſt fruits of Cattle, Corn, Wine, Oil, and other commodities of the earth, which the Jews were accuſtomed yearly to preſent God with. They had the Price which was appointed for Men to pay in lieu of the Firſt-born of their Children, and the Price of the Firſt-born alſo amongſt Cattle which were unclean:

Num. xviii. 15.
Numb. xii.
Numb xiii. Verſe 15.

clean: they had the vowed Gifts of the People, or the Prices, if they were redeemable by the Donors after vow, as some things were: they had the free and unvowed Oblations of Men: they had the remainder of things sacrificed: with Tithes the Levites were maintained; and with the Tithe of their Tithes the High-Priest. Verse 8. Lev. xxvii. 11. Numb. xviii. 8. Verse 8, 9, 21, 28.

In a word, if the quality of that which God did assign to his Clergy be considered, and their manner of receiving it, without labour, expence, or charge, it will appear that the Tribe of Levi, being but the twelfth part of Israel, had in effect as good as four twelfth parts of all such Goods as the Holy Land did yield: so that their worldly estate was four times as good as any other Tribe's in Israel besides. But the High-Priest's condition, how ample? to whom belonged the Tenth of all the Tithe of this Land, especially the Law providing also, that as the People did bring the best of all things unto the Priests and Levites, so the Levite should deliver the choice and flower of all their commodities to the High-Priest, and so his tenth-part by that means be made the very best part amongst ten: by which proportion, if the Levites were ordinarily in all not above thirty thousand men (whereas when David numbered them, he found almost thirty-eight thousand above the age of thirty years) the High-Priest, after this very reckoning, had as much as three or four thousand others of the Clergy to live upon. Over and besides all this, lest the Priests of Egypt holding Lands should seem in that respect better provided for than the Priests of the true God, it pleased him further to appoint unto them forty and eight whole Cities with territories of Land adjoining, to hold as their own free inheritance for ever. For to the end they might have all kind of encouragement, not only to do what they ought, but to take pleasure in that they did; albeit they were expressly forbidden to have any part of the Land of Canaan laid out whole to themselves, by themselves, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 3. Gen. xlvii. 22. Numb. xxxv. 7. Josh. xiv. 4.

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in ſuch ſort as the reſt of the Tribes had; foraſmuch as the will of God was rather that they ſhould throughout all Tribes be diſperſed, for the eaſier acceſs of the People unto knowledge; yet were they not barred altogether to hold Land, nor yet otherwiſe the worſe provided for, in reſpect of that former reſtraint; for God, by way of ſpecial pre eminence, undertook to feed them at his own table, and out of his own proper Treaſury to maintain them, that want and penury they might never feel, except God himſelf did firſt receive injury. A thing moſt worthy our conſideration is the Wiſdom of God herein; for the common ſort being prone unto envy and murmur, little conſidereth of what neceſſity, uſe and importance, the ſacred duties of the Clergy are, and for that cauſe hardly yieldeth them any ſuch honour without repining and grudging thereat; they cannot brook it, that when they have laboured and come to reap, there ſhould ſo great a portion go out of the fruit of their labours, and be yielded up unto ſuch as ſweat not for it. But when the Lord doth challenge this as his own due, and requires it to be done by way of homage unto him, whoſe mere liberality and goodneſs had raiſed them from a poor and ſervile eſtate, to place them where they had all thoſe ample and rich poſſeſſions; they muſt be worſe than brute beaſts, if they would ſtorm at any thing which he did receive at their hands. And for him to beſtow his own on his own Servants (which liberty is not denied unto the meaneſt of Men) what Man liveth that can think it other than moſt reaſonable? Wherefore no cauſe there was, why that which the Clergy had, ſhould in any Man's eye ſeem too much, unleſs God himſelf were thought to be of an over-having diſpoſition.

Deut. xviii. 8. Lev. xxv. 33, 34.

This is the mark whereat all thoſe ſpeeches drive, *Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his Brethren, the Lord is his inheritance*; again, *To the Tribe of Levi he gave no inheritance, the Sacrifices of the Lord God of Iſrael are the inheritance of Levi*; again, *The Tithes of*

Deut x. 9. Joſh. xiii. 14. Numb. xviii. 24.

the Children of Iſrael which they ſhall offer as an Offering unto the Lord, I have given the Levites for an inheritance; and again, *All the Heave-offerings of the holy things which the Children of Iſrael ſhall offer unto the Lord, I have given thee, and thy Sons, and thy Daughters with thee, to be a duty for ever; it is a perpetual covenant of ſalt before the Lord.* Now that, if ſuch proviſion be poſſible to be made, the Chriſtian Clergy ought not herein to be inferior unto the Jewiſh, what ſounder proof than the Apoſtle's own kind of argument? *Do ye not know, that they which miniſter about the holy things, eat of the things of the Temple? and they which wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar? (even SO) hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel.* Upon which words I thus conclude, that if the People of God do abound, and abounding can ſo far forth find in their hearts to ſhew themſelves towards Chriſt their Saviour thankful as to honour him with their Riches, (which no Law of God or Nature forbiddeth) no leſs than the ancient Jewiſh People did honour God; the plain ordinance of Chriſt appointeth as large and as ample proportion out of his own Treaſure unto them that ſerve him in the Goſpel, as ever the Prieſts of the Law did enjoy? What further proof can we deſire? It is the bleſſed Apoſtle's teſtimony, That *even ſo the Lord hath ordained.* Yea, I know not whether it be found to interpret the Apoſtle otherwiſe than that, whereas he judgeth the Preſbyters *which rule well in the Church of Chriſt to be worthy of double honour*, he means double unto that which the Prieſts of the Law received; *For if that Miniſtry which was of the Letter were ſo glorious, how ſhall not the Miniſtry of the Spirit be more glorious?* If the Teachers of the Law of Moſes, which God delivered written with letters in tables of ſtone, were thought worthy of ſo great honour, how ſhall not the Teachers of the Goſpel of Chriſt be in his ſight moſt worthy, the Holy Ghoſt being ſent from Heaven to ingrave the Goſpel on their hearts,

Verſe 19.

1 Cor. ix. 13.

1 Tim. v. 17.

2 Cor. iii. 8.

Vide 22. q. 77. art. 1.

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hearts, who first taught it, and whose Successors they that teach it at this day are? So that according to the Ordinance of God himself, their estate for worldly maintenance ought to be no worse than is granted unto other sorts of Men, each according to that degree they were placed in. Neither are we so to judge of their worldly condition as if they were Servants of Men, and at Men's hands did receive those earthly benefits by way of stipend in lieu of pains whereunto they are hired: nay that which is paid unto them is homage and tribute due unto the Lord Christ. His Servants they are, and from him they receive such goods by way of stipend. Not so from Men: for at the hands of Men he himself being honoured with such things hath appointed his Servants therewith according to their several degrees and places to be maintained. And for their greater encouragement who are his Labourers, he hath to their comfort assured them for ever, that they are, in his estimation, *worthy*
1 Tim. v. 18. *the hire* which he alloweth them; and therefore if Men should withdraw from him the store, which those his Servants that labour in his work are maintained with, yet he in his Word shall be found everlastingly true, their labour in the Lord shall not be forgotten; the hire he accounteth them worthy of, they shall surely have either one way or other answered.

Acts iv. 35. In the prime of the Christian World, that which was brought and laid down at the Apostles' feet, they disposed of by distribution according to the exigence of each Man's need. Neither can we think that they, who out of Christ's treasury made provision for all others, were careless to furnish the Clergy with all things fit and convenient for their estate: and as themselves were chiefest in place of authority and calling, so no Man doubteth but that proportionably they had power to use the same for their own decent maintenance. The Apostles, with the rest of the Clergy in Jerusalem, lived at that time according to

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the manner of a Fellowſhip, or Collegiate Society, maintaining themſelves and the Poor of the Church with a common purſe, the reſt of the Faithful keeping that purſe continually ſtored. And in that ſenſe it is, that the ſacred Hiſtory ſaith, *All which believed were in one place, and had all things common.* In the Hiſtories of the Church, and in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers for ſome hundreds of years after, we find no other way for the maintenance of the Clergy but only this, the Treaſury of Jeſus Chriſt furniſhed through Men's devotion, beſtowing ſometimes Goods, ſometimes Lands that way, and out of his Treaſury the charge of the ſervice of God was defrayed, the Biſhop and the Clergy under him maintained, the Poor in their neceſſity miniſtered unto. For which purpoſe, every Biſhop had ſome one of the Preſbyters under him to be Treaſurer of the Church, to receive, keep, and deliver all; which office in Churches Cathedral remaineth even till this day, albeit the uſe thereof be not altogether ſo large now as heretofore. The diſpoſition of theſe goods was by the appointment of the Biſhop. Wherefore Proſper ſpeaking of the Biſhop's care herein, ſaith, *It was neceſſary for one to be troubled therewith, to the end that the reſt under him might be freer to attend quietly their ſpiritual buſineſſes.* And leſt any Man ſhould imagine, that Biſhops by this means were hindered themſelves from attending the ſervice of God, *Even herein,* ſaith he, *they do God ſervice; for if thoſe things which are beſtowed on the Church be God's; he doth the work of God, who, not of a covetous mind, but with purpoſe of moſt faithful adminiſtration taketh care of things conſecrated unto God.* And foraſmuch as the Preſbyters of every Church could not all live with the Biſhop, partly for that their number was great, and partly becauſe the People being once divided into Pariſhes, ſuch Preſbyters as had ſeverally charge of them were by that mean more conveniently to live in the midſt

Acts ii. 44.

Diſp. Proſp. de vita contemp. l. ii. c. 12. Oecon. l. xiv. C. de Sacr. Eccleſ. et. Novel. 7. in Princip. Proſp. de vita contemp. l. ii. c. 16.

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each of his own particular flock, therefore a competent number being fed at the ſame * table with the Biſhop, the reſt had their whole allowance apart, which ſeveral allowances were called *Sportulæ*, and they who received them, *Sportulantes Fratres*. Touching the Biſhop, as his place and eſtate was higher, ſo likewiſe the proportion of his charges about himſelf being for that cauſe in all equity and reaſon greater; yet, foraſmuch as his ſtint herein was no other than it pleaſed himſelf to ſet, the reſt (as the manner of Inferiors is to think that they which are over them always have too much) grudged many times at the meaſure of the Biſhop's private expence, perhaps not without cauſe. Howſoever, by this occaſion there grew amongſt them great heart-burning, quarrel, and ſtrife: where the Biſhops were found culpable, as eating too much beyond their tether, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of Chriſt's Patrimony, being not greatly abundant, could bear, ſundry Conſtitutions hereupon were made to moderate the ſame, according to the Church's condition in thoſe times. Some before they were made Biſhops, having been owners of ample poſſeſſions, ſold them and gave them away to the Poor: thus did Paulinus, Hilary, Cyprian, and ſundry others. Hereupon they, who entering into the ſame ſpiritual and high function held their ſecular poſſeſſions ſtill, were hardly thought of: and even when the caſe was fully reſolved, that ſo to do was

Proſp. de vita contempl. l. ii. c. 9. Pont Diacon. in vita Cypr.

* Cypr. l. iv. Ep. 5. Preſbyterii honorem deſignaſſe nos illi jam ſciatis ut et ſportulis eiſdem cum Preſbyteris honorentur et diviſiones menſuratas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, ſeſſuri nobiscum provectis et corroboratis annis ſuis. Which words of Cyprian do ſhew, that every Preſbyter had his ſtanding allowance out of the Church Treaſury; that beſides the ſame allowance called Sportula, ſome alſo had their portion in that dividend which was the remainder of every month's expence; thirdly, that out of the Preſbyters under him, the Biſhop as then had a certain number of the graveſt, who lived and commoned with him.

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not unlawful, yet it grew a queſtion, *Whether they lawfully might then take any thing out of the public Treaſury of Chriſt?* a queſtion, *Whether Biſhops, holding by civil title ſufficient to live of their own, were bound in conſcience to leave the Goods of the Church altogether to the uſe of others?* Of contentions about theſe matters there was no end, neither appeared there any poſſible way for quietneſs, otherwiſe than by making partition of Church-Revenues according to the ſeveral ends and uſes for which they did ſerve, that ſo the Biſhop's part might be certain. Such partition being made, the Biſhop enjoyed his portion ſeveral to himſelf; the reſt of the Clergy likewiſe theirs, a third part was ſevered to the furniſhing and upholding of the Church; a fourth to the erection and maintenance of Houſes wherein the Poor might have relief. After which ſeparation made, Lands and Livings began every day to be dedicated unto each uſe ſeverally, by means whereof every of them became in ſhort time much greater than they had been for worldly maintenance; the ſervent devotion of Men being glad that this new opportunity was given, of ſhewing zeal to the Houſe of God in more certain order.

By theſe things it plainly appeareth what proportion of maintenance hath been ever thought reaſonable for a Biſhop; ſith in that very partition agreed on to bring him unto his certain ſtint, as much is allowed unto him alone as unto all the Clergy under him, namely, a fourth part of the whole yearly Rents and Revenues of the Church. Nor is it likely, that before thoſe Temporalities, which now are ſuch eyeſores, were added unto the honour of Biſhops, their ſtate was ſo mean as ſome imagine. For if we had no other evidence than the covetous and ambitious humour of Hereticks, whoſe impotent deſires of aſpiring thereunto, and extreme diſcontentment as oft as they were defeated, even this doth ſhew that the ſtate of Biſhops was not a few degrees advanced above the reſt. Wherefore of grand Apoſtates which were in

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the very prime of the Primitive Church, thus Lactantius above thirteen hundred years ſithence teſtified: *Men of a ſlippery faith they were, who feigning that they knew and worſhipped God, but ſeeking only that they might grow in WEALTH and honour, affected the place of the HIGHEST PRIESTHOOD; whereunto, when their betters were choſen before them, they thought it better to leave the Church, and to draw their Favourers with them, than to endure thoſe Men their Governors, whom themſelves deſired to govern.* Now, whereas againſt the preſent eſtate of Biſhops, and the greatneſs of their port, and the largeneſs of their expences at this day, there is not any thing more commonly objected than thoſe ancient Canons, whereby they are reſtrained unto a far more ſparing life; their Houſes, their Retinue, their Diet limited within a far more narrow compaſs than is now kept; we muſt know, that thoſe Laws and Orders were made when Biſhops lived of the ſame purſe which ſerved as well for a number of others as them, and yet all at their diſpoſing. So that convenient it was to provide that there might be a moderate ſtint appointed to meaſure their expences by, leſt others ſhould be injured by their waſtefulneſs. Contrariwiſe, there is now no cauſe wherefore any ſuch Law ſhould be urged, when Biſhops live only of that which hath been peculiarly allotted unto them. They having therefore Temporalities and other Revenues to beſtow for their own private uſe, according to that which their ſtate requireth, and no other having with them any ſuch common intereſt therein, their own diſcretion is to be their Law for this matter; neither are they to be preſſed with the rigour of ſuch ancient Canons as were framed for other times, much leſs ſo odiouſly to be upbraided with unconformity unto the pattern of our Lord and Saviour's eſtate, in ſuch circumſtances as himſelf did never mind to require that the reſt of the World ſhould of neceſſity be like him. Thus againſt the Wealth of the Clergy they alledge

Lact. de vera Sap. l. v. c. 30.

alledge how meanly Christ himself was provided for; against Bishops' Palaces, his want of a hole to hide his head in; against the Service done unto them, that *he came to minister, not to be ministered unto in the World.* Which things, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud, or ambitious desires of the Ministers of Christ, and even of all Christians, whatsoever they be; and to teach Men contentment of mind, how mean soever their estate is, considering that they are but Servants to him, whose condition was far more abased than theirs is, or can be; so to prove such difference in state between us and him unlawful, they are of no force or strength at all. If one convented before their Consistories, when he standeth to make his answer, should break out into invectives against their authority, and tell them that Christ, when he was on Earth, did not sit to judge, but stand to be judged; would they hereupon think it requisite to dissolve their Eldership, and to permit no Tribunals, no Judges at all, for fear of swerving from our Saviour's example? If those Men, who have nothing in their mouths more usual than the Poverty of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, alledge not this as Julian sometime did, *Beati Pauperes*, unto Christians, when his meaning was to spoil them of that they had; our hope is then, that as they seriously and sincerely wish, that our Saviour Christ in this point may be followed, and to that end only propose his blessed example; so, at our hands again, they will be content to hear with like willingness the holy Apostle's exhortation made unto them of the Laity also: *Be ye followers of us, even as we are of Christ; let us be your example, even as the Lord Jesus Christ is ours, that we may all proceed by one and the same rule.*

1 Cor. xi. 1. Phil. iii. 16.

24. But beware we of following Christ as Thieves follow true Men, to take their goods by violence from them. Be it that Bishops were all unworthy, not only of Livings, but even of Life, yet what hath

That for their unworthiness to deprive both them and their Successors of

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such Goods, and to convey the same unto Men of secular calling, were extreme sacrilegious injustice.

hath our Lord Jesus Christ deserved, for which Men should judge him worthy to have the things that are his given away from him unto others that have no right unto them? For at this mark it is that the head Lay-Reformers do all aim. Must these unworthy Prelates give place? what then? shall better succeed in their rooms? is this desired, to the end that others may enjoy their honours which shall do Christ more faithful service than they have done? Bishops are the worst Men living upon Earth; therefore let their sanctified possessions be divided: Amongst whom? O blessed Reformation! O happy Men, that put to their helping hands for the furtherance of so good and glorious a work! Wherefore, albeit the whole World at this day do already perceive, and Posterity be like hereafter a great deal more plainly to discern, not that the Clergy of God is thus heaved at because they are wicked, but that means are used to put it into the heads of the simple Multitude that they are such indeed, to the end that those who thirst for the spoil of spiritual possessions may, till such time as they have their purpose, be thought to covet nothing but only the just extinguishment of unreformable Persons; so that in regard of such Men's intentions, practices, and machinations against them, the part that suffereth these things may most

Psal. vii. 8. fitly pray with David, *Judge thou me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according unto mine innocency: O let the malice of the Wicked come to an end, and be thou the Guide of the Just:* notwithstanding, forasmuch as it doth not stand with Christian humility otherwise to think, than that this violent outrage of Men is a rod in the ireful hands of the Lord our God, the smart whereof we deserve to feel; let it not seem grievous in the eyes of my reverend Lords the Bishops, if to their good consideration I offer a view of those sores which are in the kind of their heavenly function most apt to breed, and which, being not in time cured, may procure at the length

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that which God of his infinite mercy avert. Of Biſhops in his time St. Jerome complaineth, that they took it in great diſdain to have any fault, great or ſmall, found with them. Epiphanius likewiſe before Jerome noteth their impatiency this way to have been the very cauſe of a ſchiſm in the Church of Chriſt; at what time one Audius, a Man of great integrity of life, full of faith and zeal towards God, beholding thoſe things which were corruptly done in the Church, told the Biſhops and Preſbyters their faults in ſuch ſort as thoſe Men are wont who love the Truth from their hearts, and walk in the paths of a moſt exact life. Whether it were covetouſneſs, or ſenſuality in their lives; abſurdity or error in their teaching; any breach of the Laws and Canons of the Church, wherein he eſpied them faulty, certain and ſure they were to be thereof moſt plainly told. Which thing, they whoſe dealings were juſtly culpable, could not bear; but inſtead of amending their faults, bent their hatred againſt him who ſought their amendment, till at length they drove him by extremity of infeſtation, through wearineſs of ſtriving againſt their injuries, to leave both them, and with them the Church. Amongſt the manifold accuſations, either generally intended againſt the Biſhops of this our Church, or laid particularly to the charge of any of them, I cannot find that hitherto their ſpitefulleſt Adverſaries have been able to ſay juſtly, that any Man for telling them their perſonal faults in good and Chriſtian ſort hath ſuſtained in that reſpect much perſecution. Wherefore, notwithſtanding mine own inferior eſtate and calling in God's Church, the conſideration whereof aſſureth me, that in this kind the ſweeteſt ſacrifice which I can offer unto Chriſt is meek obedience, reverence and awe unto the Prelates which he hath placed in ſeats of higher authority over me, emboldened I am, ſo far as may conveniently ſtand with that duty of humble ſubjection, meekly to crave, my good Lords, your

Epiph. contra hæreſ. lib. iii. tom. 1. hær. 70.

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favourable pardon, if it ſhall ſeem a fault thus far to preſume; or, if otherwiſe, your wonted courteous acceptation.

Æneid. lib. xii.

——— Sinite hæc haud mollia fatu
Sublatis aperire dolis.

1. In Government, be it of what kind ſoever, but eſpecially if it be ſuch kind of Government as Prelates have over the Church, there is not one thing publickly more hurtful than that an hard opinion ſhould be conceived of Governors at the firſt: and a good opinion how ſhould the World ever conceive of them for their after-proceeding in Regiment, whoſe firſt acceſs and entrance thereunto giveth juſt occaſion to think them corrupt Men, which fear not that God in whoſe Name they are to rule? Wherefore a ſcandalous thing it is to the Church of God, and to the Actors themſelves dangerous, to have aſpired unto rooms of Prelacy by wicked means. We are not at this day troubled much with that tumultuous kind of ambition wherewith the elections of Damaſus in St. Jerome's age, and of Maximus in Gregory's time, and of others, were long ſithence ſtained. Our greateſt fear is rather the evil which * Leo and Anthemius did by Imperial Conſtitution endeavour as much as in them lay to prevent. He which granteth, or he which receiveth the office and

Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii.

Vide in vita Greg. Naz.

* Nemo gradum Sacerdoti pretii venalitate mercetur; quantum quiſque mereatur non quantum dare ſufficiat, æſtimetur. Profecto enim, quis locus tutus et quæ cauſa eſſe poterit excuſata, ſi veneranda Dei templa pecuniis expugnentur? Quem murum integritatis aut vallum providebimus ſi auri ſacra fames in penetralia veneranda proſerpat? quid denique cautum eſſe poterit aut ſecurum, ſi ſanctitas incorrupta corrumpatur? Ceſſet altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, et a ſacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaque caſtus et humilis noſtris temporibus eligatur Epiſcopus, ut quocunque locorum pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Nec pretio ſed precibus ordinetur Antiſtes. Lib. xxxi. C. de Epiſc. et Cler.

dignity

dignity of a Biſhop, otherwiſe than beſeemeth a thing divine and moſt holy; he which beſtoweth and he which obtaineth it after any other ſort than were honeſt and lawful to uſe, if our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were preſent himſelf on Earth to beſtow it even with his own hands, ſinneth a ſin by ſo much more grievous than the ſin of Belſhazar, by how much offices and functions heavenly are more precious than the meaneſt ornaments or implements which thereunto appertain. If it be, as the Apoſtle ſaith, that the Holy Ghoſt doth make Biſhops, and that the whole action of making them is God's own deed, Men being therein but his Agents, what ſpark of the fear of God can there poſſibly remain in their hearts, who repreſenting the Perſon of God in naming worthy Men to Eccleſiaſtical charge, do ſell that which in his Name they are to beſtow; or who ſtanding as it were at the Throne of the Living God do bargain for that which at his hands they are to receive? Wo worth ſuch impious and irreligious prophanations! The Church of Chriſt hath been hereby made, not *a den of Thieves*, but in a manner the very dwelling place of foul Spirits; for undoubtedly ſuch a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into the ſeat of Epiſcopal Regiment.

2. Men may by orderly means be inveſted with ſpiritual authority, and yet do harm by reaſon of ignorance how to uſe it to the good of the Church. *It is*, ſaith Chryſoſtom, πολλῆ μὲν ἀξιώματος δύσκολον δὲ ἐπισκοπεῖν; *a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be that which a Biſhop ſhould be.* Yea, a hard and a toilſome thing it is for a Biſhop to know the things that belong unto a Biſhop. A right good Man may be a very unfit Magiſtrate. And for diſcharge of a Biſhop's office, to be well minded is not enough, no, not to be well learned alſo. Skill to inſtruct is a thing neceſſary, ſkill to govern much more neceſſary in a Biſhop. It is not ſafe for the Church of Chriſt when Biſhops learn what

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what belongeth unto Government, as Empiricks learn Phyſick by killing of the Sick. Biſhops were wont to be Men of great learning in the Laws both Civil and of the Church; and while they were ſo, the wiſeſt Men in the land for Counſel and Govern. ment were Biſhops.

3. Know we never ſo well what belongeth unto a charge of ſo great moment, yet can we not therein proceed but with hazard of publick detriment, if we rely on ourſelves alone, and uſe not the benefit of conference with others. A ſingular mean to unity and concord amongſt themſelves, a marvellous help unto uniformity in their dealings, no ſmall addition of weight and credit unto that which they do, a ſtrong bridle unto ſuch as watch for occaſions to ſtir againſt them; finally, a very great ſtay unto all that are under their government, it could not chooſe but be ſoon found, if Biſhops did often and ſeriouſly uſe the help of mutual conſultation. Theſe three rehearſed are things only preparatory unto the courſe of Epiſcopal proceedings. But the hurt is more manifeſtly ſeen which doth grow to the Church of God by faults inherent in their ſeveral actions; as when they careleſsly ordain; when they inſtitute negligently; when corruptly they beſtow Church Livings, Benefices, Prebends, and rooms eſpecially of Juriſdiction; when they viſit for gain-ſake, rather than with ſerious intent to do good; when their Courts erected for the maintenance of good order, are diſordered; when they regard not the Clergy under them; when neither Clergy nor Laity are kept in that awe for which this Authority ſhould ſerve; when any thing appeareth in them rather than a fatherly affection towards the Flock of Chriſt; when they have no reſpect to Poſterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requiſite means whereby their Authority ſhould be upheld. Surely the hurt which groweth out of theſe defects muſt needs be exceeding great. In a Miniſter ignorance

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and disability to teach is a maim; nor is it held a thing allowable to ordain such, were it not for the avoiding of a greater evil which the Church must needs sustain; if in so great scarcity of able Men, and insufficiency of most Parishes throughout the Land to maintain them, both publick Prayer and the Administration of Sacraments should rather want, than any Man thereunto be admitted lacking dexterity and skill to perform that which otherwise was most requisite. Wherefore the necessity of ordaining such, is no excuse for the rash and careless ordaining of every one that hath but a friend to bestow some two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf. By reason whereof the Church groweth burthened with silly Creatures more than need, whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very Order itself into contempt.

It may be that the fear of a *Quare impedit* doth cause Institutions to pass more easily than otherwise they would: and to speak plainly the very truth, it may be that Writs of *Quare non impedit* were for these times most necessary in the other's place: yet where Law will not suffer Men to follow their own judgment, to shew their judgment they are not hindered. And I doubt not but that even conscienceless and wicked Patrons, of which sort the swarms are too great in the Church of England, are the more emboldened to present unto Bishops any refuse, by finding so easy acceptation thereof. Somewhat they might redress this sore, notwithstanding so strong impediments, if it did plainly appear that they took it indeed to heart, and were not in a manner contented with it.

Shall we look for care in admitting whom others present, if that which some of yourselves confer be at any time corruptly bestowed? A foul and an ugly kind of deformity it hath, if a Man do but think what it is for a Bishop to draw commodity and gain from those things whereof he is left a free bestower,

and

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and that in truſt, without any other obligation than his ſacred Order only, and that religious integrity which hath been preſumed on in him. Simoniacal corruption I may not for honour's ſake ſuſpect to be amongſt Men of ſo great place. So often they do not, I truſt, offend by ſale as by unadviſed gift of ſuch Preferments, wherein that ancient Canon ſhould ſpecially be remembered, which forbiddeth a Biſhop to be led by human affection, in beſtowing the things of God. A fault no where ſo hurtful, as in beſtowing places of Juriſdiction, and in furniſhing Cathedral Churches, the Prebendaries and other Dignities whereof are the very true Succeſſors of thoſe ancient Preſbyters which were at the firſt as Counſellors unto Biſhops. A foul abuſe it is, that any one Man ſhould be loaded as ſome are with Livings in this kind, yea ſome even of them who condemn utterly the granting of any two Benefices unto the ſame Man, whereas the other is in truth a matter of far greater ſequel, as experience would ſoon ſhew, if Churches Cathedral being furniſhed with the reſidence of a competent number of virtuous, grave, wiſe and learned Divines, the reſt of the Prebends of every ſuch Church were given within the Dioceſe unto Men of worthieſt deſert for their better encouragement unto induſtry and travel; unleſs it ſeem alſo convenient to extend the benefit of them unto the Learned in Univerſities, and Men of ſpecial employment otherwiſe in the affairs of the Church of God. But howſoever, ſurely with the publick good of the Church it will hardly ſtand, that in any one Perſon ſuch favours be more multiplied than Law permitteth in thoſe Livings which are with cure.

Can. Apoſt. 76.

Touching Biſhops' Viſitations, the firſt inſtitution of them was profitable, to the end that the ſtate and condition of Churches being known, there might be for evils growing convenient remedies provided in due time. The obſervation of Church Laws, the correction of faults in the Service of God, and Manners of Men,

Men, these are things that Visitors should seek. When these things are enquired of formally, and but for Custom sake, Fees and Pensions being the only thing which is sought, and little else done by Visitations, we are not to marvel if the baseness of the end doth make the action itself loathsome. The good which Bishops may do not only by these Visitations belonging ordinarily to their office, but also in respect of that power which the Founders of Colleges have given them of special trust, charging even fearfully their consciences therewith—the good, I say, which they might do by this their authority, both within their own Diocese, and in the well-springs themselves, the Universities, is plainly such as cannot choose but add weight to their heavy accounts in that dreadful Day, if they do it not.

In their Courts, where nothing but singular integrity and justice should prevail, if palpable and gross corruptions be found, by reason of offices so often granted unto Men who seek nothing but their own gain, and make no account what disgrace doth grow by their unjust dealings unto them under whom they deal, the evil hereof shall work more than they which procure it do perhaps imagine.

At the hands of a Bishop the first thing looked for is a care of the Clergy under him; a care, that in doing good they may have whatsoever comforts and encouragements his countenance, authority, and place may yield. Otherwise what heart shall they have to proceed in their painful course, all sorts of Men besides being so ready to malign, despise, and every way oppress them? Let them find nothing but disdain in Bishops; in the Enemies of present Government, if that way they list to betake themselves, all kind of favourable and friendly help; unto which part think we it likely that Men having wit, courage, and stomach will incline?

As great a fault is the want of severity when need requireth, as of kindness and courtesy in Bishops. But touching this, what with ill usage of their power among

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among the meaner, and what with diſuſage amongſt the higher ſort, they are in the eyes of both ſorts as bees having loſt their ſting. It is a long time ſithence any great one hath felt, or almoſt any one much feared the edge of that Eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, which ſometime held Lords and Dukes in a more religious awe than now the meaneſt are able to be kept.

A Biſhop, in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affection towards them that are under his charge, what good might he do? ten thouſand ways more than any Man knows how to ſet down. But the Souls of Men are not loved; that which Chriſt ſhed his blood for is not eſteemed precious. This is the very root, the fountain of all negligence in Church Government.

Moſt wretched are the terms of Men's eſtate when once they are at a point of wrechleſſneſs ſo extreme, that they bend not their wits any further than only to ſhift out the preſent time, never regarding what ſhall become of their Succeſſors after them. Had our Predeceſſors ſo looſely caſt off from them all care and reſpect to poſterity, a Church Chriſtian there had not been, about the Regiment whereof we ſhould need at this day to ſtrive. It was the barbarous affection of Nero, that the ruin of his own Imperial Seat he could have been well enough contented to ſee, in caſe he might alſo have ſeen it accompanied with the fall of the whole World: an affection not more intolerable than theirs, who care not to overthrow all Poſterity, ſo they may purchaſe a few days of ignominious ſafety unto themſelves and their preſent eſtates; if it may be termed a ſafety which tendeth ſo faſt unto their very overthrow that are the purchaſers of it in ſo vile and baſe manner.

Men whom it ſtandeth upon to uphold a reverend eſtimation of themſelves in the minds of others, without which the very beſt things they do are hardly able to eſcape diſgrace, muſt before it be over-late remember how much eaſier it is to retain credit once gotten, than to recover it being loſt. The Executors of Biſhops are ſued if their manſion-houſe be ſuffered to go

go to decay: but whom ſhall their Succeſſors ſue for the dilapidations which they make of that credit, the unrepaired diminutions whereof will in time bring to paſs, that they which would moſt do good in that calling ſhall not be able, by reaſon of prejudice generally ſettled in the minds of all ſorts againſt them? By what means their eſtimation hath hitherto decayed, it is no hard thing to diſcern. Herod and Archelaus are noted to have ſought out purpoſely the dulleſt and moſt ignoble that could be found amongſt the People, preferring ſuch to the High-Prieſt's office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the Multitude had of that Order, and to procure a more expedite courſe for their own wicked counſels, whereunto they ſaw the High-Prieſts were no ſmall impediment, as long as the common ſort did much depend upon them. It may be there hath been partly ſome ſhow and juſt ſuſpicion of like practice in ſome, in procuring the undeſerved preferments of ſome unworthy perſons, the very cauſe of whoſe advancement hath been principally their unworthineſs to be advanced. But neither could this be done altogether without the inexcuſable fault of ſome preferred before, and ſo oft we cannot imagine it to have been done, that either only or chiefly from thence this decay of their eſtimation may be thought to grow. Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning Adverſaries, but much more which themſelves have effected againſt themſelves. A Biſhop's eſtimation doth grow from the excellency of virtues ſuitable unto his place. Unto the place of a Biſhop thoſe high divine virtues are judged ſuitable, which virtues being not eaſily found in other ſorts of great Men, do make him appear ſo much the greater, in whom they are found.

Egiſip. l. ii. c. 12.

Devotion, and the feeling ſenſe of Religion are not uſual in the nobleſt, wiſeſt, and chiefeſt Perſonages of State, by reaſon their wits are ſo much employed another way, and their minds ſo ſeldom converſant in heavenly things. If therefore wherein themſelves are defective they ſee that Biſhops do bleſſedly

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bleſſedly excel, it frameth ſecretly their hearts to a ſtooping kind of diſpoſition, clean oppoſite to contempt. The very countenance of Moſes was glorious after that God had conferred with him: and where Biſhops are, the powers and faculties of whoſe ſouls God hath poſſeſt, thoſe very actions, the kind whereof is common unto them with other Men, have notwithſtanding in them a more high and heavenly form, which draweth correſpondent eſtimation unto it, by virtue of that celeſtial impreſſion which deep meditation of holy things, and as it were converſation with God, doth leave in their minds. So that Biſhops which will be eſteemed of as they ought, muſt frame themſelves to that very pattern from whence thoſe Aſian Biſhops unto whom St. John writeth were denominated, even ſo far forth as this our frailty will permit; ſhine they muſt as Angels of God in the midſt of perverſe Men. They are not to look that the World ſhould always carry the affection of Conſtantine, to bury that which might derogate from them, and to cover their imbecilities. More than high time it is that they bethink themſelves of the Apoſtle's admonition, *Attende tibi, Have a vigilant eye to thyſelf*. They err if they do not perſuade themſelves, that whereſoever they walk or ſit, be it in their Churches or in their Conſiſtories, abroad or at home, at their tables or in their cloſets, they are in the midſt of ſnares laid for them. Wherefore as they are with the Prophet every one of them to make it their hourly prayer unto God, *Lead me, O Lord, in thy Righteouſneſs, becauſe of Enemies*; ſo it is not ſafe for them, no not for a moment, to ſlacken their induſtry in ſeeking every way that eſtimation which may further their labours unto the Church's good. Abſurdity, though but in words, muſt needs be this way a maim, where nothing but wiſdom, gravity, and judgment is looked for. That which the Son of Syrach hath concerning the Writings of the old Sages, *Wiſe Sentences are found in them*, ſhould be the proper mark and character of Biſhops'

Biſhops' ſpeeches, whoſe lips, as doors, are not to be opened, but for egreſs of inſtruction and ſound knowledge. *If baſe ſervility and dejection of mind* be ever eſpied in them, how ſhould Men eſteem them as worthy the rooms of the great Ambaſſadors of God? A wretched deſire to gain by bad and unſeemly means ſtandeth not with a mean Man's credit, much leſs with that reputation which Fathers of the Church ſhould be in. But if beſides all this there be alſo coldneſs in works of piety and charity, utter contempt even of learning itſelf, no care to further it by any ſuch helps as they eaſily might and ought to afford, no not as much as that due reſpect unto their very families about them, which all Men that are of account do order as near as they can in ſuch ſort that no grievous offenſive deformity be therein noted; if there ſtill continue in that moſt reverend Order ſuch as by ſo many engines work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own eſtimation amongſt Men, ſome of the reſt ſecretly alſo permitting others their induſtrious oppoſites every day more to ſeduce the Multitude, how ſhould the Church of God hope for great good at their hands?

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What we have ſpoken concerning theſe things, let not malicious accuſers think themſelves therewith juſtified, no more than Shimei was by his Sovereign's moſt humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which ſo impudent a caitiff's tongue upbraided him withal; the one in the virulent rancour of a cankered affection took that delight for the preſent which in the end did turn to his own more tormenting woe, the other in the contrite patience even of deſerved malediction had yet this comfort, *It may be the Lord will look on mine affliction, and do me good for his curſing this day.* As for us over whom Chriſt hath placed them to be the chiefeſt Guides and Paſtors of our Souls, our common fault is, that we look for much more in our Governors than a

2 Sam. xvi. 12.

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tolerable ſufficiency can yield, and bear much leſs than humanity and reaſon do require we ſhould. Too much perfection over rigorouſly exacted in them cannot but breed in us perpetual diſcontentment, and on both parts cauſe all things to be unpleaſant. It is exceedingly worth the noting, which Plato hath about the means whereby Men fall into an utter diſlike of all Men with whom they converſe.

Plat. in Phæd.

This ſourneſs of Mind which maketh every Man's dealings unſavoury in our taſte, entereth by an unſkilful overweening, which at the firſt we have of one, and ſo of another, in whom we afterwards find ourſelves to have been deceived, they declaring themſelves in the end to be frail Men, whom we judged Demi-gods: when we have oftentimes been thus beguiled, and that far beſides expectation, we grow at the length to this plain concluſion, that there is nothing at all ſound in any Man. Which bitter conceit is unſeemly, and plain to have riſen from lack of mature judgment in human affairs: which if ſo be we did handle with art, we would not enter into dealings with Men, otherwiſe than being beforehand grounded in this perſuaſion, that the number of Perſons notably good or bad is but very ſmall; that the moſt part of good have ſome evil, and of evil Men, ſome good in them. So true our experience doth find thoſe Aphoriſms of Mercurius Triſmegiſtus,

M. Triſ. in Poemandro. dial. vi.

Ἀδυνατὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, To purge Goodneſs quite and clean from all mixture of Evil here is a thing impoſſible. Again, Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι, When in this World we term a thing good, we cannot by exact conſtruction have any other true meaning, than that the ſaid thing ſo termed is not noted to be a thing exceeding evil. And again, Μόνον, ὦ Ασκληπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τὲ ἀγαθὲ ἐν ανθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδαμὲ, Amongſt Men, O Aſclepius, the name of that which is good we find, but no where the very true thing itſelf. When we cenſure the deeds and dealings of our Superiors, to bring with us a fore-conceit thus qualified ſhall be as well on our part

part as theirs a thing available unto quietneſs. But howſoever the caſe doth ſtand with Men's either good or bad quality, the verdict which our Lord and Saviour hath given ſhould continue for ever ſure. *Quæ Dei ſunt, Deo*; let Men bear the burthen of their own iniquity, as for thoſe things which are God's, let not God be deprived of them. For if only to with-hold that which ſhould be given be no better than to rob God, if to withdraw any mite of that which is but in purpoſe only bequeathed, though as yet undelivered into the ſacred treaſure of God, be a ſin for which Ananias and Sapphyra felt ſo heavily the dreadful hand of divine revenge; quite and clean to take that away which we never gave, and that after God hath for ſo many ages therewith been poſſeſſed, and that without any other ſhew of cauſe, ſaving only that it ſeemeth in their eyes who ſeek it too much for them which have it in their hands, can we term it or think it leſs than moſt impious injuſtice, moſt heinous ſacrilege? Such was the religious affection of Joſeph, that it ſuffered him not to take that advantage, no not againſt the very idolatrous Prieſts of Egypt, which he took for the purchaſing of other Men's Lands to the King; but he conſidered, that albeit their Idolatry deſerved hatred, yet for the honour's ſake due unto Prieſthood, better it was the King himſelf ſhould yield them relief in publick extremity, than permit that the ſame neceſſity ſhould conſtrain alſo them to do as the reſt of the People did. But it may be Men have now found out, that God hath propoſed the Chriſtian Clergy as a prey for all Men freely to ſeize upon; that God hath left them as the fiſhes of the ſea, which every Man that liſteth to gather into his net may; or that there is no God in Heaven to pity them, and to regard the injuries which Man doth lay upon them: yet the publick good of this Church and Commonwealth doth, I hope, weigh ſomewhat in the hearts of all honeſtly diſpoſed Men. Unto

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Mal. iii. 8.

Acts v. 2.

Gen. xlvii. 22.

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the publick good no one thing is more directly available, than that ſuch as are in place, whether it be of Civil or of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, be ſo much the more largely furniſhed even with external helps and ornaments of this life, how much the more highly they are in power and calling advanced above others. For Nature is not contented with bare ſufficiency unto the ſuſtenance of Man, but doth evermore covet a decency proportionable unto the place which Man hath in the Body or Society of others. For according unto the greatneſs of Men's calling, the meaſure of all their actions doth grow in every Man's ſecret expectation, ſo that great Men do always know that great things are at their hands expected. In a Biſhop great liberality, great hoſpitality, actions in every kind great are looked for: and for actions which muſt be great mean inſtruments will not ſerve. Men are but Men, what room ſoever amongſt Men they hold. If therefore the meaſure of their worldly abilities be beneath that proportion which their calling doth make to be looked for at their hands, a ſtronger inducement it is than perhaps Men are aware of unto evil and corrupt dealings for ſupply of that defect. For which cauſe we muſt needs think it a thing neceſſary unto the common good of the Church, that great Juriſdiction being granted unto Biſhops over others, a ſtate of Wealth proportionable ſhould likewiſe be provided for them. Where Wealth is had in ſo great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extreme contempt, ſurely to make Biſhops poorer than they are, were to make them of leſs account and eſtimation than they ſhould be. Wherefore if detriment and diſhonour do grow to Religion, to God, to his Church, when the publick account which is made of the chief of the Clergy decayeth, how ſhould it be, but in this reſpect, for the good of Religion, of God, of his Church,

the Wealth of Biſhops be carefully preſerved from further diminution? The travels and croſſes wherewith Prelacy is never unaccompanied, they which feel them know how heavy and how great they are. Unleſs ſuch difficulties therefore annexed unto that eſtate be tempered, by co-annexing thereunto things eſteemed of in this World, how ſhould we hope that the minds of Men, ſhunning naturally the burthens of each function, will be drawn to undertake the burthen of Epiſcopal care and labour in the Church of Chriſt? Wherefore if long we deſire to enjoy the peace, quietneſs, order and ſtability of Religion, which Prelacy (as hath been declared) cauſeth, then muſt we neceſſarily, even in favour of the publick good, uphold thoſe things, the hope whereof being taken away, it is not the mere goodneſs of the charge, and the divine acceptation thereof, that will be able to invite many thereunto. What ſhall become of that Commonwealth or Church in the end, which hath not the eye of Learning to beautify, guide, and direct it? At the length, what ſhall become of that Learning, which hath not where-with any more to encourage her induſtrious Followers? And finally, what ſhall become of that courage to follow Learning, which hath already ſo much failed through the only diminution of her chiefeſt rewards, Biſhopricks? Surely, whereſoever this wicked intendment of overthrowing Cathedral Churches, or of taking away thoſe Livings, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, which Biſhops hitherto have enjoyed, ſhall once prevail, the handmaids attending thereupon will be Paganiſm and extreme Barbarity. In the Law of Moſes, how careful proviſion is made that goods of this kind might remain to the Church for ever! *Ye ſhall not make common the holy things of the Children of Iſrael, leſt ye die, ſaith the Lord.* Touching the fields annexed unto Levitical Cities, the Law was plain, they might not be ſold; and the reaſon of the Law this, *for it was their poſſeſſion for ever.* He which was Lord and owner of it, his will and pleaſure was, that from the

Numb. xviii. 32.

Lev. xxv.

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Levites it ſhould never paſs to be enjoyed by any other. The Lord's own portion, without his own commiſſion and grant, how ſhould any Man juſtly hold? They which hold it by his appointment, had it plainly with this condition, *They ſhall not ſell of it, neither change it, nor alienate the firſt fruits of the land; for it is holy unto the Lord.* It falleth ſometimes out, as the Prophet Habakkuk noteth, that the very *prey of ſavage beaſts becometh dreadful unto themſelves.* It did ſo in Judas, Achan, Nebuchadnezzar; their evil purchaſed goods were their ſnare, and their prey their own terror; a thing no where ſo likely to follow, as in thoſe goods and poſſeſſions, which being laid where they ſhould not reſt, have by the Lord's own teſtimony his moſt bitter curſe; their undividable companion. Theſe perſuaſions we uſe for other Men's cauſe, not for theirs with whom God and Religion are parts of the abrogated Law of Ceremonies. Wherefore not to continue longer in the cure of a ſore deſperate, there was a time when the Clergy had almoſt as little as theſe good people wiſh. But the Kings of this Realm and others, whom God had bleſt, conſidered devoutly with themſelves, as David in like caſe ſometimes had done, *Is it meet that we at the hands of God ſhould enjoy all kinds of abundance, and God's Clergy ſuffer want?* They conſidered that of Solomon, *Honour God with thy ſubſtance, and the chiefeſt of all thy revenue; ſo ſhall thy barns be filled with corn, and thy veſſels ſhall run over with new wine.* They conſidered how the care which Jehoſaphat had, in providing that the Levites might have encouragement to do the work of the Lord cheerfully, was left of God as a fit pattern to be followed in the Church for ever. They conſidered what promiſe our Lord and Saviour had made unto them, at whoſe hands his Prophets ſhould receive but the leaſt part of the meaneſt kind of friendlineſs, though it were but a draught of water: which promiſe ſeemeth not

Ezek. xlviii. 14.

Habak. ii. 17.

Mal. iii. 9.

Prov. iii. 9.

2 Chron. xix.

to

to be taken, as if Christ had made them of any higher courtesy uncapable, and had promised reward not unto such as give them but that, but unto such as leave them but that. They considered how earnest the Apostle is, that if the Ministers of the Law were so amply provided for, less care then ought not to be had of them, who under the Gospel of Jesus Christ possessed correspondent rooms in the Church. They considered how needful it is, that they who provoke all others unto works of mercy and charity, should especially have wherewith to be examples of such things, and by such means to win them, with whom other means, without those, do commonly take very small effect.

In these and the like considerations, the Church-Revenues were in ancient times augmented, our Lord thereby performing manifestly the promise made to his Servants, that they which did *leave either Father, or Mother, or Lands, or Goods for his sake, should receive even in this World an hundred fold.* For some hundreds of years together, they which joined themselves to the Church, were fain to relinquish all worldly emoluments, and to endure the hardness of an afflicted estate. Afterward the Lord gave rest to his Church, Kings and Princes became as Fathers thereunto, the hearts of all Men inclined towards it, and by his providence there grew unto it every day earthly possessions in more and more abundance, till the greatness thereof bred envy, which no diminutions are able to satisfy. For, as those ancient Nursing-Fathers thought they did never bestow enough; even so in the eye of this present age, as long as any thing remaineth, it seemeth to be too much. Our Fathers we imitate *in perversum*, as Tertullian speaketh; like them we are, by being in equal degree the contrary unto that which they were. Unto those earthly blessings which God as then did with so great abundance pour down upon the Ecclesiastical State, we may in regard of most near resemblance, apply the self-same words which the Prophet hath, *God blessed them exceedingly*, Psal. cv. 24, 25.

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ceedingly, and by this very mean turned the hearts of their own Brethren to hate them, and to deal politickly with his Servants. Computations are made, and there are huge ſums ſet down for Princes, to ſee how much they may amplify and enlarge their own treaſure; how many public burthens they may eaſe; what preſent means they have to reward their Servants about them, if they pleaſe but to grant their aſſent, and to accept of the ſpoil of Biſhops, by whom Church-Goods are but abuſed unto pomp and vanity. Thus albeit they deal with one, whoſe princely virtue giveth them ſmall hope to prevail in impious and ſacrilegious motions; yet ſhame they not to move her Royal Majeſty even with a ſuit not much unlike unto that wherewith the Jewiſh High-Prieſt tried Judas, whom they ſolicited unto treaſon againſt his Maſter, and propoſed unto him a number of ſilver pence in lieu of ſo virtuous and honeſt a ſervice. But her Sacred Majeſty diſpoſed to be always like herſelf, her heart ſo far eſtranged from willingneſs to gain by pillage of that Eſtate, the only awe whereof under God ſhe hath been unto this preſent hour, as of all other parts of this noble Commonwealth, whereof ſhe hath vowed herſelf a protector till the end of her days on earth, which if Nature could permit, we wiſh, as good cauſe we have, endleſs: this her gracious inclination is more than a ſeven times ſealed warrant, upon the ſame aſſurance whereof touching time and action, ſo diſhonourable as this, we are on her part moſt ſecure, not doubting but that unto all Poſterity it ſhall for ever appear, that from the firſt to the very laſt of her ſovereign proceedings there hath not been one authorized deed other than conſonant with that Symmachus ſaith, *Fiſcus bonorum Principum non Sacerdotum damnis ſed Hoſtium ſpoliis augeatur*; conſonant with the Imperial Law, *Ea quæ ad beatiſſimæ Eccleſiæ jura pertinent, tanquam ipſam ſacroſanctam et religioſam Eccleſiam intacta convenit venerabiliter cuſtodiri; ut ſicut ipſa Religionis et Fidei Mater perpetua eſt, ita ejus Patrimonium jugiter ſervetur illæſum.* As for the caſe of publick burthens, let

Lib. x. Ep. 54 DDD. Valent. Theodoſ. et Archad. L. xiv. C. de ſacroſ. Eccleſ.

let any Politician living make it appear, that by confiſcation of Biſhops' Livings, and their utter diſſolution at once, the Commonwealth ſhall ever have half that relief and eaſe which it receiveth by their continuance as now they are, and it ſhall give us ſome cauſe to think, that albeit we ſee they are impiouſly and irreligiouſly minded, yet we may eſteem them at leaſt to be tolerable Commonwealths-men. But the caſe is too clear and manifeſt, the World doth but too plainly ſee it, that no one order of Subjects whatſoever within this Land doth bear the ſeventh part of that proportion which the Clergy beareth in the burthens of the Commonwealth: no revenue of the Crown like unto it, either for certainty or for greatneſs. Let the good which this way hath grown to the Commonwealth by the diſſolution of religious Houſes, teach Men what eaſe unto publick burthens there is like to grow by the overthrow of the Clergy. My meaning is not hereby to make the ſtate of Bi-ſhopricks, and of thoſe diſſolved Companies alike, the one no leſs unlawful to be removed than the other. For thoſe religious Perſons were Men which followed only a ſpecial kind of contemplative life in the Commonwealth, they were properly no portion of God's Clergy (only ſuch amongſt them excepted, as were alſo Prieſts) their Goods (that excepted, which they unjuſtly held through the Pope's uſurped power of appropriating Eccleſiaſtical Livings unto them) may in part ſeem to be of the nature of Civil poſſeſſions, held by other kinds of Corporations, ſuch as the City of London hath divers. Wherefore, as their inſtitution was human, and their end for the moſt part ſuperſtitious, they had not therein merely that holy and divine intereſt which belongeth unto Biſhops, who being employed by Chriſt in the principal ſervice of his Church, are Receivers and Diſpoſers of his patrimony, as hath been ſhewed, which whoſoever ſhall withhold or withdraw at any time from them, he undoubtedly robbeth God himſelf. If they abuſe the

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the goods of the Church unto pomp and vanity, ſuch faults we do not excuſe in them. Only we wiſh it to be conſidered whether ſuch faults be verily in them, or elſe but objected againſt them by ſuch as gape after ſpoil, and therefore are no competent judges what is moderate and what exceſſive in them, whom under this pretence they would ſpoil. But the accuſation may be juſt. In plenty and fulneſs it may be we are of God more forgetful than were requiſite. Notwithſtanding Men ſhould remember how not to the Clergy alone it was ſaid by Moſes in Deuteronomy, *Ne cum manducaveris et biberis et domos optimas ædificaveris.* If the remedy preſcribed for this diſeaſe be good, let it unpartially be applied. *Intereſt Reipublicæ ut re ſua QUISQUE bene utatur.* Let all States be put to their moderate Penſions, let their Livings and Lands be taken away from them whoſoever they be, in whom ſuch ample poſſeſſions are found to have been matters of grievous abuſe: were this juſt? would noble Families think this reaſonable? The title which Biſhops have to their Livings is as good as the title of any ſort of Men unto whatſoever we account to be moſt juſtly held by them; yea, in this one thing the claim of Biſhops hath pre-eminence above all ſecular titles of right, in that God's own intereſt is the tenure whereby they hold, even as alſo it was to the Prieſts of the Law an aſſurance of their ſpiritual Goods and Poſſeſſions, whereupon though they many times abuſed greatly the Goods of the Church, yet was not God's Patrimony therefore taken away from them, and made ſaleable unto other Tribes. To rob God, to ranſack the Church, to overthrow the whole order of Chriſtian Biſhops, and to turn them out of Land and Living, out of houſe and home, what Man of common honeſty can think it for any manner of abuſe to be a remedy lawful or juſt? We muſt confeſs that God is righteous in taking away that which Men abuſe: but doth that excuſe the violence of Thieves and Robbers? Com-

plain

plain we will not with St. Jerome,* *that the hands of Men are ſo ſtraightly tied, and their liberal minds ſo much bridled and held back from doing good by augmentation of the Church-Patrimony.* For we confeſs that herein mediocrity may be and hath been ſometime exceeded. There did want heretofore a Moſes to temper Men's liberality, to ſay unto them who enriched the Church, *Sufficit,* Stay your hands, leſt fervour of zeal do cauſe you to empty yourſelves too far. It may be the largeneſs of Men's hearts being then more moderate, had been after more durable; and one ſtate by too much overgrowing the reſt, had not given occaſion unto the reſt to undermine it. That evil is now ſufficiently cured: the Church-Treaſury, if then it were over full, hath ſince been reaſonably well emptied. That which Moſes ſpake unto givers, we muſt now inculcate unto takers away from the Church, Let there be ſome ſtay, ſome ſtint in ſpoiling. If *grape-gatherers came unto them,* Obad. ver. 5. ſaith the Prophet, *would they not leave ſome remnant behind?* But it hath fared with the Wealth of the Church as with a tower, which being built at the firſt with the higheſt, overthroweth itſelf after by its own greatneſs; neither doth the ruin thereof ceaſe with the only fall of that which hath exceeded mediocrity, but one part beareth down another, till the whole be laid proſtrate. For although the State Eccleſiaſtical, both others and even Biſhops themſelves, be now fallen to ſo low an ebb, as all the World at this day doth ſee; yet becauſe there remaineth ſtill ſomewhat which unſatiable Minds can thirſt for, therefore we ſeem not to have been hitherto ſufficiently wronged. Touching that which hath been taken from the Church in Appropriations

* Pudet dicere, Sacerdotes idolorum; aurigæ, mimi et ſcorta hæreditates capiunt, ſolis clericis et monachis, id lege prohibetur, et prohibetur non a perſecutoribus ſed Principibus Chriſtianis. Nec de lege conqueror, ſed doleo quod meruerimus hanc legem. Ad Nepot. 7.

known

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known to amount to the value of one hundred twenty-six thousand pounds yearly, we rest contentedly and quietly without it, till it shall please God to touch the hearts of Men, of their own voluntary accord to restore it to him again; judging thereof no otherwise than some others did of those goods which were by Sylla taken away from the Citizens of Rome, that albeit they were in truth *male capta*, unconscionably taken away from the right Owners at the first, nevertheless seeing that such as were after possessed of them held them not without some title, which Law did after a sort make good, *repetitio eorum procul dubio labefactabat compos-tam Civitatem.* What hath been taken away as dedicated unto uses superstitious, and consequently not given unto God, or at the leastwise not so rightly given, we repine not thereat. That which hath gone by means secret and indirect, through corrupt compositions or compacts, we cannot help. What the hardness of Men's hearts doth make them loath to have exacted, though being due by Law, even thereof the want we do also bear. Out of that which after all these deductions cometh clearly unto our hands, I hope it will not be said that towards the publick charge we disburse nothing. And doth the residue seem yet excessive? The ways whereby temporal Men provide for themselves and their Families are fore-closed unto us. All that we have to sustain our miserable life with is but a remnant of God's own Treasure, so far already diminished and clipt, that if there were any sense of common humanity left in this hard-hearted World, the impoverished estate of the Clergy of God would at the length even of very commiseration be spared. The mean Gentleman that hath but an hundred pound land to live on, would not be hasty to change his worldly estate and condition with many of these so overabounding Prelates; a common Artisan or Tradesman of the City with ordinary Pastors of the Church.

Flor. lib. iii. c. 13.

It

It is our hard and heavy lot that no other ſort of Men being grudged at, how little benefit ſoever the publick weal reap by them, no State complained of for holding that which hath grown unto them by lawful means; only the Governors of our Souls, they that ſtudy day and night ſo to guide us, that both in this World we may have comfort, and in the World to come endleſs felicity and joy, (for even ſuch is the very ſcope of all their endeavours; this they wiſh, for this they labour, how hardly ſoever we uſe to conſtrue of their intents) hard, that only they ſhould be thus continually lifted at for poſſeſſing but that whereunto they have by Law both of God and Man moſt juſt title. If there ſhould be no other remedy but that the violence of Men in the end muſt needs bereave them of all ſuccour, further than the inclinations of others ſhall vouchſafe to caſt upon them as it were by way of alms for their relief but from hour to hour; better they are not than their Fathers, who have been contented with as hard a portion at the World's hands: let the light of the ſun and moon, the common benefit of Heaven and Earth be taken away from Biſhops if the queſtion were, whether God ſhould loſe his glory, and the ſafety of his Church be hazarded, or they relinquiſh the right and intereſt which they have in the things of this World. But ſith the queſtion in truth is, whether Levi ſhall be deprived of the portion of God or no, to the end that Simeon or Reuben may devour it as their ſpoil, the comfort of the one in ſuſtaining the injuries which the other would offer, muſt be that prayer poured out by Moſes the Prince of Prophets in moſt tender affection to Levi, *Bleſs, O Lord, his ſubſtance, accept thou the work of his hands; ſmite through the loins of them that riſe up againſt him, and of them which hate him, that they riſe no more.* Deut. xxxiii. 10, 11.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK VIII.

Containing their ſeventh Aſſertion, That to no Civil Prince or Governor there may be given ſuch Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion, as by the Laws of this Land belongeth unto the Supreme Regent thereof.

WE come now to the laſt thing whereof there is controverſy moved, namely, *The power of Supreme Juriſdiction*; which for diſtinction ſake we call, *The power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion*. It was not thought fit in the Jews' Commonwealth, that the exerciſe of Supremacy Eccleſiaſtical ſhould be denied unto him to whom the exerciſe of Chiefty Civil did appertain; and therefore their Kings were inveſted with both. This power they gave unto Simon, when they conſented that he ſhould be their Prince, not only to ſet Men over their works, and country, and weapons, but alſo to provide for the Holy things, and that he ſhould be obeyed of every Man, and that the Writings of the Country ſhould be made in his name, and that it ſhould not be lawful for any of the People, or Prieſts, to withſtand his words, Maccab. xiv.

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words, or to call any Congregation in the Country without him. And if haply it be ſurmiſed, that thus much was given to Simon, as being both Prince and High-Prieſt, which otherwiſe (being their Civil Governor) he could not lawfully have enjoyed; we muſt note, that all this is no more than the ancient Kings of that People had, being Kings and not Prieſts. By this Power David, Aſa, Jehoſhaphat, Joſias, and the reſt, made thoſe Laws and Orders which ſacred Hiſtory ſpeaketh of, concerning matters of mere Religion, the affairs of the Temple, and ſervice of God. Finally, had it not been by the virtue of this power, how ſhould it poſſibly have come to paſs, that the piety or impiety of the Kings did always accordingly change the publick face of Religion, which things the Prophets by themſelves never did, nor at any time could hinder from being done? Had the Prieſts alone been poſſeſſed of all power in ſpiritual affairs, how ſhould any thing concerning matter of Religion have been made but only by them? In them it had been, and not in the King, to change the face of Religion at any time; the altering of Religion, the making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of Dominion, are ſtill termed *the deeds of the King*; to ſhew, that in him was placed the ſupremacy of power in this kind over all, and that unto their Prieſts the ſame was never committed, ſaving only at ſuch times as the Prieſts were alſo Kings and Princes over them. According to the pattern of which example the like power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical is by the Laws of this Realm annexed unto the Crown; and there are which do imagine, that Kings being mere Lay-perſons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their callings; which thing to the end that they may perſuade, they firſt make a neceſſary ſeparation perpetual and perſonal between the Church and the Commonwealth. Secondly, they ſo tie all kind of Power Eccleſiaſtical unto the Church, as if it were in every degree their only

only right, who are by proper Spiritual functions termed Church-Governors, and might not unto Christian Princes in any wise appertain. To lurk under shifting ambiguities, and equivocations of words in matter of principal weight, is childish. A Church and a Commonwealth we grant are things in nature one distinguished from the other. A Commonwealth is one way, and a Church another way defined. In their opinions the Church and Commonwealth are Corporations, not distinguished only in nature and definition, but in substance perpetually severed; so that they which are of the one, can neither appoint nor execute, in whole nor in part, the duties which belong to them which are of the other, without open breach of the Law of God which hath divided them, and doth require that so being divided, they should distinctly or severally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the other's approbation for that which either hath to do. We say that the care of Religion being common to all Societies Politick, such Societies as do embrace the true Religion have the name of the Church given unto every one of them for distinction from the rest; so that every Body Politick hath some Religion, but the Church that Religion which is only true. Truth of Religion is the proper difference whereby a Church is distinguished from other Politick Societies of Men; we here mean true Religion in gross, and not according to every particular. For they which in some particular points of Religion do sever from the Truth, may nevertheless truly (if we compare them to Men of an Heathenish Religion) be said to hold and profess that Religion which is true. For which cause there being of old so many Politick Societies established through the World, only the Commonwealth of Israel which had the Truth of Religion was in that respect the Church of God: and the Church of Jesus Christ is every such Politick Society of Men as doth in Religion hold that Truth which is proper to

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Christianity. As a Politick Society it doth maintain Religion, as a Church that Religion which God hath revealed by Jesus Christ. With us therefore the name of a Church importeth only a Society of Men, first united into some publick form of Regiment, and secondly distinguished from other Societies by the exercise of Religion. With them on the other side the name of the Church in this present question importeth not only a multitude of Men so united and so distinguished, but also further the same divided necessarily and perpetually from the body of the Commonwealth; so that even in such a Politick Society as consisteth of none but Christians, yet the Church and Commonwealth are two Corporations, independently subsisting by themselves.

We hold, that seeing there is not any Man of the Church of England but the same Man is also a Member of the Commonwealth, nor any Member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England, therefore as in a figure triangle the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self-same line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest: so albeit properties and actions of one, do cause the name of a Commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort, the name of the Church to be given to a Multitude, yet one and the self-same Multitude may in such sort be both. Nay, it is so with us, that no Person appertaining to the one can be denied also to be of the other: contrariwise, unless they against us should hold, that the Church and the Commonwealth are two, both distinct and separate societies; of which two one comprehendeth always Persons not belonging to the other, (that which they do) they could not conclude out of the difference between the Church and the Commonwealth, namely, that the Bishops may not meddle with the affairs of the Commonwealth, because they are Governors of another corporation,

which

which is the Church; nor Kings, with making Laws for the Church, becauſe they have government, not of this corporation, but of another divided from it, the Commonwealth; and the walls of ſeparation between theſe two, muſt for ever be upheld: they hold the neceſſity of perſonal ſeparation, which clean excludeth the power of one Man's dealing with both; we of natural, but that one and the ſame Perſon may in both bear principal ſway.

The cauſes of common received errors in this point ſeem to have been eſpecially two: one, that they who embrace true Religion living in ſuch Commonwealths as are oppoſite thereunto, and in other publick affairs, retaining civil communion with ſuch, are conſtrained for the exerciſe of their Religion, to have a ſeveral communion with thoſe who are of the ſame Religion with them. This was the ſtate of the Jewiſh Church both in Egypt and Babylon, the ſtate of Chriſtian Churches a long time after Chriſt. And in this caſe, becauſe the proper affairs and actions of the Church, as it is the Church, have no dependance on the Laws, or upon the Government of the civil State, an opinion hath thereby grown, that even ſo it ſhould be always. This was it which deceived Allen in the writing of his Apology: *The Apoſtles* (ſaith he) *did govern the Church in Rome, when Nero bare rule, even as at this day in all the Church's dominions. The Church hath a ſpiritual Regiment without dependance, and ſo ought ſhe to have amongſt Heathens, or with Chriſtians.* Another occaſion of which miſconceit is, that things appertaining to Religion are both diſtinguiſhed from other affairs, and have always had in the Church ſpiritual perſons choſen to be exerciſed about them. By which diſtinction of Spiritual affairs, and perſons therein employed, from Temporal, the error of perſonal ſeparation always neceſſary between the Church and Commonwealth hath ſtrengthened itſelf. For of every Politick Society that being true which Ariſtotle

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ſtotle ſaith, namely, *That the ſcope thereof is not ſimply to live, nor the duty ſo much to provide for the life, as for the means of living well*; and that even as the Soul is the worthier part of Man, ſo human Societies are much more to care for that which tendeth properly to the Soul's eſtate, than for ſuch temporal things which the life hath need of; other proof there needeth none to ſhew that as by all Men the Kingdom of God is to be ſought firſt, ſo in all Commonwealths things ſpiritual ought above temporal to be ſought for; and of things ſpiritual, the chiefeſt is Religion. For this cauſe, perſons and things employed peculiarly about the affairs of Religion are by an excellency termed Spiritual. The Heathens themſelves had their ſpiritual Laws, and cauſes, and affairs always ſevered from their temporal; neither did this make two independent eſtates among them. God by revealing true Religion doth make them that receive it his Church. Unto the Jews he ſo revealed the truth of Religion, that he gave them in ſpecial conſiderations Laws, not only for the adminiſtration of things ſpiritual, but alſo temporal. The Lord himſelf appointing both the one and the other in that Commonwealth, did not thereby diſtract it into ſeveral independent Communities, but inſtitute ſeveral functions of one and the ſelf-ſame Community. Some reaſons therefore muſt there be alledged why it ſhould be otherwiſe in the Church of Chriſt.

Ariſt. Pol. lib. iii. cap. 16.

Ariſt. Pol. lib. iii. cap. 20. Liv. lib. i.

Three kinds of their proofs are, 1. taken from the difference of affairs and offices.

I ſhall not need to ſpend any great ſtore of words in anſwering that which is brought out of the Holy Scripture to ſhew that Secular and Eccleſiaſtical affairs and offices are diſtinguiſhed; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, uſing by phraſe of ſpeech to oppoſe the Commonweal to the Church of Chriſt; neither yet their reaſons which are wont to be brought forth as witneſſes, that the Church and Commonweal were always diſtinct. For whether a Church or Commonweal do differ, is not the queſtion we ſtrive for; but our controverſy is concerning

concerning the kind of distinction, whereby they are severed the one from the other; whether as under Heathen Kings the Church did deal with her own affairs within herself, without depending at all upon any in Civil authority; and the Commonweal in hers, altogether without the privity of the Church; so it ought to continue still even in such Commonweals as have now publickly embraced the truth of Christian Religion; whether they ought evermore to be two societies in such sort, several and distinct. I ask therefore what Society was that in Rome, whereunto the Apostle did give the name of the Church of Rome in his time? If they answer (as needs they must) that the Church of Rome in those days was that whole Society of Men which in Rome professed the Name of Christ, and not that Religion which the Laws of the Commonweal did then authorize; we say as much, and therefore grant that the Commonweal of Rome was one Society, and the Church of Rome another, in such sort that there was between them no natural dependance. But when whole Rome became Christian, when they all embraced the Gospel, and made Laws in defence thereof, if it be held that the Church and Commonweal of Rome did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be possible, save only one, and that is, they must restrain the name of a Church in a Christian Commonweal to the Clergy, excluding all the rest of Believers, both Prince and People. For if all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence divided from the Commonweal, when the whole Commonweal doth believe? The Church and the Commonweal are in this case therefore personally one Society, which Society being termed a Commonweal as it liveth under whatsoever form of Secular Law and Regiment; a Church as it liveth under the spiritual Law of Christ; forsomuch as these two Laws contain so many and different offices,

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there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole and making it two several impaled Societies.

The difference therefore either of affairs or offices Ecclesiastical from Secular is no argument that the Church and Commonweal are always separate and independent the one on the other; which thing even Allen himself considering somewhat better, doth in this point a little correct his former judgment before mentioned, and confesseth in his defence of English Catholicks, that the power Political hath her Princes, Laws, Tribunals; the Spiritual, her Prelates, Canons, Councils, Judgments, and those, when the Temporal Princes were Pagans, wholly separate; but in Christian Commonweals joined though not confounded. Howbeit afterwards his former sting appeareth again; for in a Commonwealth he holdeth, that the Church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any Civil person whatsoever, as in England he saith it doth.

Hebr. v. 1.

Allen, lib. xxxi. pag. 151.

2. Taken from the speeches of the Fathers opposing the one to the other. Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iii. Aug. Ep. 167.

It will be objected, that the Fathers do oftentimes mention the Commonweal and the Church of God by way of opposition. Can the same thing be opposed to itself? If one and the same Society be both Church and Commonwealth, what sense can there be in that speech; *That they suffer and flourish together?* what sense in that which maketh one thing to be adjudged to the Church, and another to the Commonweal? Finally in that which putteth a difference between the causes of the Province and the Church, doth it not hereby appear that the Church and Commonweal are things evermore personally separate? No, it doth not hereby appear that there is perpetually any such separation; we speak of them as two, we may sever the rights and the causes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant is between them, albeit we make no personal difference.

For

For the truth is, that the Church and the Commonwealth are names which import things really different; but thoſe things are accidents, and ſuch accidents as may and always ſhould lovingly dwell together in one ſubject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents ſignified by theſe names, doth not prove different ſubjects for them always to reſide in. For albeit the ſubjects wherein they be reſident be ſometimes different, as when the People of God have their reſidence among Infidels; yet the nature of them is not ſuch, but that their ſubject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident, in thoſe accidents they are to be divers. There can be no error in our own conceit concerning this point, if we remember ſtill what accident that is for which a Society hath the name of a Commonwealth, and what accident that which doth cauſe it to be termed a Church. A Commonwealth we name it ſimply in regard of ſome regiment or policy under which Men live; a Church for the truth of that Religion which they profeſs. Now names betokening accidents inabſtracted, betoken not only the accidents themſelves, but alſo together with them ſubjects whereunto they cleave. As when we name a Schoolmaſter and a Phyſician, thoſe names do not only betoken two accidents, teaching and curing, but alſo ſome perſon or perſons in whom thoſe accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be in one Man, as well as they are for the moſt part in divers. The Commonweal and Church therefore being ſuch names, they do not only betoken theſe accidents of Civil Government and Chriſtian Religion which we have mentioned, but alſo together with them ſuch Multitudes as are the ſubjects of thoſe accidents. Again, their nature being ſuch as they may well enough dwell together in one ſubject, it followeth that their names, though always implying that difference of accidents that hath been ſet down, yet do not always imply different ſubjects alſo.

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also. When we oppose therefore the Church and Commonwealth in Christian Society, we mean by the Commonwealth that Society with relation to all the publick affairs thereof, only the matter of true Religion excepted; by the Church, the same Society with only reference unto the matter of true Religion, without any affairs besides: when that Society which is both a Church and a Commonwealth doth flourish in those things which belong unto it as a Commonwealth, we then say, the Commonwealth doth flourish; when in both of them, we then say, the Church and Commonwealth do flourish together.

The Prophet Esay to note corruptions in the Com-

Isai. i. 21. monwealth complaineth, *That where justice and judgment had lodged now were murtherers; Princes were become companions of Thieves; every one loved gifts and rewards, but the Fatherless was not judged, neither did the Widow's cause come before them.* To shew abuses in

Mal. i. 8. the Church, Malachy doth make this complaint, *Ye offer unclean bread upon mine Altar: if ye offer the blind for Sacrifice, it is not evil as ye think; if the lame and*

1 Chron. xxix. 3. *the sick, nothing is amiss.* The treasure which David bestowed upon the Temple did argue the love which

Nehem. ii. 17. he bore unto the Church: the pains which Nehemiah took for building the walls of the City are tokens of his care for the Commonwealth. Causes of the Commonwealth, or Province, are such as Gallio

Acts xviii. 14. was content to be judge of: *If it were a matter of wrong, or an evil deed, (O ye Jews) I would according to reason maintain you:* causes of the Church are such as Gallio there reciteth; *If it be a question of your Law, look ye to it, I will be no judge thereof.* In respect of this difference therefore the Church and the Commonwealth may in speech be compared or opposed aptly enough the one to the other; yet this is no argument that they are two independent Societies.

3. Taken from the effect of pu-

Some other reasons there are which seem a little more nearly to make for the purpose, as long as they

are

are but heard and not ſifted. For what though a Man being ſevered by Excommunication from the Church, be not thereby deprived of freedom in the City, or being there diſcommoned, is not therefore forthwith excommunicated and excluded the Church? what though the Church be bound to receive them upon repentance, whom the Commonweal may refuſe again to admit? if it chance the ſame Man to be ſhut out of both, diviſion of the Church and Commonweal, which they contend for, will very hardly hereupon follow. For we muſt note, that Members of a Chriſtian Commonweal have a triple ſtate; a Natural, a Civil, and a Spiritual. No Man's Natural eſtate is cut off otherwiſe than by that capital execution; after which he that is none of the body of the Commonwealth doth not, I think, remain fit in the body of that viſible Church. And concerning Man's Civil eſtate, the ſame is ſubject partly to inferior abatements of liberty, and partly to diminution in the higheſt degree, ſuch as baniſhment is; ſith it caſteth out quite and clean from the Body of the Commonweal, it muſt needs alſo conſequently caſt the baniſhed Party even out of the very Church he was of before, becauſe that Church and the Commonweal he was of were both one and the ſame Society: ſo that whatſoever doth utterly ſeparate a Man's Perſon from the one, it ſeparateth from the other alſo. As for ſuch abatements of Civil eſtate as take away only ſome privilege, dignity, or other benefit which a Man enjoyeth in the Commonweal, they reach only to our dealing with publick affairs: from which what may lett but that Men may be excluded and thereunto reſtored again without diminiſhing or augmenting the number of Perſons in whom either Church or Commonwealth conſiſteth? He that by way of puniſhment loſeth his voice in a public election of Magiſtrates, ceaſeth not thereby to be a Citizen. A Man diſfranchiſed may notwithſtanding enjoy as a Subject the common benefit of protection under Laws and Magiſtrates. So that theſe inferior diminutions

niſhment inflicted by the one or the other.

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nutions which touch Men civilly, but neither do clean extinguiſh their eſtates as they belong to the Commonwealth, nor impair a whit their condition as they are of the Church of God—theſe, I ſay, do clearly prove a difference of the one from the other, but ſuch a difference as maketh nothing for their ſurmiſe of diſtracted Societies.

And concerning Excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the Church, and yet not from the Commonwealth; howbeit ſo, that the Party excommunicate is not thereby ſevered from one body which ſubſiſteth in itſelf, and retained by another in like ſort ſubſiſting; but he which before had fellowſhip with that Society whereof he was a Member, as well touching things Spiritual as Civil, is now by force of Excommunication, although not ſevered from the body in Civil affairs, nevertheleſs for the time cut off from it as touching Communion in thoſe things which belong to the ſame body, as it is the Church. A Man having been both excommunicated by the Church, and deprived of civil dignity in the Commonwealth, is upon his repentance neceſſarily reunited into the one, but not of neceſſity into the other. What then? that which he is admitted unto is a communion in things Divine, whereof both parts are partakers; that from which he is withheld is the benefit of ſome Human privilege or right which other Citizens happily enjoy. But are not theſe Saints and Citizens one and the ſame People? are they not one and the ſame Society? doth it hereby appear that the Church which received an Excommunicate, can have no dependency on any Perſon which hath chief authority and power of thoſe things in the Comonwealth whereunto the ſame Party is not admitted? Wherefore to end this point, I conclude; firſt, that under the dominions of Infidels the Church of Chriſt and their Commonwealth were two Societies independent. Secondly, that in thoſe Commonwealths, where the Biſhop of Rome beareth ſway, one Society is both the Church and the Commonwealth: but the Biſhop of Rome doth

doth divide the body into two divers bodies, and doth not suffer the Church to depend upon the power of any civil Prince and Potentate. Thirdly, that within this Realm of England the case is neither as in the one, nor as in the other of the former two: but from the state of Pagans we differ in that with us one Society is both the Church and Commonwealth, which with them it was not; as also from the state of those Nations which subjected themselves to the Bishop of Rome, in that our Church hath dependance from the Chief in our Commonwealth, which it hath not when he is suffered to rule. In a word, our state is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect People, which People was not part of them the Commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the self-same People whole and entire were both under one Chief Governor on whose supreme authority they did all depend. Now the drift of all that hath been alledged to prove perpetual separation and independency between the Church and the Commonwealth is, that this being held necessary, it might consequently be thought fit, that in a Christian Kingdom he whose power is greatest over the Commonwealth, may not lawfully have supremacy of power also over the Church, that is to say, so far as to order thereby and to dispose of spiritual affairs, so far as the highest uncommanded Commander in them. Whereupon it is grown a question, whether Government Ecclesiastical, and power of Dominion in such degrees as the Laws of this Land do grant unto the sovereign Governor thereof, may by the said supreme Governor lawfully be enjoyed and held? For resolution wherein, we are, first, to define what the power of dominion is—secondly, then to shew by what right—thirdly, after what sort—fourthly, in what measure—fifthly, in what inconveniency, and according to whose example Christian Kings may have it. And when these generals are opened, to examine afterwards how lawful that is which we in regard of Dominion do attribute unto our own: namely the title of Headship over the Church,

so

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ſo far as the bounds of this Kingdom do reach: ſecondly, the prerogative of calling and diſſolving great Aſſemblies, about ſpiritual affairs publick: thirdly, the right of aſſenting unto all thoſe orders concerning Religion, which muſt after be in force as Law; fourthly, the advancement of principal Church Governors to their rooms of Prelacy: fifthly, judicial authority higher than others are capable of; and ſixthly, exemption from being puniſhable with ſuch kind of cenſures as the platform of Reformation doth teach, that they ought to be ſubject unto.

What the Power of Dominion is.

Luke xi. 17. WITHOUT order there is no living in publick Society, becauſe the want thereof is the mother of confuſion, whereupon diviſion of neceſſity fol-

1 Cor. xiv. 40. loweth; and out of diviſion deſtruction. The Apoſtle therefore giving inſtruction to publick Societies, requireth that all things be orderly done. Order can have no place in things, except it be ſettled amongſt the Perſons that ſhall by office be converſant about them, and if things and perſons be ordered, this doth imply that they are diſtinguiſhed by degrees. For order is a gradual diſpoſition. The whole World conſiſting of parts ſo many, ſo different, is by this only thing upheld; he which framed them, hath ſet them in order. The very Deity itſelf both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a Law, that whereſoever there is a coagmentation of many, the loweſt be knit unto the higheſt by that which being interjacent may cauſe each to cleave to the other, and ſo all to continue one. This order of things and perſons in publick Societies is the work of Policy, and the proper inſtrument thereof in every degree is power; power being that ability which we have of ourſelves, or receive from others for performance of any action. If the action which we have to perform be converſant about matters of mere Religion, the power of performing

forming of it is then ſpiritual; and if that power be ſuch as hath not any other to over-rule it, we term it Dominion, or Power Supreme, ſo far as the bounds thereof extend. When therefore Chriſtian Kings are ſaid to have Spiritual Dominion or Supreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes, the meaning is, that within their own Precincts and Territories they have an authority and power to command, even in matters of Chriſtian Religion, and that there is no higher nor greater that can in thoſe caſes over-command them, where they are placed to reign as Kings. But withal we muſt likewiſe note that their power is termed Supremacy, as being the higheſt, not ſimply without exception of any thing. For what Man is ſo brain-ſick, as not to except in ſuch ſpeeches God himſelf, the King of all Dominion? who doubteth but that the King who receiveth it muſt hold it of and under the Law, according to that old axiom, *Attribuat Rex Legi, quod Lex attribuit ei poteſtatem*; and again, *Rex non debet eſſe ſub Homine, ſed ſub Deo et Lege?* Thirdly, whereas it is altogether without reaſon, *that Kings are judged to have by virtue of their Dominion, although greater power than any, yet not than all the ſtate of thoſe Societies conjoined, wherein ſuch ſovereign rule is given them*; there is not any thing hereunto to the contrary by us affirmed, no not when we grant Supreme Authority unto Kings, becauſe Supremacy is not otherwiſe intended or meant to exclude, partly foreign powers, and partly the power which belong-eth in ſeveral unto others, contained as parts in that politick body over which thoſe Kings have Supre-macy: *Where the King hath power of Dominion, or Supreme Power, there no foreign State, or Potentate, no State or Potentate Domeſtical, whether it conſiſteth of one or many, can poſſibly have in the ſame affairs and cauſes authority higher than the King.* Power of Spiri-tual Dominion therefore is in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical that ruling authority which neither any foreign ſtate nor yet any part of that politick body at home, wherein the ſame is eſtabliſhed, can lawfully over-rule. It

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hath been declared already in general how *the beſt eſtabliſhed Dominion is where the Law doth moſt rule the King*; the true effect whereof particularly is found as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Civil affairs. In theſe the King, through his Supreme Power, may do ſundry great things himſelf, both appertaining to peace and war, both at home, and by command, and by commerce with States abroad, becauſe the Law doth ſo much permit. Sometimes on the other ſide, *The King alone hath no right to do without conſent of his Lords and Commons in Parliament: the King himſelf cannot change the nature of pleas, nor courts, no not ſo much as reſtore blood*, becauſe the Law is a bar unto him; the poſitive Laws of the Realm have a privilege therein, and reſtrain the King's power; which poſitive Laws, whether by cuſtom or otherwiſe eſtabliſhed, without repugnancy to the Laws of God and Nature, ought not leſs to be in force even in ſupernatural affairs of the Church; wherefore in regard of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, we willingly embrace that of Ambroſe, *Imperator bonus intra Eccleſiam, non ſupra Eccleſiam eſt*; *Kings have dominion to exerciſe in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but according to the Laws of the Church*; whether it be therefore the nature of Courts, or the form of Pleas, or the kind of Governors, or the order of proceeding in whatſoever buſineſs, for the received Laws and Liberty of the Church *the King hath Supreme Authority and Power, but againſt them never*. What ſuch poſitive Laws have appointed to be done by others than the King, or by others with the King, and in what form they have appointed the doing of it, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be kept; neither is the King's ſole authority to alter it; yet, as it were a thing unreaſonable, if in Civil affairs the King, albeit the whole univerſal body did join with him, ſhould do any thing by their abſolute power for the ordering of their ſtate at home, in prejudice of thoſe ancient Laws of Nations which are of force throughout all the World, becauſe the neceſſary commerce of

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Kingdoms dependeth on them; so in principal matters belonging to Christian Religion a thing very scandalous and offensive it must needs be thought, if either Kings or Laws should dispose of the Law of God, without any respect had unto that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the World, and wherein there is no Law of God which forceth us to swerve from the ways wherein so many and holy ages have gone. Wherefore not without good consideration the very Law itself hath provided, *That Judges Ecclesiastical appointed under the King's commission shall not adjudge for Heresy any thing but that which heretofore hath been adjudged by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or by some other General Council wherein the same hath been declared Heresy by the express Words of the said Canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be determined to be Heresy by the high court of Parliament of this Realm, with the assent of the Clergy in the Convocation: An.* 1 *Reg. Eliz.* By which words of the Law who doth not plainly see, how that in one branch of proceeding by virtue of the King's Supreme Authority, the credit which those four first General Councils have throughout all Churches, and evermore had, was judged by the making of the aforesaid act a just cause wherefore they should be mentioned in that case, as a requisite part of that rule wherewith dominion was to be limited? But of this we shall further consider when we come unto that which sovereign Power may do in making Ecclesiastical Laws.

The right which Men give, God ratifies.

Unto which Supreme Power in Kings two kinds of adversaries there are which have opposed themselves: one sort defending, *That Supreme Power in causes Ecclesiastical throughout the World appertaineth of divine right to the Bishop of Rome:* another sort, *That the said Power belongeth in every National Church unto the Clergy thereof assembled.* We which defend as well against the one as against the other, *That Kings within their own precincts may have it*, must shew by what

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what right it must come unto them. First, unto me it seemeth almost out of doubt and controversy, that *every* independent Multitude before any certain form of Regiment established, hath under God Supreme Authority, full Dominion over itself; even as a Man not tied with the band of subjection as yet unto any other, hath over himself the like power. God creating Mankind did endue it naturally with power to guide itself in what kind of Society soever they should choose to live. A Man which is born lord of himself may be made another's servant. And that power which naturally whole Societies have, may be derived unto many, few, or one, under whom the rest shall then live in subjection. Some Multitudes are brought into subjection by force, as they who being subdued are fain to submit their necks unto what yoke it pleaseth their Conquerors to lay upon them; which Conquerors by just and lawful wars do hold their power over such Multitudes as a thing descending unto them, Divine Providence itself so disposing. For it is God who giveth victory in the day of war; and unto whom Dominion in this sort is derived, the same they enjoy according to the Law of Nations, which Law authorizeth Conquerors to reign as absolute Lords over them whom they vanquish.* Sometimes it pleaseth God himself by special appointment to choose out and nominate such as to whom Dominion shall be given, which thing he did often in the Commonwealth of Israel. They which in this sort receive Power immediately from God, have it by mere Divine right, they by Human on whom the same is bestowed according to Men's discretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own Governors. By which of these means soever it happen that Kings or Governors be advanced unto their estates, we must acknowledge both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themselves to be God's Lieutenants, and confess their power which

* Corona est potestas delegata a Deo. Bracton.

they

they have to be his. As for Supreme Power in Ecclesiastical affairs, the Word of God doth no where appoint that all Kings ſhould have it, neither that any ſhould not have it; for which cauſe it ſeemeth to ſtand altogether by Human right, that unto Chriſtian Kings there is ſuch Dominion given.

Again, on whom the ſame is beſtowed at Men's diſcretions, they likewiſe do hold it by Divine right. If God in his revealed Word hath appointed ſuch Power to be, although himſelf extraordinarily beſtow it not, but leave the appointment of Perſons to Men; yea, albeit God do neither appoint nor aſſign the Perſon, nevertheleſs when Men have aſſigned and eſtabliſhed both, who doth doubt but that ſundry duties and affairs depending thereupon are preſcribed by the Word of God, and conſequently by that very right to be exacted? For example ſake, the Power which Roman Emperors had over foreign Provinces was not a thing which the Law of God did ever inſtitute; neither was Tiberius Cæſar by eſpecial commiſſion from Heaven therewith inveſted; and yet payment of tribute unto Cæſar, being now made Emperor, is the plain Law of Jeſus Chriſt; unto Kings by Human right, Honour by very Divine right, is due; Man's Ordinances are many times propoſed as grounds in the Statutes of God. And therefore of what kind ſoever the means be whereby Governors are lawfully advanced to their ſtates, as we by the Laws of God ſtand bound meekly to acknowledge them for God's Lieutenants, and to confeſs their Power his, ſo by the ſame Law they are both authorized and required to uſe that Power as far as it may be in any ſtate available to his honour. The Law appointeth no Man to be a Huſband, but if a Man hath betaken himſelf unto that condition, it giveth him power and authority over his own Wife. That the Chriſtian World ſhould be ordered by the Kingly Regiment, the Law of God doth not any where command; and yet the Law of God doth give

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them, which once are exalted unto that place of eſtate, right to exact at the hands of their Subjects general obedience in whatſoever affairs their power may ſerve to command, and God doth ratify works of that Sovereign Authority which Kings have received by Men. This is therefore the right whereby Kings do hold their Power; but yet in what ſort the ſame doth reſt and abide in them it ſomewhat behoveth farther to ſearch, where that we be not enforced to make over large diſcourſes about the different conditions of Sovereign or Supreme Power, that which we ſpeak of Kings ſhall be in reſpect of the ſtate, and according to the nature of this Kingdom, where the People are in no ſubjection, but ſuch as willingly themſelves have condeſcended unto for their own moſt behoof and ſecurity. In Kingdoms therefore of this quality the higheſt Governor hath indeed univerſal Dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire Body, over the ſeveral parts whereof he hath Dominion; ſo that it ſtandeth for an axiom in this caſe, The King is *major ſingulis, univerſis minor*. The King's dependency we do not conſtrue as ſome have done, who are of opinion that no Man's birth can make him a King, but every particular Perſon advanced to ſuch authority hath at his entrance into his reign the ſame beſtowed on him, as an eſtate in condition, by the voluntary deed of the People, in whom it doth lie to put by any one, and to prefer ſome other before him better liked of, or judged fitter for the place, and that the Party ſo rejected hath no injury done unto him, no, although the ſame be done in a place where the Crown doth go διὰ γένους, by ſucceſſion, and to a Perſon which is capital, and hath apparently, if blood be reſpected, the neareſt right. They plainly affirm in all well appointed Kingdoms, the cuſtom evermore hath been, and is, that Children ſucceed not their Parents till the People after a ſort have created them anew, neither that they grow to their Fathers as natural and proper

proper heirs, but are then to be reckoned for Kings when at the hands of such as represent the King's Majesty, they have by sceptre and a diadem received as it were the investiture of kingly power. Their very words are, *That where such Power is settled into a Family or Kindred, the stock itself is thereby chosen, but not the twig that springeth of it. The next of the stock unto him that reigneth are not through nearness of blood made Kings, but rather set forth to stand for the Kingdom. Where Regal Dominion is hereditary, it is notwithstanding (if we look to the Persons which have it) altogether elective.* To this purpose are selected heaps of Scriptures concerning the solemn coronation or inauguration of Saul, of David, of Solomon, and others, by the Nobles, Ancients, and People of the Commonweal of Israel; as if these solemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of dominion is given. Which strange, untrue, and unnatural conceits, set abroad by Seeds-Men of Rebellion, only to animate unquiet spirits, and to feed them with possibility of aspiring to thrones, if they can win the hearts of the People, what hereditary title soever any other before them may have—I say, these unjust and insolent positions I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of Truth more orient; for unless we will openly proclaim defiance unto all Law, Equity, and Reason, we must (there is no remedy) acknowledge, that in Kingdoms Hereditary birth giveth right unto Sovereign Dominion; and the death of the Predecessor putteth the Successor by blood in seisin. Those publick solemnities before specified do but serve for an open testification of the Inheritor's right, or belong unto the form of inducting him into possession of that thing he hath right unto: therefore in case it doth happen that without right of blood a Man in such wise be possessed, all these new elections and investings are utterly void, they make him no indefeasible estate, the Inheritor by blood may dispossess him as an Usurper. The case

Junius Brutus vindic. p. 83.

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thus ſtanding, albeit we judge it a thing moſt true that Kings, even Inheritors, do hold their right in the power of Dominion, with dependency upon the whole Body Politick over which they have rule as Kings; yet ſo it may not be underſtood as if ſuch dependency did grow, for that every ſupreme Governor doth perſonally take from thence his power by way of gift, beſtowed of their own free accord upon him at the time of his entrance into the ſaid place of his Sovereign Government: but the caſe of dependency is that firſt original conveyance, when power was derived from the whole into one; to paſs from him unto them, whom out of him nature by lawful births ſhould produce, and no natural or legal inability make uncapable. *Neither can any Man with reaſon think, but that the firſt inſtitution of Kings, a ſufficient conſideration wherefore their Power ſhould always depend on that from which it always flows by original influence of Power, from the Body unto the King, is the cauſe of the King's dependency in Power upon the Body.* By dependency we mean Subordination and Subjection. A manifeſt token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain argument that Lands are held under any as Lords, than if we ſee that ſuch Lands in defect of Heirs fall unto them by eſcheat; in like manner it doth follow rightly, that ſeeing dominion when there is none to inherit it returneth unto the Body, therefore they which before were Inheritors thereof did hold it with dependency upon the Body; ſo that by comparing the Body with the Head, as touching Power, it ſeemeth always to reſide in both, fundamentally and radically in the one, in the other derivatively; in one the habit, in the other the act of Power. May a Body Politick then at all times withdraw in whole or in part the influence of Dominion which paſſeth from it, if inconveniencies do grow thereby? It muſt be preſumed, that ſupreme Governors will not in ſuch caſe oppoſe themſelves, and be ſtiff in detaining that, the uſe whereof is with publick

Tully de Of.

publick detriment: but ſurely without their conſent I ſee not how the Body by any juſt means ſhould be able to help itſelf, ſaving when Dominion doth eſcheat; ſuch things therefore muſt be thought upon beforehand, that Power may be limited ere it be granted, which is the next thing we are to conſider. BOOK VIII.

In what meaſure.

IN power of Dominion, all Kings have not an equal latitude; Kings by conqueſt make their own charter; ſo that how large their power, either Civil or Spiritual, is, we cannot with any certainty define further, than only to ſet them in the line of the Law of God and Nature for bounds. Kings by God's own ſpecial appointment have alſo that largeneſs of power which he doth affign or permit with approbation. Touching Kings which were firſt inſtituted by agreement and compoſition made with them, over whom they reign, how far their power may extend, the articles of compact between them are to ſhew: not only the articles of compact at the firſt beginning, which for the moſt part are either clean worn out of knowledge, or elſe known to very few, but whatſoever hath been after in free and voluntary manner condeſcended unto, whether by expreſs conſent (whereof poſitive Laws are witneſſes), or elſe by ſilent allowance, famouſly notified through cuſtom, reaching beyond the memory of Man. By which means of after-agreement, it cometh many times to paſs in Kingdoms, that they whoſe ancient Predeceſſors were by violence and force made ſubject, do by little and little grow into that ſweet form of Kingly Government which Philoſophers define, *Regency willingly ſuſtained, and indued with chiefty of power in the greateſt things.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. iii. cap. 8.

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Pythagoras apud Erdant. de Regno.

things. Many of the Ancients in their writings do ſpeak of Kings with ſuch high and ample terms, as if univerſality of power, even in regard of things and not of perſons, did appertain to the very being of a King. The reaſon is, becauſe their ſpeech concerning Kings they frame according to the ſtate of thoſe Monarchs to whom unlimited authority was given; which ſome not obſerving, imagine that all Kings, even in that they are Kings, ought to have whatſoever power they judge any ſovereign Ruler lawfully to have enjoyed. But the moſt judicious Philoſopher, whoſe eye ſcarce any thing did eſcape which was to be found in the boſom of nature, he conſidering how far the power of one ſovereign Ruler may be different from another regal authority, noteth in Spartan Kings, *That of all others they were moſt tied to Law, and ſo the moſt reſtrained power*. A King which hath not ſupreme power in the greateſt things, is rather intituled a King, than inveſted with real Sovereignty. We cannot properly term him a King, of whom it may not be ſaid, at the leaſt wiſe, as touching certain the chiefeſt affairs of the State, ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ ἑτέρου, his right in them is to have rule, not ſubject to any other predominancy. I am not of opinion that ſimply in Kings the moſt, but the beſt limited power is beſt both for them and the People: the moſt limited is that which may deal in feweſt things, the beſt that which in dealing is tied unto the ſoundeſt, perfecteſt, and moſt indifferent rule, which rule is the Law: I mean not only the Law of Nature, and of God; but the National Law conſonant thereunto. *Happier that People whoſe Law is their King in the greateſt things, than that whoſe King is himſelf their Law. Where the King doth guide the State, and the Law the King, that Commonwealth is like an harp or melodious inſtrument, the ſtrings whereof are tuned and handled all by one, following as Laws the rules and canons of Muſical Science.* Moſt divinely therefore Archytas maketh unto publick felicity theſe four ſteps and degrees, every of which

which doth ſpring from the former, as from another cauſe, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νομίμῳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀκόλεθῳ, ὁ δὲ ἀρχόμενῳ ἀπόλυπῳ, ἡ δὲ ὅλη κοινωνία εὐδαιμων, *The King ruling by Law, the Magiſtrate following, the Subject free, and the whole Society happy*; adding on the contrary ſide, that where this order is not, it cometh by tranſgreſſion thereof to paſs that a King groweth a Tyrant; he that ruleth under him abhorreth to be guided by him or commanded; the People ſubject unto both, have freedom under neither, and the whole Community is wretched. In which reſpect, I cannot chooſe but commend highly their wiſdom, by whom the foundation of the Commonwealth hath been laid; wherein though no manner of Perſon, or cauſe be unſubject unto the King's Power, yet ſo is the Power of the King over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the Law itſelf is a rule. The Axioms of our Regal Government are theſe, *Lex facit Regem*: the King's grant of any favour made contrary to the Law is void; *Rex nihil poteſt niſi quod jure poteſt*. Our Kings therefore, when they are to take poſſeſſion of the crown they are called unto, have it pointed out before their eyes, even by the very ſolemnities and rites of their Inauguration, to what affairs by the ſame Law their ſupreme Power and Authority reacheth; crowned we ſee they are, enthronized and anointed; the Crown a ſign of a Military Dominion; the Throne of Sedentary or Judicial; the Oil of Religious and Sacred Power. It is not on any ſide denied, that Kings may have authority in Secular affairs. The queſtion then is, *What power they may lawfully have and exerciſe in cauſes of God. A Prince, or Magiſtrate, or a Community* (ſaith Dr. Stapleton) *may have power to lay corporal puniſhment on them which are teachers of perverſe things; power to make Laws for the peace of the Church; power to proclaim, to defend, and even by revenge to preſerve* dogmata, *the very Articles of Religion themſelves from violation.* Others, in affection no leſs devoted unto the Papacy, do

Stapl. de Do. Princip. lib. v. c. 17.

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do likewiſe yield, that the Civil Magiſtrate may by his Edicts and Laws keep all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within the bounds of their duties, and conſtrain them to obſerve the Canons of the Church, to follow the rule of ancient diſcipline. That if Joaſh was commended for his care and proviſion concerning ſo ſmall a part of Religion, as the Church-treaſure; it muſt needs be unto Chriſtian Kings themſelves greater honour, and to Chriſtianity a larger benefit, when the cuſtody of Religion and the Worſhip of God in general is their charge. If therefore all theſe things mentioned be moſt properly the affairs of God's Eccleſiaſtical cauſes; if the actions ſpecified be works of Power; and if that Power be ſuch as Kings may uſe of themſelves, without the fear of any other power ſuperior in the ſame thing; it followeth neceſſarily, that Kings may have Supreme Power, not only in Civil, but alſo in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and conſequently that they may withſtand what Biſhop or Pope ſoever ſhall, under the pretended claim of higher Spiritual authority, oppoſe themſelves againſt their proceedings. But they which have made us the former grant, will never hereunto condeſcend; what they yield that Princes may do, it is with ſecret exception always underſtood, if the Biſhop of Rome give leave, if he interpoſe no prohibition; wherefore ſomewhat it is in ſhew, in truth nothing which they grant. Our own Reformers do the very like, when they make their diſcourſe in general concerning the authority which Magiſtrates may have, a Man would think them to be far from withdrawing any jot of that which with reaſon may be thought due; *The Prince and Civil Magiſtrate* (ſaith one of them) *hath to ſee the Laws of God touching his Worſhip, and touching all matters, and all orders of the Church to be executed, and duly obſerved; and to ſee every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon do that office whereunto he is appointed; and to puniſh thoſe which fail in their office accordingly.* Another acknowledgeth, *That the Magiſtrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his ſword,*

T. C. lib. i. 1. 192.

ſword, puniſh all Perſons, enforce all to their duties towards God and Men; maintain by his Laws every point of God's Word, puniſh all vice in all Men; ſee into all cauſes, viſit the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate, and correct the abuſes thereof: finally to look to his Subjects, that under him they may lead their lives in all godlineſs and honeſty. A third more frankly profeſſeth, *That in caſe their Church-Diſcipline were eſtabliſhed, ſo little it ſhorteneth the arms of Sovereign Dominion in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that her Gracious Majeſty, for any thing they teach or hold to the contrary, may no leſs than now remain ſtill over all Perſons, in all things Supreme Governeſs, even with that full and Royal Authority, Superiority, and Pre-eminence, Supremacy and Prerogative, which the Laws already eſtabliſhed do give her, and her Majeſty's Injunctions, and the Articles of the Convocation-houſe, and other writings apologetical of her Royal Authority, and Supreme dignity, do declare and explain.* Poſſidonius was wont to ſay of the Epicure, *That he thought there were no Gods, but that thoſe things which he ſpake concerning the Gods, were only given out for fear of growing odious amongſt Men; and therefore that in words he left Gods remaining, but in very deed overthrew them, inſomuch as he gave them no kind of action.* After the very ſelf-ſame manner, when we come unto thoſe particular effects, prerogatives of Dominion which the Laws of this Land do grant unto the Kings thereof, it will appear how theſe Men, notwithſtanding their large and liberal ſpeeches, abate ſuch parcels out of the afore alledged grant and flouriſhing ſhew; that a Man comparing the one with the other, may half ſtand in doubt, leſt their opinion in very truth be againſt that Authority which by their ſpeeches they ſeem mightily to uphold, partly for the avoiding of publick obloquy, envy, and hatred; partly to the intent they may both in the end, by the eſtabliſhment of their Diſcipline, extinguiſh the force of Supreme Power which Princes have, and yet, in the meanwhile, by giving forth theſe ſmooth diſcourſes,*

Farmer's Def. of the Godly Magiſtrate.

Humble Motion, p. 163.

Cicero, lib. 1. de Nat. Deor.

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courſes, obtain that their favourers may have ſome what to alledge for them by way of apology, and that ſuch words only ſound towards all kind of fulneſs of power. But for myſelf, I had rather conſtrue ſuch their contradictions in the better part, and impute their general acknowledgment of the lawfulneſs of Kingly Power unto the force of truth, preſenting itſelf before them ſometimes above their particular contrarieties, oppoſitions, denials, unto that error which having ſo fully poſſeſt their minds, caſteth things inconvenient upon them, of which things in their due place. Touching that which is now in hand, we are on all ſides fully agreed, firſt, that there is not any reſtraint or limitation of matter for regal Authority and Power to be converſant in, but of Religion only; and of whatſoever cauſe thereunto appertaineth Kings may lawfully have charge, they lawfully may therein exerciſe Dominion and uſe the

Kinds. temporal ſword: ſecondly, that ſome kind of actions converſant about ſuch affairs are denied unto Kings; as, namely, actions of Power and Order, and of Spiritual Juriſdiction, which hath with it inſeparably joined power to adminiſter the Word and Sacraments, power to ordain, to judge as an Ordinary, to bind and looſe, to excommunicate, and ſuch like: thirdly,

By what Rule. that even in thoſe very actions which are proper unto Dominion, there muſt be ſome certain rule whereunto Kings in all their proceedings ought to be ſtrictly tied; which rule for proceeding in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes by Regal Power, hath not hitherto been agreed upon with ſuch uniform conſent, and certainty, as might be wiſhed. The different ſentences of Men herein I will not now go about to examine; but it ſhall be enough to propoſe what Rule doth ſeem in this caſe moſt reaſonable.

The cauſe of deriving Supreme Power from a whole entire Multitude into ſome ſpecial part thereof, is partly the neceſſity of expedition in publick affairs, partly the inconvenience of confuſion and trouble, where

where a multitude of Equals dealeth; and partly the diſſipation which muſt needs enſue, in companies where every Man wholly ſeeketh his own particular, as we all would do even with other Men's hurts, and haply the very overthrow of themſelves, in the end alſo, if for the procurement of the common good of all Men, by keeping every ſeveral Man in order, ſome were not inveſted with authority over all, and encouraged with prerogative-honor to ſuſtain the weighty burthen of that charge. The good which is proper unto each Man belongeth to the common good of all, as part to the whole perfection; but theſe two are things different; for Men by that which is proper are ſevered; united they are by that which is common. Wherefore, beſides that which moveth each Man in particular to ſeek his own private good, there muſt be of neceſſity in all publick Societies alſo a general mover directing unto common good, and framing every Man's particular unto it. The end whereunto all Government was inſtituted, was *Bonum publicum*, the Univerſal or Common good.* Our queſtion is of Dominion, for that end and purpoſe derived into one: ſuch as all in one publick State have agreed, that the ſupreme charge of all things ſhould be committed unto one; they, I ſay, conſidering what inconveniency may grow where States are ſubject unto ſundry Supreme Authorities, have for fear of theſe inconveniencies withdrawn from liking to eſtabliſh many; ἐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, the multitude of Supreme Commanders is troubleſome. *No Man* (ſaith our Saviour) *can ſerve two Maſters*; ſurely two Supreme Maſters would make any one's ſervice ſomewhat uneaſy in ſuch caſes as might fall out. Suppoſe that to morrow the Power which hath Dominion in Juſtice require thee at the Court; that which in War, at the Field; that which in Religion, at the Temple; all have equal authority over thee, and impoſſible it is,

* Ob utilitatem publicam reipublicæ per unum conſuli oportere, prudentiſſimi docent. L. C. 11. F. de origine Juris Civilis.

that

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that then in ſuch caſe thou ſhouldſt be obedient unto all: by chooſing any one whom thou wilt obey, certain thou art for thy diſobedience to incur the diſpleaſure of the other two.

According to what example.

But there is nothing for which ſome comparable reaſon or other may not be found. Are we able to ſhew any commendable ſtate of Government, which by experience and practice hath felt the benefit of being in all cauſes ſubject unto the Supreme Authority of one? Againſt the Policy of the Iſraelites, I hope there will no Man except, where Moſes deriving ſo great a part of his burthen in Government unto others, did notwithſtanding retain to himſelf univerſal Supremacy; Jehoſhaphat appointing one to be choſen in the affairs of God, and another in the King's affairs, did this as having Dominion over them in both. If therefore from approbation of Heaven, the Kings of God's own choſen People had in the affairs of Jewiſh Religion Supreme Power, why not Chriſtian Kings the like alſo in Chriſtian Religion? Firſt, unleſs Men will anſwer, as ſome have done, *That the Jews' Religion was of far leſs perfection and dignity than ours, ours being that truth whereof theirs was but a ſhadowiſh prefigurative reſemblance.* Secondly, *That all parts of their Religion, their Laws, their Sacrifices, and their Rites and Ceremonies, being fully ſet down to their hands, and needing no more, but only to be put in execution, the Kings might well have higheſt authority to ſee that done; whereas with us there are a number of Myſteries even in Belief, which were not ſo generally for them, as for us neceſſary to be with ſound expreſs acknowledgment underſtood: a number of things belonging to external Government, and our manner of ſerving God, not ſet down by particular Ordinances, and delivered to us in writing, for which cauſe the ſtate of the Church doth now require that the Spiritual Authority of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons be large, abſolute, and not ſubordinate to Regal power.* Thirdly,

Stapl. de prin. Doct. pag. 197.

Stapl. ib.

Idem ib.

That whereas God armed Jewiſh Religion with the Temporal ſword, but Chriſtian with that of Spiritual puniſh-

ment;

ment; the one with power to impriſon, to ſcourge, to put to death; the other with bare authority to cenſure and excommunicate; there is no reaſon that the Church which hath no viſible ſword, ſhould in regiment be ſubject unto any other Power, than only unto theirs which have authority to bind and looſe. Fourthly, *that albeit whilſt the Church was reſtrained unto one People, it ſeemed not incommodious to grant their King the general chiefty of Power; yet now the Church having ſpread itſelf over all Nations, great inconveniencies muſt thereby grow, if every Chriſtian King in his ſeveral Territory ſhould have the like power.* Of all theſe differences, there is not one which doth prove it a thing repugnant to the Law either of God, or of Nature, that all Supremacy of external Power be in Chriſtian Kingdoms granted unto Kings thereof, for preſervation of quietneſs, unity, order, and peace, in ſuch manner as hath been ſhewed.

Of the Title of Headſhip.

FOR the Title or State itſelf, although the Laws of this Land have annexed it to the Crown, yet ſo far we ſhould not ſtrive, if ſo be Men were nice and ſcrupulous in this behalf only; becauſe they do wiſh that for reverence to Chriſt Jeſus the Civil Magiſtrate did rather uſe ſome other form of ſpeech wherewith to expreſs that Sovereign Authority which he lawfully hath over all both Perſons and Cauſes of the Church. But I ſee that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name ſo applied, do it becauſe they miſlike that ſuch Power ſhould be given to Civil Governors. The great exception that Sir Thomas Moore took againſt that Title, who ſuffered death for denial of it, was *for that it maketh a Lay, a Secular Perſon, the Head of the State Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical*; as though God himſelf did not name Saul the

Roffenſis, Epiſt. p. 517.

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the Head of all the Tribes of Israel; and consequently of that Tribe also among the rest, whereunto the State Spiritual or Ecclesiastical belonged. When the Authors of the Centuries reprove it in Kings and Civil Governors, the reason is, *istis non competit iste Primatus*; such kind of Power is too high for them, they fit it not. In excuse of Mr. Calvin, by whom this Realm is condemned of blasphemy, for intituling Henry the Eighth *Supreme Head of this Church under Christ*, a charitable conjecture is made, that he spake by misinformation; howbeit as he professeth utter dislike of that name, so whether the name be used or no, the very power itself which we give unto Civil Magistrates, he much complaineth of, and protesteth, *That their Power over all things was it, which had ever wounded him deeply: that unadvised Persons had made them too spiritual; that throughout Germany this fault did reign; that in those very parts where Calvin himself was, it prevailed more than was to be wished; that Rulers, by imagining themselves so spiritual, have taken away Ecclesiastical Government; that they think they cannot reign unless they abolish all the Authority of the Church, and be themselves the chief Judges, as well in Doctrine, as in the whole Spiritual Regency.* So that, in truth, the question is, whether the Magistrate by being Head in such sense as we term him, do use or exercise any part of that Authority, not which belongeth unto Christ, but which other Men ought to have.

Præf. Cent. 7.

Calvin in com. 7. Amos vii. 13.

These things being first considered thus, it will be easier to judge concerning our own estate, whether by force of Ecclesiastical Government Kings have any other kind of Prerogative than they may lawfully hold and enjoy. It is, as some do imagine, too much that Kings of England should be termed Heads in relation of the Church. That which we do understand by Headship is, their only Supreme Power in Ecclesiastical affairs and causes. That which lawful Princes are, what should make it unlawful

lawful for Men in Spiritual Stiles or Titles to ſignify? If the having of Supreme Power be allowed, why is the expreſſing thereof by the Title of Head condemned? They ſeem in words (at leaſtwiſe ſome of them) now at length to acknowledge, that Kings may have Dominion or Supreme Government even over all, both Perſons and Cauſes. We in terming our Princes *Heads of the Church*, do but teſtify that we acknowledge them ſuch Governors. Again, to this it will peradventute be replied, *That howſoever we interpret ourſelves, it is not fit for a mortal Man, and therefore not fit for a Civil Magiſtrate to be intituled the Head of the Church, which was given to our Saviour Chriſt to lift him above all Powers, Rules, Dominions, Titles, in Heaven or in Earth. Where, if this Title belong alſo to Civil Magiſtrates, then it is manifeſt that there is a Power in Earth whereunto our Saviour Chriſt is not in this point ſuperior. Again, if the Civil Magiſtrate may have this Title, he may be termed alſo the firſt-begotten of all creatures, the firſt-begotten of all the dead, yea, the Redeemer of his People. For theſe are alike given him as Dignities whereby he is lifted up above all Creatures. Beſides this, the whole argument of the Apoſtle in both places doth lead to ſhew that this Title,* Head of the Church, *cannot be ſaid of any Creature: and further, the very demonſtrative articles, amongſt the Hebrews eſpecially, whom St. Paul doth follow, ſerve to tie that which is verified of one, unto himſelf alone: ſo that when the Apoſtle doth ſay that Chriſt is* Κεφαλὴ, *the Head; it is as if he ſhould ſay, Chriſt, and none other, is the Head of the Church.* Thus have we againſt the entituling of the higheſt Magiſtrate, *Head*, with relation unto the Church, four ſeveral arguments gathered by ſtrong ſurmiſe out of words marvellous unlikely to have been written to any ſuch purpoſe, as that whereunto they are now uſed and urged. To the Epheſians, The Apoſtle writeth, *That Chriſt, God hath ſet on his right hand in the heavenly places above all the Regency and Authority,*

T. C. lib. ii. p. 411.

Epheſ. i. 21. Col. i. 18.

Epheſ. i. 20, 21, 22, 23.

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Authority, and Power and Dominion, and whatſoever name is named, not in this World only, but in that which ſhall be alſo: and hath under his feet ſet all things, and hath given him Head above all things unto the Church, which is his Body, even the fulneſs of him which accompliſheth all in all. To the Coloſſians in like manner, *That he is the Head of the Body of the Church, who is a firſt-born Regency out of the dead, to the end he might be made amongſt them all ſuch an one as hath the Chiefty:* He meaneth, amongſt all them whom he mentioned before, ſaying, *By him all things that are, were made; the things in the Heavens, and the things in the Earth, the things that are viſible, and the things that are inviſible, whether they be Thrones or Dominions, or Regencies, &c.* Unto the fore-alledged arguments therefore we anſwer: firſt, that it is not ſimply the title of *Head*, in ſuch ſort underſtood, as the Apoſtle himſelf meant it; ſo that the ſame being imparted in another ſenſe unto others, doth not any ways make thoſe others his equals; inaſmuch as diverſity of things is uſually to be underſtood, even when of words there is no diverſity; and it is only the adding of one and the ſame thing unto divers Perſons, which doth argue equality in them. If I term Chriſt and Cæſar Lords, yet this is no equalizing Cæſar with Chriſt, becauſe it is not thereby intended: *To term the Emperor Lord* (ſaith Tertullian), *I, for my part, will not refuſe, ſo that I be not required to call him Lord in the ſame ſenſe that God is ſo termed.* Neither doth it follow, which is objected in the ſecond place, that if the Civil Magiſtrate may be entituled a *Head*, he may as well be termed, *the firſt begotten of all Creatures, the firſt begotten of the dead, and the Redeemer of his People.* For albeit the former dignity doth lift him up no leſs than theſe, yet theſe terms are not appliable, and apt to ſignify any other inferior dignity, as the former term of *Head* was. The argument of matter which the Apoſtle followeth hath ſmall evidence or proof, that his meaning

Col. i. 18.

Col. i. 16.

was

was to appropriate unto Christ that the aforesaid title, otherwise than only in such sense as doth make it, being so understood, too high to be given to any Creature.

As for the force of the article where our Lord and Saviour is called the *Head*, it serveth to tie that unto him by way of excellency, which in meaner degrees is common to others; it doth not exclude any other utterly from being termed *Head*, but from being intituled, as Christ is, *the Head*, by way of the very highest degree of excellency. Not in the communication of names, but in the confusion of things, there is error. Howbeit, if *Head* were a name that could not well be, nor never had been used to signify that which a Magistrate may be in relation to some Church, but were by continual use of speech appropriated unto the only thing it signifieth; being applied unto Jesus Christ then, although we must carry in ourselves a right understanding, yet ought we otherwise rather to speak, unless we interpret our own meaning by some clause of plain speech, because we are all else in manifest danger to be understood according to that construction and sense, wherein such words are personally spoken. But here the rarest construction, and most removed from common sense, is that which the word doth import being applied unto Christ; that which we signify by it in giving it to the Magistrate, it is a great deal more familiar in the common conceit of Men.

The word is so fit to signify all kinds of Superiority, Pre-eminence, and Chiefty, that nothing is more ordinary than to use it in vulgar speech, and in common understanding so to take it.* If therefore Christian Kings may have any pre-eminence or chiefty above all others, although it be less than that which Theodore Beza giveth, who placeth Kings amongst the principal members whereunto publick

* Esai. vii. 9. Pekah is termed the Head of Samaria.

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function in the Church belongeth; and denieth not, but that of them which have publick function, the Civil Magistrate's power hath all the rest at command, in regard of that part of his office, which is to procure that peace and good order be especially kept in things concerning the first Table; if even hereupon they term him *the Head of the Church*, which is *his Kingdom*, it should not seem so unfit a thing; which Title surely we could not communicate to any other, no not although it should at our hands be exacted with torments, but that our meaning herein is made known to the World, so that no Man which will understand can easily be ignorant that we do not impart unto Kings, when we term them *Heads*, the honour which is properly given to our Lord and Saviour Christ, when the blessed Apostle in Scripture doth term him the *Head of the Church*.

The Power which we signify in that name, differeth in three things plainly from that which Christ doth challenge.

First, it differeth in order, because God hath given him to his Church for the Head, ὑπὲρ πάντα, ὑπεράνω
Ephes. i. 21. πάσης ἀρχῆς, *Far above all Principalities and Powers, and Might, and Dominion, and every Name that is named, not in this World only, but also in that which is to come*: whereas the Power which others have, is subordinate unto his.

Secondly, again, as he differeth in order, so in
Psal. ii. 8. measure of Power also; because God hath given unto him the ends of the Earth for his possession; unto him, Dominion from sea to sea; unto him all Power both in Heaven and Earth; unto him such Sovereignty, as doth not only reach over all places, persons, and things, but doth rest in his own only person, and is not by any succession continued; he reigneth as Head and King, nor is there any kind of Law which tieth him, but his own proper will and wisdom; his power is absolute, the same jointly over all which it is severally over each: not so the Power

of

of any other Headſhip. How Kings are reſtrained, and how their Power is limited, we have ſhewed before; ſo that unto him is given by the title of *Headſhip over the Church*, that largeneſs of Power, wherein neither Man nor Angel can be matched or compared with him.

Thirdly, the laſt and greateſt difference between him and them, is in the very kind of their Power. The Head being, of all other parts of the Body, moſt divine, hath dominion over all the reſt; it is the fountain of ſenſe, of motion; the throne where the guide of the Soul doth reign; the court from whence direction of all things human proceedeth. Why Chriſt is called *the Head of the Church*, theſe cauſes themſelves do yield. As the Head is the chiefeſt part of a Man, above which there is none, always joined with the Body; ſo Chriſt, the higheſt in his Church, is always knit to it. Again, as the Head giveth ſenſe and motion unto all the Body, ſo he quickeneth us, and, together with underſtanding of heavenly things, giveth ſtrength to walk therein. Seeing therefore that they cannot affirm Chriſt ſenſibly preſent, or always viſibly joined unto his Body the Church which is on Earth, inaſmuch as his corporal reſidence is in Heaven; again, ſeeing they do not affirm (it were intolerable if they ſhould) that Chriſt doth perſonally adminiſter the external regiment of outward actions in the Church, but, by the ſecret inward influence of his grace, giveth ſpiritual life, and the ſtrength of ghoſtly motions thereunto; impoſſible it is, that they ſhould ſo cloſe up their eyes, as not to diſcern what odds there is between that kind of operation which we imply in the Headſhip of Princes, and that which agreeth to our Saviour's dominion over the Church. The Headſhip which we give unto Kings, is altogether viſibly exerciſed, and ordereth only the external frame of the Church-affairs here amongſt us; ſo that it plainly differeth from Chriſt's, even in very nature and

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kind. To be in such sort united unto the Church as he is; to work as he worketh, either on the whole Church or upon any particular Assembly, or in any one Man, doth neither agree, nor hath any possibility of agreeing unto any one besides him.

T.C lib. ii. p. 411.

Against the first distinction or difference, it is to be objected, *That to entitle a Magistrate Head of the Church, although it be under Christ, is absurd.* *For Christ hath a two-fold Superiority; over his Church,* and *over Kingdoms: according to the one, he hath a Superior, which is his Father; according to the other,* none, *but immediate authority with his Father; that is to say, of the Church he is Head and Governor only as the Son of Man; Head and Governor of Kingdoms only as the Son of God. In the Church, as Man, he hath Officers* under him, *which Officers are Ecclesiastical Persons.* As *for the Civil Magistrate, his office belongeth unto Kingdoms, and to Commonwealths, neither is he there an under or subordinate Head, considering that his Authority cometh from God, simply and immediately, even as our Saviour Christ's doth.* Whereunto the sum of our answer is, first, that as Christ being Lord or Head over all, doth by virtue of that Sovereignty rule all; so he hath no more a Superior in governing his Church, than in exercising sovereign dominion upon the rest of the World besides: secondly, that all authority, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, is subordinate unto him: and, thirdly, the Civil Magistrate being termed Head, by reason of that authority in Ecclesiastical affairs which hath been already declared that themselves do acknowledge to be lawful, it followeth, that he is a Head even subordinated of Christ, and to Christ. For more plain explication whereof, unto God we acknowledge daily, that Kingdom, Power, and Glory, are his; that he is the immortal and invisible King of Ages; as well the future which shall be, as the present which now is. That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all, he worketh not without, but by the

T.C. lib. ii. p. 418.

Son,

Son, who through co-eternal generation received of the Father that Power which the Father hath of himſelf. And for that cauſe our Saviour's words concerning his own Dominion are, *To me all Power both in Heaven and Earth is given.* The Father by the Son did create, and doth guide all; wherefore Chriſt hath Supreme Dominion over the whole univerſal World. Chriſt is God, Chriſt is Λόγος, the conſubſtantial Word of God, Chriſt is alſo that conſubſtantial Word which was made Man. As God, he ſaith of himſelf, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: He which was, and which is, and which is to come; even the very Omnipotent.* Apoc. i. 8. As the conſubſtantial Word of God, he hath with God, before the beginning of the World, that glory, which, as he was Man, he requireth to have; *Father, glorify thy Son with that glory which with thee he enjoyed before the World was.* John xvii. 5. Further, it is not neceſſary, that all things ſpoken of Chriſt ſhould agree to him either as God, or elſe as Man; but ſome things as he is the conſubſtantial Word of God, ſome things as he is that Word incarnate. The works of Supreme Dominion which have been ſince the firſt beginning wrought by the power of the Son of God, are now moſt properly and truly the works of the Son of Man: the Word made Fleſh doth ſit for ever, and reign as Sovereign Lord over all. Dominion belongeth unto the Kingly office of Chriſt, as Propitiation and Mediation unto his Prieſtly; Inſtruction, unto his Paſtoral and Prophetical office. His works of Dominion are, in ſundry degrees and kinds, according to the different conditions of them that are ſubject unto it: he preſently doth govern, and hereafter ſhall judge the World, intire and wholly; and therefore his Regal power cannot be with truth reſtrained unto a proportion of the World only. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as all do not ſhew and acknowledge, with dutiful ſubmiſſion, that obedience which they owe unto him; therefore ſuch as do,

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their Lord he is termed by way of excellency, no otherwise than the Apoſtle doth term God the Saviour generally of all, but eſpecially of the Faithful; theſe being brought to the obedience of Faith, are every where ſpoken of as Men tranſlated into that Kingdom, wherein whoſoever is comprehended, Chriſt is the Author of eternal Salvation unto them; they have a high and ghoſtly fellowſhip with God and Chriſt and Saints; or, as the Apoſtle in more ample manner ſpeaketh, *Aggregated they are unto Mount Sion, and to the City of the living God; the Celeſtial Jeruſalem, and to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the congregation of the Firſt-born, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of juſt and perfect Men, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the New Teſtament.* In a word, they are of that myſtical body, which we term the Church of Chriſt. As for the reſt, we account them *aliens from the Commonwealth of Iſrael, and that live in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, and that are in this preſent World without God.* Our Saviour's Dominion is therefore over theſe, as over Rebels; over them, as over dutiful and loving Subjects. Which things being in holy Scriptures ſo plain, I ſomewhat muſe at that ſtrange poſition, that Chriſt in the Government of his Church, and Superiority over the Officers of it, hath himſelf a Superior, which is the Father; but in governing of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, and in the Superiority which he hath over Kingdoms, no Superior.

Heb. xii. 22.

T. C. lib. ii. p. 418.

Again, *That the Civil Magiſtrate's authority cometh from God immediately, as Chriſt's doth, and is not ſubordinate unto Chriſt.* In what Evangeliſt, Apoſtle, or Prophet, is it found, that Chriſt (Supreme Governor of the Church) ſhould be ſo unequal to himſelf, as he is Supreme Governor of Kingdoms? The works of his Providence for the preſervation of Mankind by upholding Kingdoms, not only obedient unto, but alſo obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, are ſuch

such as proceed from Divine Power; and are not the works of his Providence for safety of God's Elect, by gathering, inspiring, comforting, and every way preserving his Church, such as proceed from the same Power likewise? Surely, if Christ, as God and Man, hath ordained certain means for the gathering and keeping of his Church, seeing this doth belong to the Government of that Church; it must in reason follow, I think, that as God and Man he worketh in Church Regiment; and consequently hath no more there any Superiors, than in the Government of the Commonwealth. Again, to *be in the midst of his, wheresoever they are assembled in his Name*, and to be *with them to the World's end*, are comforts which Christ doth perform to his Church as Lord and Governor; yea, such as he cannot perform but by that very power wherein he hath no Superior. Wherefore, unless it can be proved, that all the works of our Saviour's Government in the Church are done by the mere and only force of his Human nature, there is no remedy but to acknowledge it a manifest error that Christ in his Government of the World is equal to the Father, but not in the Government of the Church. Indeed, to the honour of this Dominion, it cannot be said, that God did exalt him otherwise than only according to that Human nature wherein he was made low. For, as the Son of God, there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him: and yet the Dominion whereunto he was in his Human nature lifted up, is not without Divine Power exercised. It is by Divine Power, that the Son of Man, who sitteth in Heaven, doth work as King and Lord upon us which are on Earth. The exercise of his Dominion over the Church Militant cannot choose but cease, when there is no longer any Militant Church in the World. And therefore, as Generals of Armies, when they have finished the work, are wont to yield up such commissions as were given for that pur-

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pose, and to remain in the state of Subjects, and not as Lords, as concerning their former authority; even so, when the end of all things is come, the Son of Man (who till then reigneth) shall do the like, as touching regiment over the Militant Church on the Earth. So that between the Son of Man and his Brethren, over whom he reigneth now in this their warfare, there shall be then, as touching the exercise of that regiment, no such difference; they not warfaring any longer under him, but he together with them, under God, receiving the joys of everlasting triumph, that so God may be all in all; all misery in all the Wicked, through his justice; in all the Righteous, through his love, all felicity and blis. In the mean while he reigneth over the World as King, and doth those things wherein none is superior unto him, whether we respect the works of his Providence and Kingdom, or of his Regiment over the Church. The cause of error in this point doth seem to have been a misconceit, that Christ, as Mediator, being inferior to his Father, doth, as Mediator, all works of Regiment over the Church; when, in truth, Regiment doth belong to his Kingly office, Mediatorship to his Priestly. For, as the High-Priest both offered Sacrifices for expiation of the People's sins, and entered into the holy place, there to make intercession for them; so, Christ having finished upon the cross that part of his Priestly office, which wrought the Propitiation for our sins, did afterwards enter into the very Heaven, and doth there, as Mediator of the New Testament, appear in the sight of God for us. A like sleight of judgment it is, when they hold, that Civil Authority is from God, but not immediately through Christ, nor with any subordination to Christ, nor doth any thing from God by the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. They deny it not, to be said of Christ in the Old Testament, *By me Princes rule, and the Nobles, and all the Judges of the Earth.* In the New

Heb. ix. 25.

Isai. vii. 25. Rom. xiii. 1.

as

as much is taught, *That Christ is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth.* Wherefore, to the end it may more plainly appear, how all authority of Man is derived from God through Christ, and must by Christian Men be acknowledged to be no otherwise held than of, and under him; we are to note, that, because whatsoever hath necessary being, the Son of God doth cause it to be, and those things without which the World cannot well continue, have necessary being in the World; a thing of so great use as Government cannot choose but be originally from him. Touching that Authority which Civil Magistrates have in Ecclesiastical affairs, it being from God by Christ, as all other good things are, cannot choose but be held as a thing received at his hands; and because such power is of necessity for the ordering of Religion, wherein the essence and very being of the Church consisteth, can no otherwise flow from him, than according to that special care which he hath to govern and guide his own People; it followeth, that the said Authority is of and under him after a more special manner, in that he is Head of the Church, and not in respect of his general Regency over the World. *All things* (saith the Apostle, speaking unto the Church) *are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Kings are Christ's as Saints, because they are of the Church, if not collectively, yet divisively understood. It is over each particular person within that Church where they are Kings: surely, Authority reaching both unto all Men's Persons, and to all kinds of causes also, it is not denied but that they may have and lawfully exercise it; such Authority it is, for which, and for no other in the world, we term them Heads; such Authority they have under Christ, because he in all things is Lord over all; and even of Christ it is that they have received such Authority, inasmuch as of him all lawful Powers are; therefore the Civil Magistrate is in regard of this Power, an under and subordinate Head of Christ's People.

Prov. viii. 15. Humble Motion, p. 63. Rev. i. 5.

1 Cor. iii. 12.

It

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T. C. l. ii. p. 413.

It is but idle where they ſpeak, *That although, for ſeveral Companies of Men, there may be ſeveral Heads or Governors, differing in the meaſure of their authority from the Chiefeſt, who is Head over all; yet it cannot be in the Church, for that the reaſon why Head-Magiſtrates appoint others for ſuch ſeveral places is, becauſe they cannot be preſent every where to perform the office of an Head. But Chriſt is never from his Body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not to ſubſtitute any, which may be Heads, ſome over one Church, and ſome over another.* Indeed the conſideration of Man's imbecility, which maketh many Heads neceſſary where the burthen is too great for one, moved Jethro to be a perſuader of Moſes, that a number of Heads or Rulers might be inſtituted for diſcharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he ſaw was troubleſome. Now although there be not in Chriſt any ſuch defect or weakneſs, yet other cauſes there be divers more than we are able to ſearch into, wherefore it might ſeem unto him expedient to divide his Kingdom into many Provinces, and place many Heads over it, that the power which each of them hath in particular with reſtraint, might illuſtrate the greatneſs of his unlimited authority. Beſides, howſoever Chriſt be ſpiritually always united unto every part of his Body, which is the Church, nevertheleſs, we do all know, and they themſelves who alledge this, will, I doubt not, confeſs alſo, that from every Church here viſible, Chriſt, touching viſible and corporal preſence, is removed as far as Heaven from the Earth is diſtant. Viſible Government is a thing neceſſary for the Church; and it doth not appear, how the exerciſe of viſible Government over ſuch Multitudes every where diſperſed throughout the World, ſhould conſiſt without ſundry viſible Governors; whoſe power being the greateſt in that kind, ſo far as it reacheth, they are in conſideration thereof termed ſo far Heads. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the perpetual conjunction, by virtue whereof our Saviour always remaineth ſpiritually united

united unto the parts of his Myſtical Body, Heads indeed with ſupreme power, extending to a certain compaſs, are for the exerciſe of a viſible Regiment not unneceſſary. Some other reaſons there are belonging unto this branch, which ſeem to have been objected, rather for the exerciſe of Men's wits in diſſolving ſophiſms, than that the Authors of them could think in likelihood thereby to ſtrengthen their cauſe. For example, *If the Magiſtrate be Head of the Church within his own dominion, then is he none of the Church: for all that are of the Church make the Body of Chriſt, and every one of the Church fulfilleth the place of one Member of the Body. By making the Magiſtrate therefore Head, we do exclude him from being a Member ſubject to the Head, and ſo leave him no place in the Church.* By which reaſon, the name of a Body Politick is ſuppoſed to be always taken of the inferior ſort alone, excluding the principal Guides and Governors, contrary to all Men's cuſtoms of ſpeech. The error ariſeth by miſconceiving of ſome Scripture-ſentences where Chriſt as the Head, and the Church as the Body, are compared or oppoſed the one to the other. And becauſe, in ſuch compariſons or oppoſitions, the Body is taken for thoſe only parts which are ſubject unto the Head, they imagine that whoſo is the Head of any Church, he is therefore even excluded from being a part of that Church; that the Magiſtrate can be none of the Church, if ſo we make him the Head of the Church in his own dominions; a chief and principal part of the Church therefore next this, is ſurely a ſtrange concluſion. A Church doth indeed make the Body of Chriſt, being wholly taken together; and every one in the ſame Church fulfilleth the place of a Member in the Body, but not the place of an inferior Member the which hath ſupreme authority and power over all the reſt. Wherefore, by making the Magiſtrate Head in his own dominions, we exclude him from being a Member ſubject unto any other Perſon which may viſibly there rule in a

T. C. l. p. 419. Ut Hen. 8. 6. 9.

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place of a Superior or Head over him; but so far are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the Church, that we do grant him the chief place. Indeed the Heads of those visible Bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferior in that spiritual Body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithstanding ought to be honoured, as possessing in order the highest rooms: but for the Magistrate to be termed, in his dominions, an Head, doth not bar him from being any way a Part or Member of the Church of God.

As little to the purpose are those other cavils: *A Church which hath the Magistrate for Head, is perfect Man without Christ.* So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto should be an addition of that which is too much. Again, *If the Church be the Body of Christ, and of the Civil Magistrate, it shall have two Heads, which being monstrous, is to the great dishonour of Christ and his Church.* Thirdly, *If the Church be planted in a popular estate, then, forasmuch as all govern in common, and all have authority, all shall be Heads there, and no Body at all, which is another monster.* It might be feared what this birth of so many monsters together might portend, but that we know how things, natural enough in themselves, may seem monstrous, through misconceit; which error of mind is indeed a monster: and the skilful in Nature's mysteries have used to term it the womb of monsters; if any be, it is that troubled understanding, wherein, because things lie confusedly mixt together, what they are it appeareth not. A Church perfect without Christ, I know not how a man shall imagine; unless there may be either Christianity without Christ, or else a Church without Christianity. If Magistrates be Heads of the Church, they are of necessity Christians, then is their Head Christ. The adding of Christ universal Head over all, unto Magistrates' particular Headship, is no more superfluous in any Church than in other Societies; each is to be both severally sub-

ject

ject unto ſome Head, and to have a Head alſo general for them all to be ſubject unto. For ſo in Armies, in Civil Corporations, we ſee it fareth. A Body Politick, in ſuch reſpects, is not like a Natural Body; in this, more Heads than one is ſuperfluous; in that not. It is neither monſtrous, nor yet uncomely, for a Church to have different Heads: for if Chriſtian Churches be in number many, and every of them a perfect Body by itſelf, Chriſt being Lord and Head over all; why ſhould we judge it a thing more monſtrous for one Body to have two Heads, than one Head ſo many Bodies? him that God hath made the Supreme Head of the whole Church; the Head, not only of that Myſtical Body which the eye of Man is not able to diſcern, but even of every Chriſtian Politick Society, of every viſible Church in the World? And whereas, laſtly, it is thought ſo ſtrange, that in popular ſtates a Multitude to itſelf ſhould be both Body and Head, all this wonderment doth grow from a little over-ſight, in deeming that the ſubject wherein Headſhip ought to reſide, ſhould be evermore ſome one Perſon; which thing is not neceſſary. For in the collective Body that have not derived as yet the principality of power into ſome one or few, the whole of neceſſity muſt be Head over each part; otherwiſe it could not have power poſſibly to make any one certain Perſon Head; inaſmuch as the very power of making a Head belongeth unto Headſhip. Theſe ſuppoſed Monſters we ſee therefore are no ſuch Giants, as that there ſhould need any Hercules to tame them.

The laſt difference which we have between the Title of Head when we give it unto Chriſt, and when we give it to other Governors, is, that the kind of Dominion which it importeth is not the ſame in both. Chriſt is Head, as being the fountain of life and ghoſtly nutriment, the well-ſpring of ſpiritual bleſſings poured into the Body of the Church; they

Heads,

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Heads, as being the principal instruments for the Church's outward Government; he Head, as Founder of the house; they, as his chiefest Overseers. Against this is exception especially taken, and our purveyors are herein said to have their provision from the Popish shambles: for by Pighius and Harding, to prove that Christ alone is not Head of the Church, this distinction, they say, is brought, that according to the inward influence of grace, Christ only is Head; but according to the outward Government, the being Head is a thing common to him with others. To raise up falshoods of old condemned, and bring it for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which already hath sufficiently been proved an error, and is worthily so taken, this would justly deserve censuring. But shall manifest truth therefore be reproached, because Men convicted of some things of manifest untruth have at any time thought or alledged it? If too much eagerness against their Adversaries had not made them forget themselves, they might remember, where being charged as maintainers of those very things, for which others before them have been condemned of Heresy, yet, lest the name of any such Heretick holding the same which they do, should make them odious, they stick not frankly to confess,

T. C. l. iii. p. 168. *That they are not afraid to consent in some points, with Jews and Turks.* Which defence, for all that, were a very weak buckler for such as should consent with Jews and Turks in that which they have been abhorred and hated for in the Church. But as for this distinction of Headship, Spiritual and Mystical, of Jesus Christ, ministerial and outward in others besides Christ; what cause is there to mislike either Harding, or Pighius, or any other besides for it? That which they have been reproved for, is, not because they did therein utter an untruth, but such a truth as was not sufficient to bear up the cause which they did thereby seek to maintain. By this distinction, they have both truly and sufficiently proved that the name of Head

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importing power and dominion over the Church might be given to others beſides Chriſt, without prejudice to any part of his honour. That which they ſhould have made manifeſt was, the name of Head importing the power of univerſal dominion over the whole Church of Chriſt Militant, doth, and that by divine right, appertain to the Pope of Rome. They did prove it lawful to grant unto others beſides Chriſt, the power of Headſhip in a different kind from his; but they ſhould have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the Biſhop of Rome, a power univerſal in that different kind. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully ſo great a power as they challenged in that kind, and not in making two kinds of Power, unleſs ſome reaſons can be ſhewed for which this diſtinction of Power ſhould be thought erroneous and falſe. A little they ſtir (although in vain) to prove that we cannot with truth make ſuch diſtinction of Power, whereof the one kind ſhould agree unto Chriſt only, and the other be further communicated. Thus therefore they argue, *If there be no Head but Chriſt, in reſpect of Spiritual Government, there is no Head but he in reſpect of the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline adminiſtered by thoſe whom he hath appointed, for as much alſo as it is his Spiritual Government.* Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kinds of Power, of which two, the one being ſpiritual, is proper unto Chriſt; the other, Men are capable of, becauſe it is viſible and external; we do amiſs altogether in diſtinguiſhing, they think; for as much as the viſible and external power of Regiment over the Church, is only in relation unto the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline, adminiſtered by ſuch as Chriſt hath appointed thereunto, and the exerciſe of this power is alſo his Spiritual Government: therefore we do but vainly imagine a viſible and external Power in the Church differing from his Spiritual Power. Such diſputes as this do ſomewhat reſemble the practiſing of well-willers upon their friends in the pangs

T. C. l. ii. p. 415.

pangs of death; whoſe manner is, even then, to put ſmoak in their noſtrils, and ſo to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impoſſible to keep them living. The kind of affection which the Favourers of this labouring cauſe bear towards it will not ſuffer them to ſee it die, although by what means they ſhould make it live, they do not ſee. But they may ſee that theſe wreſtlings will not help. Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcaſt ſo clear a light with ſome miſt of ambiguity in the name of Spiritual Regiment? To make things therefore ſo plain, that henceforward a Child's capacity may ſerve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the Spiritual Regiment of Chriſt to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in things ſpiritual. Of this general we make two diſtinct kinds; the one inviſible, exerciſed by Chriſt himſelf in his own perſon; the other outwardly adminiſtered by them whom Chriſt doth allow to be Rulers and Guiders of his Church. Touching the former of theſe two kinds, we teach that Chriſt, in regard thereof, is particularly termed the Head of the Church of God; neither can any other creature, in that ſenſe and meaning, be termed Head beſides him; becauſe it importeth the conduct and government of our ſouls by the hand of that bleſſed Spirit wherewith we are ſealed and marked, as being peculiarly his. Him only therefore do we acknowledge to be the Lord, which dwelleth, liveth, and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that Head which giveth ſalvation and life unto his Body; him only to be that fountain from whence the influence of heavenly graces diſtilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the Word, or the Sacraments, or Diſcipline, or whatſoever be the means whereby it floweth. As for the power of adminiſtering theſe things in the Church of Chriſt, which power we call the power of Order, it is indeed both ſpiritual and his; ſpiritual, becauſe ſuch properly concerns the Spirit; his, becauſe by him it was inſtituted.

ſtituted. Howbeit, neither Spiritual, as that which is inwardly and inviſibly exerciſed; nor his, as that which he himſelf in perſon doth exerciſe. Again, that power of Dominion, which is indeed the point of this controverſy, and doth alſo belong to this ſecond kind of ſpiritual Government, namely, unto that Regiment which is external and viſible; this likewiſe being ſpiritual in regard of the matter about which it dealeth; and being his, in as much as he approveth whatſoever is done by it, muſt notwithſtanding be diſtinguiſhed alſo from that Power whereby he himſelf in perſon adminiſtereth the former kind of his own Spiritual Regiment, becauſe he himſelf in perſon doth not adminiſter this; we do not therefore vainly imagine, but truly and rightly diſcern a Power external and viſible in the Church exerciſed by Men, and ſevered in nature from that ſpiritual Power of Chriſt's own regiment: which Power is termed ſpiritual, becauſe it worketh ſecretly, inwardly, and inviſibly: his, becauſe none doth, nor can it perſonnally exerciſe, either beſides or together with him; ſeeing that him only we may name our Head, in regard of his Power; and yet, in regard of that other Power from this, term others alſo beſides him, Heads, without any contradiction at all. Which thing may very well ſerve for anſwer unto that alſo which they further alledge againſt the aforeſaid diſtinction, namely, *That even the outward Societies and aſſemblies of the Church where one or two are gathered together in his name, either for hearing of the Word, or for Prayer, or any other Church exerciſe, our Saviour Chriſt being in the midſt of them as Mediator, muſt be their Head: and if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a Head fully, it followeth, that even in the outward Societies and Meetings of the Church, no mere Man can be called the Head of it, ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt doing the whole office of the Head himſelf alone, leaveth nothing to Men, by doing whereof they may obtain that title.* Which objection I take as being made for nothing but only to

T. C. l. ii. p. 415.

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maintain argument. For they are not ſo far gone as to argue this in ſooth and right good earneſt. *God ſtandeth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *in the midſt of gods*; if God be there preſent, he muſt undoubtedly be preſent as God; if he be not there idle, but doing the office of a God fully, it followeth, that God himſelf alone doing the whole office of a God, leaveth nothing in ſuch aſſemblies to any other, by doing whereof they may obtain ſo high a name. The Pſalmiſt therefore hath ſpoken amiſs, and doth ill to call Judges, Gods. Not ſo; for as God hath his office differing from theirs, and doth fully diſcharge it even in the midſt of them, ſo they are not hereby excluded from all kind of duty, for which that name ſhould be given unto them alſo, but in that duty for which it was given them they are encouraged religiouſly and carefully to order themſelves after the ſelf-ſame manner. Our Lord and Saviour being in the midſt of his Church as Head, is our comfort, without the abridgment of any one duty, for performance whereof others are termed Heads in another kind than he is. If there be of the ancient Fathers, which ſay, *That there is but one Head of the Church, Chriſt; and that the Miniſter that baptizeth cannot be the Head of him that is baptized, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Church: and that Paul could not be Head of the Church which he planted, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Body*; they underſtand the name of Head in ſuch ſort as we grant that it is not applicable to any other, no not in relation to the leaſt part of the whole Church; he which baptizeth, baptizeth into Chriſt; he which converteth, converteth into Chriſt; he which ruleth, ruleth for Chriſt. The whole Church can have but one to be Head as Lord and Owner of all; wherefore, if Chriſt be Head in that kind, it followeth, that no other beſides can be ſo either to the whole or to any part.

T.C. lib. iii. p. 413.

To

To call and dissolve all solemn Assemblies about the publick affairs of the Church.

AMongst sundry prerogatives of Simon's dominion over the Jews there is reckoned, as not the least, *That no Man might gather any great Assembly in the Land without him.* For so the manner of Jewish Regiment had always been, that whether the cause for which Men assembled themselves in peaceable, good, and orderly sort were Ecclesiastical, or Civil, Supreme Authority should assemble them. David gathered all Israel together unto Jerusalem; when the Ark was to be removed, he assembled the Sons of Aaron and the Levites. Solomon did the like at such time as the Temple was to be dedicated; when the Church was to be reformed, Asa in his time did the same: the same upon like occasions was done afterwards by Joash, Hezekias, Josiah, and others.

The Consuls of Rome Polybius affirmeth to have had a kind of regal authority, in that they might call together the Senate and People whensoever it pleased them. Seeing therefore the affairs of the Church and Christian Religion are publick affairs, for the ordering whereof more solemn Assemblies sometimes are of as great importance and use, as they are for secular affairs; it seemeth no less an act of Supreme Authority to call the one, than the other. Wherefore the Clergy, in such wise gathered together, is an Ecclesiastical Senate, which with us, as in former times, the chiefest Prelate at his discretion did use to assemble; so that afterwards in such considerations as have been before specified, it seemed more meet to annex the said prerogative to the Crown. The Plot of Reformed Discipline not liking thereof so well, taketh order that every former Assembly before it breaketh up should itself appoint both the time and place of their after-meeting again.

Polyb. l. vi. de milit. ac domest. Rom. Discipl.

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But becauſe I find not any thing on that ſide particularly alledged againſt us herein, a longer diſputation about ſo plain a cauſe ſhall not need. The ancient Imperial Law forbiddeth ſuch Aſſemblies as the Emperor's authority did not cauſe to be made. Before Emperors became Chriſtians, the Church had never any general Synod; their greateſt meeting conſiſting of Biſhops and other the graveſt in each Province. As for the Civil Governor's authority, it ſuffered them only as things not regarded, or not accounted of at ſuch times as it did ſuffer them. So that what right a Chriſtian King hath as touching Aſſemblies of that kind, we are not able to judge till we come to later times, when Religion had won the hearts of the higheſt Powers. Conſtantine (as Pighius doth grant) was not only the firſt that ever did call any general Council together, but even the firſt that deviſed the calling of them for conſultation about the buſineſſes of God. After he had once given the example, his Succeſſors a long time followed the ſame; inſomuch that St. Jerome, to diſprove the authority of a Synod which was pretended to be general, uſeth this as a forcible argument, *Dic, quis Imperator hanc Synodum juſſerit convocari?* Their anſwer hereunto is no anſwer, which ſay, *That the Emperors did not this without conference had with the Biſhops*: for to our purpoſe it is enough, if the Clergy alone did it not otherwiſe than by the leave and appointment of their Sovereign Lords and Kings. Whereas therefore it is on the contrary ſide alledged, that Valentinian the elder being requeſted by Catholick Biſhops to grant that there might be a Synod for the ordering of matters called in queſtion by the Arians, anſwered, that he being one of the Laity might not meddle with ſuch matters; and thereupon willed, that the Prieſts and Biſhops to whom the care of thoſe things belongeth, ſhould meet and conſult together by themſelves where they thought good; we muſt, with the Emperor's ſpeech, weigh the occaſion

Lib. i. de Col. illicit. et de conventiculis, car. de Epiſc. et Preſbyt.

Hierarch. lib. vi. c. 1.

Conſtant. concil. a Theodoſio. Sardicen. concil. a Conſtant.

Hieron. cont. Ruffinum, lib. ii.

Sozomen. l. vi. cap. 7. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 32.

caſion and drift thereof. Valentinian and Valens, the one a Catholick, the other an Arian, were Emperors together: Valens, the Governor of the Eaſt; and Valentinian of the Weſt Empire. Valentinian therefore taking his journey from the eaſt unto the weſt parts, and paſſing for that intent through Thracia, there the Biſhops which held the ſoundneſs of Chriſtian belief, becauſe they knew that Valens was their profeſſed enemy, and therefore if the other was once departed out of thoſe quarters, the Catholick cauſe was like to find very ſmall favour, moved preſently Valentinian about a Council to be aſſembled under the countenance of his authority; who by likelihood conſidering what inconvenience might grow thereby, inaſmuch as it could not be but a means to incenſe Valens the more againſt them, refuſed himſelf to be author of, or preſent at any ſuch Aſſembly; and of this his denial gave them a colourable reaſon, to wit, that he was, although an Emperor, yet a ſecular perſon, and therefore not able in matters of ſo great obſcurity to ſit as competent judge; but if they which were Biſhops and learned Men, did think good to conſult thereof together, they might. Whereupon, when they could not obtain that which they moſt deſired, yet that which he granted unto them they took and forthwith had a Council. Valentinian went on towards Rome, they remaining in conſultation till Valens which accompanied him returned back; ſo that now there was no remedy, but either to incur a manifeſt contempt, or elſe at the hands of Valens himſelf to ſeek approbation of that they had done. To him therefore they became ſuitors; his anſwer was ſhort; *Either Arianiſm, or exile, which they would*; whereupon their baniſhment enſued. Let reaſonable Men now therefore be judges, how much this example of Valentinian doth make againſt the authority, which we ſay that Sovereign Rulers may lawfully have as conncerning Synods and Meetings Eccleſiaſtical.

BOOK. VIII.

Of the authority of making Laws.

THERE are which wonder that we ſhould account any Statute a Law, which the High Court of Parliament in England hath eſtabliſhed about the matters of Church-Regiment; the Prince and Court of Parliament having (as they ſuppoſe) no more lawful means to give order to the Church and Clergy in thoſe things, than they have to make Laws for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven; that the Parliament being a mere Temporal Court, can neither by the Law of Nature, nor of God, have competent power to define of ſuch matters: that Supremacy in this kind cannot belong unto Kings, as Kings, becauſe Pagan Emperors, whoſe princely power was true ſovereignty, never challenged ſo much over the Church; that power, in this kind, cannot be the right of any earthly Crown, Prince, or State, in that they be Chriſtians, foraſmuch as if they be Chriſtians, they all owe ſubjection to the Paſtors of their Souls; that the Prince therefore not having it himſelf, cannot communicate it to the Parliament, and conſequently cannot make Laws here, or determine of the Church's regiment by himſelf, Parliament, or any other Court ſubjected unto him.

The Parliament of England, together with the Convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very eſſence of all government within this Kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole Realm; it conſiſteth of the King, and of all that within the Land are ſubject unto him. The Parliament is a Court, not ſo merely Temporal as if it might meddle with nothing but only leather and wool. Thoſe days of Queen Mary are not yet forgotten, wherein the Realm did ſubmit itſelf unto the Legate of Pope Julius, at which time, had they been perſuaded, as this Man ſeemeth now to be, had they

they thought that there is no more force in Laws made by Parliament concerning Church affairs, than if Men ſhould take upon them to make orders for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven, they might have taken all former Statutes of that kind as cancelled, and, by reaſon of nullity, abrogated. What need was there that they ſhould bargain with the Cardinal, and purchaſe their pardon by promiſe made beforehand, that what Laws they had made, aſſented unto, or executed, againſt the Biſhop of Rome's Supremacy, the ſame they would, in that preſent Parliament effectually abrogate and repeal? Had they power to repeal Laws made, and none to make Laws concerning the regiment of the Church? Again, when they had by ſuit obtained his confirmation for ſuch foundations of Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, Hoſpitals, Colleges, and Schools; for ſuch Marriages before made, for ſuch Inſtitutions into Livings Eccleſiaſtical, and for all ſuch judicial proceſſes, as having been ordered according to the Laws before in force, but contrary unto the Canons and Orders of the Church of Rome, were in that reſpect thought defective, although the Cardinal in his Letters of Diſpenſation did give validity unto thoſe acts, even *Apoſtolicæ firmitatis robur*, the very ſtrength of Apoſtolical ſolidity; what had all theſe been without thoſe grave authentical words? *Be it enacted by the authority of this preſent Parliament, that all and ſingular articles and clauſes contained in the ſaid Diſpenſation, ſhall remain and be reputed and taken to all intents and conſtructions in the Laws of this Realm, lawful, good, and effectual, to be alledged and pleaded in all Courts Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, for good and ſufficient matter either for the Plaintiff or Defendant, without any allegation or objection to be made againſt the validity of them, by pretence of any general Council, Canon, or Decree to the contrary.* Somewhat belike they thought there was in this mere Temporal Court, without which the Pope's own mere Eccleſiaſtical

An. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

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Legate's Diſpenſation had taken ſmall effect in the Church of England; neither did they, or the Cardinal imagine any thing committed againſt the Law of Nature, or of God, becauſe they took order for the Church's affairs, and that even in the Court of Parliament. The moſt natural and religious courſe in making Laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wiſeſt in thoſe things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to ſet down a form of Prayer, a ſolemn confeſſion of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and Ceremonies meet for the exerciſe of Religion; it were unnatural not to think the Paſtors and Biſhops of our Souls a great deal more fit, than Men of ſecular trades and callings: howbeit, when all which the wiſdom of all ſorts can do, is done for the deviſing of Laws in the Church, it is the general conſent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of Laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counſel of Phyſicians to the ſick. Well might they ſeem as wholeſome admonitions and inſtructions; but Laws could they never be, without the conſent of the whole Church, to be guided by them; whereunto both Nature and the practice of the Church of God ſet down in Scripture, is found every way ſo fully conſonant, that God himſelf would not impoſe his own Laws upon the People by the hand of Moſes, without their free and open conſent. Wherefore, to define and determine, even of the Church's affairs by way of aſſent and approbation, as Laws are defined in that right of power, which doth give them the force of Laws; thus to define of our own Church's regiment, the Parliament of England hath competent authority.

Touching that Supremacy of Power which our Kings have in the caſe of making Laws, it reſteth principally in the ſtrength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that, without which they were Kings but by a mere title

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and not in exerciſe of dominion. Be it in Regiment Popular, Ariſtocratical, or Regal, Principality reſteth in that Perſon, or thoſe Perſons unto whom is given right of excluding any kind of Law whatſoever it be before eſtabliſhment. This doth belong unto Kings as Kings; Pagan Emperors, even Nero himſelf had no leſs, but much more than this, in the Laws of his own Empire. That he challenged not any intereſt of giving voice in the Laws of the Church, I hope no Man will ſo conſtrue, as if the cauſe were conſcience and fear to encroach upon the Apoſtles' right. If then it be demanded, by what right from Conſtantine downward, the Chriſtian Emperors did ſo far intermeddle with the Church's affairs, either we muſt herein condemn them, as being over preſumptuouſly bold, or elſe judge that, by a Law, which is termed *Regia*, that is to ſay, regal, the People having derived unto their Emperors their whole power for making of Laws, and by that means his Edicts being made Laws,* what matter ſoever they did concern, as imperial dignity endowed them with competent authority and power to make Laws for Religion, ſo they were thought by Chriſtianity to uſe their power, being Chriſtians, unto the benefit of the Church of Chriſt. Was there any Chriſtian Biſhop in the World which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful ſubjection which Chriſtians do owe to the Paſtors of their Souls? to whom, in reſpect of their ſacred order, it is not by us, neither may be denied, that Kings and Princes are as much as the very meaneſt that liveth under them, bound in conſcience to ſhew themſelves gladly and willingly obedient; receiving the ſeals of Salvation, the bleſſed Sacraments at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all reverence, not diſdaining to be taught and admoniſhed by them, nor

* Item quod Principi placuit, Legis habet vigorem. Inſt. de J. N. G. et C.

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with-holding from them as much as the leaſt part of their due and decent honour. All which, for any thing that hath been alledged, may ſtand very well without reſignation of Supremacy of Power in making Laws, even Laws concerning the moſt ſpiritual affairs of the Church; which Laws being made amongſt us, are not by any of us ſo taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power which the Prince doth communicate unto the Parliament, or unto any other Court under him, but from power which the whole Body of the Realm being naturally poſſeſſed with, hath by free and deliberate aſſent derived unto him that ruleth over them, ſo far forth as hath been declared. So that our Laws made concerning Religion, do take originally their eſſence from the power of the whole Realm and Church of England, than which, nothing can be more conſonant unto the law of Nature and the will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

T. C. lib. i. p. 92.

To let theſe go, and return to our own Men; *Eccleſiaſtical Governors*, they ſay, *may not meddle with making of Civil Laws, and of Laws for the Commonwealth; nor the Civil Magiſtrate, high or low, with making of Orders for the Church.* It ſeemeth unto me very ſtrange, that theſe Men, which are in no cauſe more vehement and fierce than where they plead, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons may not κυριεύειν, be Lords, ſhould hold that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which thing of all other is moſt proper unto dominion, belongeth to none but Eccleſiaſtical Perſons only. Their overſight groweth herein for want of exact obſervation, what it is to make a Law. Tully, ſpeaking of the Law of Nature, ſaith, *That thereof God himſelf was* Inventor, Diſceptator, Lator, *the Deviſer, the Diſcuſſer, and Deliverer:* wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefeſt parts which then did appertain to his publick action. For when Laws were made, the firſt thing was to have them deviſed; the ſecond to ſift them with as much

much exactneſs of judgment as any way might be uſed; the next by ſolemn voice of Sovereign Authority to paſs them, and give them the force of Laws. It cannot in any reaſon ſeem otherwiſe than moſt fit, that unto Eccleſiaſtical Perſons the care of deviſing Eccleſiaſtical Laws be committed, even as the care of Civil unto them which are in thoſe affairs moſt ſkilful. This taketh not away from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons all right of giving voice with others, when Civil Laws are propoſed for regiment of the Commonwealth, whereof themſelves, though now the World would have them annihilated, are notwithſtanding as yet a part; much leſs doth it cut off that part of the power of Princes, whereby, as they claim, ſo we know no reaſonable cauſe wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to Almighty God, ſo much authority in making all manner of Laws within their own dominions, that neither Civil nor Eccleſiaſtical do paſs without their royal aſſent.

In deviſing and diſcuſſing of Laws, Wiſdom eſpecially is required; but that which eſtabliſheth them and maketh them, is Power, even Power of Dominion; the chiefty whereof (amongſt us) reſteth in the perſon of the King. Is there any Law of Chriſt's which forbiddeth Kings and Rulers of the Earth to have ſuch ſovereign and ſupreme Power in the making of Laws either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical? If there be, our controverſy hath an end. Chriſt, in his Church, hath not appointed any ſuch Law concerning temporal Power, as God did of old unto the Commonwealth of Iſrael; but leaving that to be at the World's free choice, his chiefeſt care is, that the ſpiritual Law of the Goſpel might be publiſhed far and wide. They that received the Law of Chriſt, were, for a long time, People ſcattered in ſundry Kingdoms, Chriſtianity not exempting them from the Laws which they had been ſubject unto, ſaving only in ſuch caſes as thoſe Laws did enjoin that which the Religion of Chriſt did forbid. Hereupon grew their

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their manifold perſecutions throughout all places where they lived; as oft as it thus came to paſs, there was no poſſibility that the Emperors and Kings under whom they lived, ſhould meddle any whit at all with making Laws for the Church. From Chriſt, therefore, having received power, who doubteth, but as they did, ſo they might bind them to ſuch Orders as ſeemed fitteſt for the maintenance of their Religion, without the leave of high or low in the Commonwealth; foraſmuch as in Religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it? But when the mightieſt began to like of the Chriſtian Faith; by their means, whole free States and Kingdoms became obedient unto Chriſt. Now the queſtion is, whether Kings, by embracing Chriſtianity, do thereby receive any ſuch Law as taketh from them the weightieſt part of that Sovereignty which they had even when they were Heathens? whether, being Infideis, they might do more in cauſes of Religion, than now they can by the Laws of God, being true Believers? For, whereas in Regal States, the King, or Supreme Head of the Commonwealth, had before Chriſtianity a ſupreme ſtroke in making of Laws for Religion; he muſt by embracing Chriſtian Religion utterly deprive himſelf thereof, and in ſuch cauſes become ſubject unto his Subjects, having even within his own dominions them whoſe commandment he muſt obey; unleſs his power be placed in the hand of ſome foreign ſpiritual Potentate: ſo that either a foreign or domeſtick Commander upon earth, he muſt admit more now, than before he had, and that in the chiefeſt things whereupon Commonwealths do ſtand. But apparent it is unto all Men which are not ſtrangers unto the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, that no State of the World receiving Chriſtianity, is by any Law therein contained bound to reſign the power which they lawfully held before: but over what perſons, and in what cauſes ſoever the ſame hath been in force, it may

may ſo remain and continue ſtill. That which, as Kings, they might do in matters of Religion, and did in matter of falſe Religion, being idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Kings, the ſame they are now even in every reſpect fully authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the ſtate of true Chriſtian Religion. And, concerning the ſupreme Power of making Laws for all Perſons, in all cauſes to be guided by, it is not to be let paſs, that the head Enemies of this Head-ſhip are conſtrained to acknowledge the King endued even with this very Power, ſo that he may and ought to exerciſe the ſame, taking order for the Church and her affairs, of what nature or kind ſoever, in caſe of neceſſity: as when there is no lawful Miniſtry, which they interpret then to be (and this ſurely is a point very remarkable) whereſoever the Miniſtry is wicked. A wicked Miniſtry is no lawful Miniſtry; and in ſuch ſort no lawful Miniſtry, that what doth belong unto them as Miniſters by right of their calling, the ſame is annihilated in reſpect of their bad qualities; their wickedneſs is itſelf a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the Church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other Society, the Members whereof have been before ſo peremptorily for ever excluded from power of dealing with affairs of the Church. They which once have learned throughly this leſſon, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For if the wickedneſs of the Miniſtry transfers their right unto the King, in caſe the King be as wicked as they, to whom then ſhall the right deſcend? There is no remedy, all muſt come by devolution at length, even as the Family of Brown will have it, unto the Godly among the People, for confuſion unto the wiſe and the great by the poor and the ſimple; ſome Kniperdoling, with his Retinue, muſt take this work of the Lord in hand; and the making of Church Laws and Orders muſt prove to be their right in the end. If not for love of the truth, yet

T. C. I. 3. p. 51.

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yet for ſhame of groſs abſurdities, let theſe contentions and trifling fancies be abandoned. The cauſe which moved them for a time to hold a wicked Miniſtry no lawful Miniſtry; and in this defect of a lawful Miniſtry, authorized Kings to make Laws and Orders for the affairs of the Church, till it were well eſtabliſhed, is ſurely this: firſt, they ſee that whereas the continual dealing of the Kings of Iſrael in the affairs of the Church doth make now very ſtrong againſt them, the burthen hereof they ſhall in time well enough ſhake off, if it may be obtained, that it is indeed lawful for Kings to follow theſe holy examples; howbeit no longer than during the caſe of neceſſity, while the wickedneſs, and, in reſpect thereof, the unlawfulneſs of the Miniſtry doth continue. Secondly, they perceive right well, that unleſs they ſhould yield authority unto Kings in caſe of ſuch ſuppoſed neceſſity, the Diſcipline they urge were clean excluded as long as the Clergy of England doth thereunto remain oppoſite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no reaſon but the tenet muſt be this: that now when the Miniſtry of England is univerſally wicked, and in that reſpect hath loſt all authority and is become no lawful Miniſtry, no ſuch Miniſtry as hath the right, which otherwiſe ſhould belong unto them if they were virtuous and godly, as their Adverſaries are; in this neceſſity the King may do ſomewhat for the Church: that which we do imply in the name of Headſhip, he may both have and exerciſe till they be entered which will diſburthen and eaſe him of it: till they come, the King is licenſed to hold that power which we call Headſhip. But what afterwards? In a Church ordered that which the ſupreme Magiſtrate hath to do, is to ſee that the Laws of God touching his worſhip, and touching all matters and orders of the Church, be executed and duly obſerved; to ſee that every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon do that office whereunto he is appointed, to puniſh thoſe that fail in their office. In a word, that which Allen himſelf acknow-

T. C. l. i. p. 192.

acknowledged, unto the earthly power which God hath given him it doth belong to defend the Laws of the Church, to cauſe them to be executed, and to puniſh Rebels and Tranſgreſſors of the ſame; on all ſides therefore it is confeſt, that to the King belongeth power of maintaining the Laws made for Church Regiment, and of cauſing them to be obſerved; but principality of power in making them, which is the thing we attribute unto Kings, this both the one ſort and the other do withſtand. Apol. 1. fol. 40. pag. 2.

Power to command all Perſons, and to be over all Judges in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Touching the King's ſupereminent authority in commanding, and in judging of cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; firſt, to explain therein our meaning, it hath been taken as if we did hold, that Kings may preſcribe what themſelves think good to be done in the ſervice of God: how the Word ſhall be taught, how the Sacraments adminiſtered; that Kings may perſonally ſit in the Conſiſtory where the Biſhops do, hearing and determining what cauſes ſoever do appertain unto the Church; that Kings and Queens, in their own proper perſons, are by judicial ſentence to decide the queſtions which do ariſe about matters of Faith and Chriſtian Religion; that Kings may excommunicate; finally, that Kings may do whatſoever is incident unto the office and duty of an Eccleſiaſtical Judge. Which opinion, becauſe we account as abſurd, as they who have fathered the ſame upon us, we do them to wit, that this is our meaning and no otherwiſe: there is not within this Realm an Eccleſiaſtical Officer, that may, by the authority of his own place, command univerſally throughout the King's dominions: but they of this People whom one may command, are to another's commandment unſubject. Only the King's royal power is of ſo large compaſs, that no man commanded by him according to the order of Law can plead himſelf to be without the bounds and limits of that authority; I ſay, according to order of Law, becauſe with us the higheſt have thereunto ſo tied themſelves, that otherwiſe than ſo, they take not upon them

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them to command any. And, that Kings ſhould be in ſuch ſort ſupreme Commanders over all Men we hold it requiſite, as well for the ordering of Spiritual as Civil affairs; inaſmuch as without univerſal authority in this kind, they ſhould not be able, when need is, to do as virtuous Kings have done. *Joſiah, purpoſing to renew the Houſe of the Lord, aſſembled the Prieſts and Levites; and when they were together, gave them their charge, ſaying: Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather of Iſrael money to repair the Houſe of the Lord from year to year, and haſte the things: but the Levites haſtened not. Therefore the King commanded Jehoida, the Chief Prieſt, and ſaid unto him; Why haſt thou not required of the Levites, to bring in out of Judah and Jeruſalem, the tax of Moſes, the Servant of the Lord, and of the Congregation of Iſrael, for the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony? For wicked Athaliah and her Children brake up the Houſe of the Lord God, and all the things that were dedicated for the Houſe of the Lord, did they beſtow upon Baalim. Therefore the King commanded, and they made a cheſt, and ſet it at the gate of the Houſe of the Lord without, and they made a proclamation through Judah and Jeruſalem, to bring unto the Lord, the tax of Moſes the Servant of the Lord, laid upon Iſrael in the wilderneſs.* Could either he have done this, or after him Ezekias the like concerning the celebration of the Paſſover, but that all ſorts of Men in all things did owe unto theſe their ſovereign Rulers the ſame obedience which ſometimes Joſhua had them by vow and promiſe bound unto? *Whoſoever ſhall rebel againſt thy commandments, and will not obey thy words in all thou commandeſt him, let him be put to death; only be ſtrong and of a good courage.* Furthermore, Judgment Eccleſiaſtical we ſay is neceſſary for deciſion of controverſies riſing between Man and Man, and for correction of faults committed in the affairs of God: unto the due execution whereof there are three things neceſſary, Laws, Judges, and ſupreme Governors of Judgments. What Courts there ſhall

2 Chron. xxiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

2 Chron. vi. 30, 6.

Joſ. i. 18.

ſhall be, and what cauſes ſhall belong unto each Court, and what Judges ſhall determine of every cauſe, and what order in all Judgments ſhall be kept; of theſe things the Laws have ſufficiently diſpoſed, ſo that his duty who ſitteth in any ſuch Court, is to judge, not of, but after the ſame Law; *Impri-mis illud obſervare debet Judex, ne aliter judicet quam legibus, conſtitutionibus, aut moribus proditum eſt, ut Imperator Juſtinianus*; which Laws (for we mean the poſitive Laws of our Realm concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs) if they otherwiſe diſpoſe of any ſuch thing, than according to the Law of Reaſon, and of God, we muſt both acknowledge them to be amiſs, and endeavour to have them reformed: but touching that point, what may be objected ſhall after appear. Our Judges in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, are either ordinary, or commiſſionary; ordinary, thoſe whom we term Ordinaries; and ſuch, by the Laws of this Land, are none but Prelates only, whoſe power to do that which they do, is in themſelves, and belonging to the nature of their Eccleſiaſtical calling. In Spiritual cauſes, a Lay-Perſon may be no Ordinary; a Commiſſionary Judge there is no lett but that he may be; and that our Laws do evermore refer the ordinary judgment of Spiritual Cauſes unto Spiritual Perſons, ſuch as are termed Ordinaries, no Man which knoweth any thing of the practice of this Realm can eaſily be ignorant. Now, beſides them which are authorized to judge in ſeveral Territories, there is required an univerſal power which reacheth over all, imparting ſupreme Authority of Government over all Courts, all Judges, all Cauſes; the operation of which power is as well to ſtrengthen, maintain, and uphold particular juriſdictions, which haply might elſe be of ſmall effect; as alſo to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redreſs that wherein they at any time do otherwiſe than they ought to do. This power being ſometime in the Biſhop of Rome,

Juſt. de offic. jud.

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who by ſiniſter practices had drawn it into his hands, was for juſt conſiderations by publick conſent annexed unto the King's Royal Seat and Crown; from thence the Authors of Reformation would tranſlate it into their National Aſſemblies or Synods; which Synods are the only helps which they think lawful to uſe againſt ſuch evils in the Church, as particular juriſdictions are not ſufficient to redreſs. In which caſe, our Laws have provided, that the King's ſupereminent authority and power ſhall ſerve: as, namely, when the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, or the principal Perſons therein, do need viſitation and reformation; when in any part of the Church errors, ſchiſms, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, enormities, are grown; which Men in their ſeveral juriſdictions either do not, or cannot help. Whatſoever any ſpiritual authority and power (ſuch as Legates from the See of Rome did ſometimes exerciſe) hath done or might heretofore have done for the remedies of thoſe evils in lawful ſort (that is to ſay, without the violation of the Laws of God or Nature in the deed done), as much in every degree our Laws have fully granted that the King for ever may do, not only by ſetting Eccleſiaſtical Synods on work, that the thing may be their act and the King their motioner unto it, for ſo much perhaps the Maſters of the Reformation will grant; but by Commiſſioners few or many, who having the King's Letters Patent, may in the virtue thereof execute the premiſes as agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his ſupereminent power. When Men are wronged by inferior Judges, or have any juſt cauſe to take exception againſt them; their way for redreſs is to make their appeal; an appeal is a preſent delivery of him which maketh it out of the hands of their power and juriſdiction from whence it is made. Pope Alexander having ſometimes the King of England at advantage, cauſed him, amongſt other things, to agree, that as many

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

many of his Subjects as would, might have appeal to the Court of Rome. *And thus* (saith one) *that whereunto a mean Person at this day would scorn to submit himself, so great a King was content to be subject to. Notwithstanding, even when the Pope* (saith he) *had so great authority amongst Princes which were far off, the Romans he could not frame to obedience, nor was able to obtain that himself might abide at Rome, though promising not to meddle with other than Ecclesiastical affairs.* So much are things that terrify more feared by such as behold them aloof off than at hand. Reformers I doubt not in some causes will admit appeals, but appeals made to their Synods; even as the Church of Rome doth allow of them so they be made to the Bishop of Rome. As for that kind of appeal which the English Laws do approve from the Judge of any certain particular Court unto the King, as the only supreme Governor on earth, who by his Delegates may give a final definitive sentence, from which no farther appeal can be made; will their platform allow of this? Surely, forasmuch as in that estate which they all dream of, the whole Church must be divided into Parishes, in which none can have greater or less authority and power than another; again, the King himself must be but a common member in the body of his own Parish, and the causes of that only Parish, must be by the Officers thereof determinable; in case the King had so much favour or preferment, as to be made one of those Officers (for otherwise by their positions he were not to meddle any more than the meanest amongst his Subjects with the judgment of any Ecclesiastical cause) how is it possible they should allow of appeals to be made from any other abroad to the King? To receive appeals from all other Judges, belongeth to the highest in power of all, and to be in power over all (as touching judgment in Ecclesiastical causes), this, as they think, belongeth only to Synods. Whereas therefore, with us Kings do

Machiavel. Hist. Florent. lib. i.

25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

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exercise over all things, persons, and causes supreme power, both of voluntary and litigious jurisdictions; so that according to the one, they incite, reform, and command; according to the other, they judge universally, doing both in far other sort than such as have ordinary spiritual power; oppugned we are herein by some colourable shew of argument, as if to grant thus much to any Secular Person it were unreasonable: *For sith it is* (say they) *apparent out of the Chronicles, that judgment in Church-matters pertaineth to God; seeing likewise it is evident out of the Apostles, that the High-Priest is set over those matters in God's behalf; It must needs follow, that the principality or direction of the judgment of them is, by God's Ordinance, appertaining to the High-Priest, and consequently to the Ministry of the Church: and if it be by God's Ordinance appertaining unto them, how can it be translated from them to the Civil Magistrate?* Which argument, briefly drawn into form, lieth thus: that which belongeth unto God, may not be translated unto any other but whom he hath appointed to have it in his behalf; but principality of judgment in Church-matters appertaineth unto God, which hath appointed the High-Priest, and consequently the Ministry of the Church alone, to have it in his behalf; *ergo*, it may not from them be translated to the Civil Magistrate. The first of which propositions we grant, as also in the second that branch which ascribeth unto God principality in Church-matters. But, that either he did appoint none but only the High-Priest to exercise the said principality for him; or that the Ministry of the Church may in reason from thence be concluded to have alone the same principality by his appointment, these two points we deny utterly. For, concerning the High-Priest, there is, first, no such Ordinance of God to be found; *Every High-Priest* (saith the Apostle) *is taken from amongst Men, and is ordained for Men in things pertaining to God*; whereupon it may well be gathered, that the Priest

T. C. l. iii. p. 154.

2 Chron. xxvi. 18.

Heb. v. 1.

was

was indeed ordained of God to have power in things appertaining unto God. For the Apoſtle doth there mention the power of offering gifts and ſacrifices for ſin; which kind of power was not only given of God unto Prieſts, but reſtrained unto Prieſts only. The power of juridiction and ruling authority, this alſo God gave them, but not them alone. For it is held, as all Men know, that others of the Laity were herein joined by the Law with them. But, concerning Principality in Church-affairs (for of this our queſtion is, and of no other), the Prieſt neither had it alone, nor at all, but in Spiritual or Church-affairs (as hath been already ſhewed) it was the royal prerogative of Kings only. Again, though it were ſo, that God had appointed the High-Prieſt to have the ſaid principality of government in thoſe matters; yet how can they who alledge this, enforce thereby, that conſequently the Miniſtry of the Church, and no other, ought to have the ſame, when they are ſo far off from allowing ſo much to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, as the Prieſthood of the Law had by God's appointment, that we but collecting thereout a difference in authority and juriſdiction amongſt the Clergy, to be for the Polity of the Church not inconvenient, they forthwith think to cloſe up our mouths by anſwering, *That the Jewiſh High-Prieſts had authority above the reſt, only in that they prefigured the ſovereignty of Jeſus Chriſt; as for the Miniſters of the Goſpel, it is altogether unlawful to give them as much as the leaſt title, any ſyllable whereof may ſound to principality?* And of the regency which may be granted, they hold others even of the Laity no leſs capable than the Paſtors themſelves. How ſhall theſe things cleave together? The truth is, that they have ſome reaſon to think it not at all of the fitteſt for Kings to ſit as ordinary Judges in matters of Faith and Religion. An ordinary Judge muſt be of the quality which in a ſupreme Judge is not neceſſary: becauſe the perſon of the one is charged with that which the other authority diſchargeth,

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without employing perſonally himſelf therein. It is an error to think, that the King's authority can have no force nor power in the doing of that which himſelf may not perſonally do. For firſt, impoſſible it is that at one and the ſame time, the King in perſon ſhould order ſo many, and ſo different affairs, as by his own power every where preſent are wont to be ordered both in peace and war, at home and abroad. Again, the King, in regard of his nonage or minority, may be unable to perform that thing wherein years of diſcretion are requiſite for perſonal action; and yet his authority even then be of force. For which cauſe we ſay, that the King's authority dieth not, but is, and worketh always alike. Sundry conſiderations there may be effectual to withhold the King's perſon from being a doer of that which notwithſtanding his power muſt give force unto, even in Civil affairs; where nothing doth more either concern the duty, or better beſeem the majeſty of Kings, than perſonally to adminiſter juſtice to their People (as moſt famous Princes have done); yet if it be in caſe of felony or treaſon, the Learned in the Law of this Realm do affirm, that well may the King commit his authority to another to judge between him and the Offender; but the King being himſelf there a party, he cannot perſonally ſit to give judgment.

Stamf. Pleas of the Crown, l. ii. c. 3.

As therefore the perſon of the King may, for juſt conſiderations, even where the cauſe is Civil, be notwithſtanding withdrawn from occupying the ſeat of judgment, and others under his authority be fit, he unfit himſelf to judge; ſo the conſiderations for which it were haply not convenient for Kings to ſit and give ſentence in Spiritual Courts, where cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are uſually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacy which their ſovereign power hath over thoſe very Conſiſtories, and for which we hold, without any exception, that all Courts are the King's. All Men are not for all things ſufficient, and therefore publick affairs being divided, ſuch

Perſons

Perſons muſt be authorized Judges in each kind, as common Reaſon may preſume to be moſt fit. Which cannot of Kings and Princes ordinarily be preſumed in cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtical; ſo that even common ſenſe doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other Men. We ſee it hereby a thing neceſſary, to put a difference, as well between that ordinary Juriſdiction which belongeth unto the Clergy alone, and that commiſſionary wherein others are for juſt conſiderations appointed to join with them; as alſo between both theſe Juriſdictions, and a third, whereby the King hath tranſcendent authority, and that in all cauſes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him there is no reaſon. A time there was when Kings were not capable of any ſuch power, as, namely, when they profeſſed themſelves open enemies unto Chriſt and Chriſtianity. A time there followed, when they, being capable, took ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs to themſelves, as ſeemed beſt in their own eyes, becauſe no certainty, touching their right, was as yet determined. The Biſhops, who alone were before accuſtomed to have the ordering of ſuch affairs, ſaw very juſt cauſe of grief, when the higheſt, favouring Hereſy, withſtood, by the ſtrength of ſovereign authority, religious proceedings. Whereupon they oftentimes, againſt this unreſiſtible power, pleaded the uſe and cuſtom which had been to the contrary; namely, that the affairs of the Church ſhould be dealt in by the Clergy, and by no other; unto which purpoſe, the ſentences that then were uttered in defence of unaboliſhed Orders and Laws, againſt ſuch as did of their own heads contrary thereunto, are now altogether impertinently brought in oppoſition againſt them, who uſe but that power which Laws have given them, unleſs Men can ſhew that there is in thoſe Laws ſome manifeſt iniquity or injuſtice. Whereas therefore againſt the force judicial and imperial, which ſupreme Authority hath, it is alledged, how Conſtan-

T. C. l. iii. p. 155.

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tine termeth Church-Officers, *Overſeers of things within the Church*; himſelf, *of thoſe without the Church*: how Auguſtine witneſſeth, that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Biſhop's cauſe, committed it to the Biſhops; and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the Donatiſts importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs; how Hilary beſeecheth the Emperor Conſtance to provide that the Governors of his Provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the judgment of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, to whom only Commonwealth matters belonged; how Ambroſe affirmeth, that Palaces belong unto the Emperor, Churches to the Miniſtry; that the Emperor hath the authority over the common walls of the city, and not in holy things; for which cauſe he never would yield to have the cauſes of the Church debated in the Prince's Conſiſtories, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor Valentinian, for that being convented to anſwer concerning Church-matters in a Civil Court, he came not: we may by theſe teſtimonies drawn from antiquity, if we liſt to conſider them, diſcern how requiſite it is that authority ſhould always follow received Laws in the manner of proceeding. For, inaſmuch as there was at the firſt no certain Law determining what force the principal Civil Magiſtrate's authority ſhould be of, how far it ſhould reach, and what order it ſhould obſerve; but Chriſtian Emperors from time to time did what themſelves thought moſt reaſonable in thoſe affairs; by this means it cometh to paſs that they in their practice vary, and are not uniform. Virtuous Emperors, ſuch as Conſtantine the Great was, made conſcience to ſwerve unneceſſarily from the cuſtom which had been uſed in the Church, even when it lived under Infidels; Conſtantine, of reverence to Biſhops and their Spiritual Authority, rather abſtained from that which himſelf might lawfully do, than was willing to claim a power not fit or decent

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. iv. Ep. 162, 166.

Lib. ii. ep. 13.

decent for him to exerciſe. The order which hath been before, he ratifieth, exhorting the Biſhops to look to the Church, and promiſing that he would do the office of a Biſhop over the Commonwealth; which very Conſtantine, notwithſtanding, did not thereby ſo renounce all authority in judging of ſpecial cauſes, but that ſometime he took, as St. Auguſtine witneſſeth, even perſonal cognition of them; howbeit, whether as purpoſing to give therein judicially any ſentence, I ſtand in doubt. For if the other, of whom St. Auguſtine elſewhere ſpeaketh, did in ſuch ſort judge, ſurely there was cauſe why he ſhould excuſe it as a thing not uſually done. Otherwiſe there is no lett, but that any ſuch great Perſon may hear thoſe cauſes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which ſide himſelf doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of ſentence bindeth no ſide to ſtand thereunto; it is a ſentence of private perſuaſion, and not of ſolemn Juriſdiction, albeit a King, or an Emperor pronounce it. Again, on the contrary part, when Governors infected with Hereſy were poſſeſſed of the higheſt power, they thought they might uſe it as pleaſed themſelves to further by all means that opinion which they deſired ſhould prevail: they not reſpecting at all what was meet, preſumed to command and judge all Men in all cauſes, without either care of orderly proceeding, or regard to ſuch Laws and Cuſtoms as the Church had been wont to obſerve. So that the one ſort feared to do even that which they might; and that which the other ought not, they boldly preſumed upon; the one ſort of modeſty excuſed themſelves where they ſcarce needed; the other, though doing that which is inexcuſable, bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any Man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds was between them whom before we mentioned, and ſuch as the younger Valentinian, by whom St. Ambroſe being commanded to yield up one of the Churches under him unto the Arians,

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Arians, whereas they which were ſent on this meſſage alledged, that the Emperor did but uſe his own right, foraſmuch as all things were in his power; the anſwer which the holy Biſhop gave them was, *That the Church is the Houſe of God, and that thoſe things that are God's are not to be yielded up, and diſpoſed of at the Emperor's will and pleaſure; his Palaces he might grant to whomſoever he pleaſeth, but God's own Habitation not ſo.* A cauſe why many times Emperors do more by their abſolute authority than could very well ſtand with reaſon, was the over-great importunity of wicked Hereticks, who being enemies to peace and quietneſs, cannot otherwiſe than by violent means be ſupported.

In this reſpect therefore we muſt needs think the ſtate of our own Church much better ſettled than theirs was; becauſe our Laws have with far more certainty preſcribed bounds unto each kind of Power. All deciſion of things doubtful and correction of things amiſs are proceeded in by order of Law, what Perſon ſoever he be unto whom the adminiſtration of judgment belongeth. It is neither permitted unto Prelates nor Prince to judge and determine at their own diſcretion, but Law hath preſcribed what both ſhall do. What power the King hath, he hath it by Law, the bounds and limits of it are known; the intire Community giveth general order by Law, how all things publickly are to be done, and the King, as the Head thereof, the higheſt in authority over all, cauſeth, according to the ſame Law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole Body Politick maketh Laws, which Laws give power unto the King; and the King having bound himſelf to uſe according unto Law that power, it ſo falleth out, that the execution of the one is accompliſhed by the other in moſt religious and peaceable ſort. There is no cauſe given unto any to make ſupplication, as Hilary did, that Civil Governors, to whom Commonwealth matters only belong, may not preſume to take upon them the judgment of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. If the cauſe be Spiritual, Secular Courts do not meddle

with

with it; we need not excuſe ourſelves with Ambroſe, but boldly and lawfully we may refuſe to anſwer before any Civil Judge in a matter which is not Civil, ſo that we do not miſtake either the nature of the cauſe or of the Court, as we eaſily may do both, without ſome better direction than can be by the rules of this new-found Diſcipline. But of this moſt certain we are, that our Laws do neither ſuffer a * Spiritual Court to entertain thoſe cauſes which by the Law are Civil; nor yet, if the matter be indeed Spiritual, a mere Civil Court to give judgment of it. Touching ſupreme Power therefore to command all Men, and in all manner of cauſes of judgment to be higheſt, let thus much ſuffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

The cauſe is not like when ſuch Aſſemblies are gathered together by ſupreme Authority concerning other affairs of the Church, and when they meet about the making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws or Statutes. For in the one they are only to adviſe, in the other to decree. The Perſons which are of the one, the King doth voluntarily aſſemble, as being in reſpect of quality fit to conſult withal; them which are of the other he calleth by preſcript of Law, as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themſelves, and their ſentence hath but the weight of their own judgment; the other repreſent the whole Clergy,

* See the Statute of Edw. I. and Edw. II. and Nat. Brev. touching Prohibition. See alſo in Bracton theſe Sentences, l. v. c. 2. Eſt Juriſdictio ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium, et Forum Eccleſiaſticum, ſicut in cauſis Spiritualibus et Spiritualitati annexis. Eſt etiam alia Juriſdictio ordinaria vel delegata, quæ pertinet ad coronam, et dignitatem Regis, et ad Regnum in cauſis et placitis rerum temporalium in foro ſeculari. Again, Cum diverſæ ſint hinc inde juriſdictiones, et diverſi judices, et diverſæ cauſæ, debet quilibet ipſorum imprimis æſtimare, an ſua ſit juriſdictio, ne falcem videatur ponere in meſſem alienam. Again, Non pertinet ad Regem injungere pœnitentias, nec ad judicem ſecularem, nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoſcere de iis quæ ſunt Spiritualibus annexa, ſicut de decimis et aliis Eccleſiæ proventionibus. Again, Non eſt Laicus conveniendus coram Judice Eccleſiaſtico de aliquo quod in foro ſeculari terminari poſſit et debeat.

and

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and their voices are as much as if all did give personal verdict. Now the question is, whether the Clergy alone so assembled ought to have the whole power of making Ecclesiastical Laws, or else consent of the Laity may thereunto be made necessary, and the King's assent so necessary that his sole denial may be of force to stay them from being Laws.

What Laws may be made for the affairs of the Church, and to whom the power of making them appertaineth.

If they with whom we dispute were uniform, strong and constant in that which they say, we should not need to trouble ourselves about their persons, to whom the power of making Laws for the Church belongs. For they are sometime very vehement in contention, that from the greatest thing unto the least about the Church, all must needs be immediately from God. And to this they apply the pattern of the ancient Tabernacle which God delivered unto Moses, and was therein so exact, that there was not left as much as the least pin for the wit of Man to devise in the framing of it. To this they also apply that streight and severe charge which God so often gave concerning his own Law, *Whatsoever I command you, take heed ye do it; thou shalt put nothing thereto, thou shalt take nothing from it*; nothing, whether it be great or small. Yet sometimes bethinking themselves better, they speak as acknowledging that it doth suffice to have received in such sort the principal things from God, and that for other matters the Church had sufficient authority to make Laws. Whereupon they now have made it a question, what Persons they are whose right it is to take order for the Church's affairs, when the institution of any new thing therein is requisite? Law may be requisite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or else touching that which is to be done by the Church of God. The Law of Nature, and the Law of God are sufficient for declaration in both what belongeth unto each Man separately, as his Soul is the Spouse of Christ; yea, so sufficient that they plainly and fully shew whatsoever God doth require by way of necessary introduction unto the state of everlasting bliss. But as a Man liveth

Deut iv. 2. and xii. 32. Josh. i. 7.

Thom. 1. 2. quæs. 108. art. 2.

liveth joined with others in common ſociety, and belongeth to the outward Politick Body of the Church, albeit the ſame Law of Nature and Scripture hath in this reſpect alſo made manifeſt the things that are of greateſt neceſſity; nevertheleſs, by reaſon of new occaſions ſtill ariſing, which the Church, having care of Souls, muſt take order for as need requireth, hereby it cometh to paſs, that there is, and ever will be, ſo great uſe even of Human Laws and Ordinances, deducted by way of diſcourſe as a concluſion from the former Divine and Natural, ſerving as principles thereunto. No Man doubteth, but that for matters of action and practice in the affairs of God, for manner in Divine Service, for order in Eccleſiaſtical proceedings about the Regiment of the Church, there may be oftentimes cauſe very urgent to have Laws made: but the reaſon is not ſo plain, wherefore Human Laws ſhould appoint Men what to believe. Wherefore in this we muſt note two things. 1. That in matters of opinion, the Law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matter of action it cauſeth that to be a duty which was not before; but manifeſteth only and giveth Men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. 2. That opinions do cleave to the underſtanding and are in heart aſſented unto, it is not in the power of any human Law to command them, becauſe to preſcribe what Men ſhall think belongeth only unto God: *Corde creditur, ore fit confeſſio*, ſaith the Apoſtle. As opinions are either fit or inconvenient to be profeſſed, ſo Man's Laws have to determine of them. It may for publick unity's ſake require Men's profeſſed aſſent, or prohibit their contradiction to ſpecial Articles, wherein, as there haply hath been controverſy what is true, ſo the ſame were like to continue ſtill, not without grievous detriment unto a number of Souls, except Law, to remedy that evil, ſhould ſet down a certainty which no Man afterwards

is

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is to gainsay. Wherefore, as in regard of Divine Laws which the Church receiveth from God, we may unto every Man apply those words of Wisdom in Solomon, *My Son, keep thou thy Father's Precepts; Conserva, Fili mi, Præcepta Patris tui:* even so concerning the Statutes and Ordinances which the Church itself makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow, *Et ne dimittas Legem Matris tuæ; And forsake thou not thy Mother's Law.*

Prov. vi.

It is a thing even undoubtedly natural, that all free and independent Societies should themselves make their own Laws, and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a Politick Body, though haply some one part may have greater sway in that action than the rest; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all Laws, we see no cause why to think otherwise in Laws concerning the Service of God, which in all well ordered States and Commonwealths is the * first thing that Law hath care to provide for. When we speak of the right which naturally belongeth to a Commonwealth, we speak of that which must needs belong to the Church of God. For if the Commonwealth be Christian, if the People which are of it do publickly embrace the true Religion, this very thing doth make it the Church, as hath been shewed. So that unless the verity and purity of Religion do take from them which embrace it that power wherewith otherwise they are possessed, look what authority, as touching Laws for Religion, a

* Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ Θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ ἢ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα· τὰ γὰρ μικρὰ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀκολουθεῖν προσήκει. Archit. de leg. et instit. That is, It behoveth the Law first to establish or settle those things which belong to the Gods, and Divine Powers, and to our Parents, and universally those things which be virtuous and honourable: in the second place, those things that be convenient and profitable; for it is fit, that matters of the less weight should come after the greater.

Commonwealth

Commonwealth hath ſimply, it muſt of neceſſity retain the ſame, being of the Chriſtian Religion.

It will be therefore perhaps alledged, that a part of the verity of Chriſtian Religion is to hold the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws a *thing* appropriated unto the Clergy in their Synods; and whatſoever is by their only voices agreed upon, it needeth no further approbation to give unto it the ſtrength of a Law, as may plainly appear by the Canons of that firſt moſt venerable Aſſembly: where, thoſe things the Apoſtles and James had concluded, were afterwards publiſhed and impoſed upon the Churches of the Gentiles abroad as Laws, the records thereof remaining ſtill in the Book of God for a teſtimony, that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws belongeth to the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church of God. Acts xv. 7, 13, 23.

To this we anſwer, that the Council of Jeruſalem is no argument for the power of the Clergy to make Laws. For firſt, there has not been ſithence any Council of like authority to that in Jeruſalem: ſecondly, the cauſe why that was of ſuch authority, came by a ſpecial accident: thirdly, the reaſon why other Councils being not like unto that in nature, the Clergy in them ſhould have no power to make Laws by themſelves alone, is in truth ſo forcible, that except ſome commandment of God to the contrary can be ſhewed, it ought notwithſtanding the aforeſaid example to prevail.

The Decrees of the Council of Jeruſalem were not as the Canons of other Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, Human, but very Divine Ordinances: for which cauſe the Churches were far and wide commanded every where to ſee them kept, no otherwiſe than if Chriſt himſelf had perſonally on earth been the Author of them. The cauſe why that Council was of ſo great authority and credit above all others which have been ſithence, is expreſſed in thoſe words of principal obſervation, *Unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us it* Acts xv. 28.

hath

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hath ſeemed good: which form of ſpeech, though other Councils have likewiſe uſed, yet neither could they themſelves mean, nor may we ſo underſtand them, as if both were in equal ſort aſſiſted with the power of the Holy Ghoſt; but the latter had the favour of that general aſſiſtance and preſence which Chriſt doth promiſe unto all his, according to the quality of their ſeveral eſtates and callings; the former, the grace of ſpecial, miraculous, rare and extraordinary illumination, in relation whereunto the Apoſtle comparing the Old Teſtament and the New together, termeth the one a Teſtament of the Letter, for that God delivered it written in ſtone; the other a Teſtament of the Spirit, becauſe God imprinted it in the hearts, and declared it by the tongues of his choſen Apoſtles through the power of the Holy Ghoſt, framing both their conceits and ſpeeches in moſt divine and incomprehenſible manner. Wherefore, inaſmuch as the Council of Jeruſalem did chance to conſiſt of Men ſo enlightened, it had authority greater than were meet for any other Council beſides to challenge, wherein ſuch kind of Perſons are, as now the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand; Kings being not then that which now they are, and the Clergy not now that which then they were. Till it be proved that ſome ſpecial Law of Chriſt hath for ever annexed unto the Clergy alone the power to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, we are to hold it a thing moſt conſonant with equity and reaſon, that no Eccleſiaſtical Laws be made in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, without conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, but leaſt of all without conſent of the higheſt Power.

Mat. xxviii. v. ult.

2 Cor. iii.

Cap. delicta de exceſſ. Prælator L. per fundum Ruſticor. præd. et ſect. Religioſum de rerum diviſ.

For of this thing no Man doubteth, namely, that in all Societies, Companies, and Corporations, what ſeverally each ſhall be bound unto, it muſt be with all their aſſents ratified. Againſt all equity it were, that a Man ſhould ſuffer detriment at the hands of Men for not obſerving that which he never did either by himſelf or by others, mediately or immediately

agree

agree unto; much more that a King ſhould conſtrain all others to the ſtrict obſervation of any ſuch Human Ordinance as paſſeth without his own approbation. In this caſe therefore eſpecially, that vulgar axiom is of force, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet.* Whereupon Pope Nicholas, although otherwiſe not admitting Lay-Perſons, no not Emperors themſelves, to be preſent at Synods, doth notwithſtanding ſeem to allow of their preſence, when matters of Faith are determined whereunto all Men muſt ſtand bound: *Ubinam legiſtis Imperatores anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus Conventibus interfuiſſe; niſi forſitan in quibus de Fide tractatum eſt, quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos et omnes pertinet Chriſtianos?* A Law, be it Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, is a publick obligation, wherein, ſeeing that the whole ſtandeth charged, no reaſon it ſhould paſs without his privity and will, whom principally the whole doth depend upon. *Sicut Laici juriſdictionem Clericorum perturbare, ita Clerici juriſdictionem Laicorum non debent minuere*, ſaith Innocentius, *Extra de judic. novit. As the Laity ſhould not hinder the Clergy's juriſdiction, ſo neither is it reaſon that the Laity's right ſhould be abridged by the Clergy*, ſaith Pope Innocent. But were it ſo that the Clergy alone might give Laws unto all the reſt, foraſmuch as every Eſtate doth deſire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, is it not eaſy to ſee how injurious this might prove to Men of other conditions? Peace and juſtice are maintained by preſerving unto every Order their right, and by keeping all Eſtates, as it were, in an even balance. Which thing is no way better done, than if the King, their common Parent, whoſe care is preſumed to extend moſt indifferently over all, do bear the chiefeſt ſway in making Laws which all muſt be ordered by. Wherefore of them which in this point attribute moſt to the Clergy, I would demand, what evidence there is whereby it may clearly be ſhewed

Gloſſ. dict xcvi. c. ubinam.

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that in ancient Kingdoms Christian, any Canon devised by the Clergy alone in their Synods, whether Provincial, National, or General, hath, by mere force of their agreement, taken place as a Law, making all Men constrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the King, before or afterwards required in that behalf? But what speak we of ancient Kingdoms, when at this day, even the Papacy itself, the very Tridental Council hath not every where as yet obtained to have in all points the strength of Ecclesiastical Laws. Did not Philip King of Spain, publishing that Council in the Low Countries, add thereunto an express clause of special provision, that the same should in no wise prejudice, hurt, or diminish any kind of privilege which the King or his Vassals afore-time had enjoyed, touching either possessory judgments of Ecclesiastical Livings, or concerning nominations thereunto, or belonging to whatsoever right they had else in such affairs? If therefore the King's exception, taken against some part of the Canons contained in that Council, were a sufficient bar to make them of none effect within his Territories; it follows that the like exception against any other part had been also of like efficacy; and so consequently that no part thereof had obtained the strength of a Law, if he which excepted against a part, had so done against the whole. As, what reason was there, but that the same authority which limited, might quite and clean have refused that Council? Whoso alloweth the said act of the Catholick King's for good and lawful, must grant that the Canons, even of General Councils, have but the face of wise Men's opinions concerning that whereof they treat, till they be publickly assented unto, where they are to take place as Laws; and that, in giving such publick assent as maketh a Christian Kingdom subject unto those Laws, the King's Authority is the chiefest. That which an University of Men, a Company, a Corporation, doth without

Boet. Epon. heroic. quæst. lib. i. sect. 284.

without consent of their Rector is as nothing. Except therefore we make the King's Authority over the Clergy less in the greatest things, than the power of the meanest Governor is in all things over the College, or Society which is under him; how should we think it a matter decent, that the Clergy should impose Laws, the Supreme Governor's assent not asked?

Yea, that which is more, the Laws thus made, God himself doth in such sort authorize, that to despise them, is to despise in them, him. It is a loose and licentious opinion, which the Anabaptists have embraced, holding that a Christian Man's liberty is lost, and the Soul which Christ hath redeemed unto himself injuriously drawn into servitude under the yoke of Human Power, if any Law be now imposed besides the Gospel of Christ; in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the constraint of Men, is to lead us, according to that of the blessed Apostle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, and not such as live in thraldom* unto Men. Their judgment is therefore, that the Church of Christ should admit of no Lawmakers, but the Evangelists, no Courts but Presbyteries, no Punishments but Ecclesiastical Censures. Against this sort, we are to maintain the use of Human Laws, and the continual necessity of making them from time to time, as long as this present World doth last; so likewise the authority of Laws so made doth need much more by us to be strengthened against another sort; who, although they do not utterly condemn the making of Laws in the Church, yet make they a deal less account of them than they should do. There are which think simply of Human Laws, that they can in no sort touch the Conscience; that to break and transgress them cannot make Men in the sight of God culpable, as sin doth; only when we violate such Laws, we do there-

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by make ourſelves obnoxious unto external puniſhment in this World, ſo that the Magiſtrate may, in regard of ſuch offence committed, juſtly correct the Offender, and cauſe him, without injury, to endure ſuch pains as Law doth appoint, but further it reacheth not. For firſt, the Conſcience is the proper Court of God, the guiltineſs thereof is Sin, and the puniſhment eternal Death; Men are not able to make any Law that ſhall command the heart, it is not in them to make inward conceit a crime, or to appoint for any crime other puniſhment than corporal; their Laws therefore can have no power over the Soul, neither can the heart of Man be polluted by tranſgreſſing them. St. Auſtin rightly defineth Sin to be that which is ſpoken, done, or deſired, not againſt any Laws, but againſt the Laws of the living God. The Law of God is propoſed unto Man, as a glaſs wherein to behold the ſtains and the ſpots of their ſinful ſouls: by it they are to judge themſelves, and when they feel themſelves to have tranſgreſſed againſt it, then to bewail their offences with David, *Againſt thee only, O Lord, have I ſinned, and done wickedly in thy ſight*; that ſo our preſent tears may extinguiſh the flames, which otherwiſe we are to feel, and which God in that day ſhall condemn the Wicked unto, when they ſhall render account of the evil which they have done, not by violating Statute-Laws and Canons, but by diſobedience unto his Law and his Word.

For our better inſtruction therefore concerning this point, firſt we muſt note, that the Law of God itſelf doth require at our hands, ſubjection. *Be ye ſubject*, ſaith St. Peter; and St. Paul, *Let every Soul be ſubject; ſubject all unto ſuch Powers as are ſet over us.* For if ſuch as are not ſet over us require our ſubjection, we by denying it are not diſobedient to the Law of God, or undutiful unto higher Powers; becauſe, though they be ſuch in regard of them over whom

whom they have lawful dominion, yet having not ſo over us, unto us they are not ſuch.* Subjection therefore we owe, and that by the Law of God; we are in conſcience bound to yield it even unto every of them that hold the ſeats of Authority and Power in relation unto us. Howbeit, not all kinds of ſubjection unto every ſuch kind of Power. Concerning Scribes and Phariſees, our Saviour's Precept was, *Whatſoever they ſhall tell ye, do it:* was it his meaning, that if they ſhould at any time enjoin the People to levy an army, or to ſell their lands and goods for the furtherance of ſo great an enterprize; and, in a word, that ſimply whatſoever it were which they did command, they ought, without any exception, forthwith to be obeyed? No, but whatſoever they ſhall tell you, muſt be underſtood *in pertinentibus ad Cathedram*, it muſt be conſtrued with limitation, and reſtrained unto things of that kind which did belong to their place and power. For they had not power general, abſolutely given them to command all things. The reaſon why we are bound in conſcience to be ſubject unto all ſuch Power, is, becauſe *all Powers are of God.*

They are of God either inſtituting or permitting them. Power is then of Divine inſtitution, when either God himſelf doth deliver, or Men by light of Nature find out the kind thereof. So that the power of Parents over Children, and of Huſbands over their Wives, the power of all ſorts of Superiors, made by conſent of Commonwealths within themſelves, or grown from agreement amongſt Nations, ſuch Power is of God's own inſtitution in reſpect of the kind thereof. Again, if reſpect be had unto

* Verum ac proprium civis a peregrino diſcrimen eſt, quod alter imperio ac poteſtate civili obligatur, alter juſſa Principis alieni reſpuere poteſt. Illum Princeps ab hoſtium æque ac civium injuria tueri tenetur, hunc non item niſi rogatus et humanitatis officiis impulſus, ſaith Bodin de Rep. lib. i. c. 6. non multum a fine p. 61. Edit. Lugd. B. in fol. 1586.

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those particular Persons to whom the same is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as Moses and Aaron did; or from Nature, as Parents do; or from Men by a natural and orderly course, as every Governor appointed in any Commonwealth, by the order thereof, doth; then is not the kind of their Power only of God's instituting, but the derivation thereof also into their persons, is from him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his Ministers; subjection therefore is due unto all such Powers, in as much as they are of God's own institution, even then when they are of Man's creation, *Omni Humanæ Creaturæ*: which things the Heathens themselves do acknowledge.

Σκηπτοῦχ' ὃτε Βασιλεὺς ὧτε Ζεὺς κῦδ' ἔδωκεν.*

As for them that exercise power altogether against order, although the kind of power which they have may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by permission, as all injustice is.

Touching such acts as are done by that power which is according to his institution, that God in like sort doth authorize them, and account them to be his; though it were not confessed, it might be proved undeniably. For if that be accounted our deed, which others do, whom we have appointed to be our agents, how should God but approve those deeds, even as his own, which are done by virtue of that commission and power which he hath given. *Take heed* (saith Jehosaphat unto his Judges), *be careful and circumspect what ye do; ye do not execute the judgments of Man, but of the Lord.* The authority of Cæsar over the Jews, from whence was it? Had it any other ground than the law of Nations, which

2 Chron. xix. 6.

* Hom. Il. lib. i. A Sceptre-swaying King, to whom even Jupiter himself hath given honour and commandment.

maketh

maketh Kingdoms, ſubdued by juſt war, to be ſubject unto their Conquerors? By this power Cæſar exacting tribute, our Saviour confeſſeth it to be his right, a right which could not be withheld without injury, yea, diſobedience herein unto him, and even rebellion againſt God. Uſurpers of power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aſpired unto places of higheſt authority, but them that uſe more authority than they did ever receive in form and manner before-mentioned; (for ſo they may do, whoſe title to the rooms of authority which they poſſeſs, no Man can deny to be juſt and lawful: even as contrariwiſe ſome Men's proceedings in Government have been very orderly, who notwithſtanding did not attain to be made Governors without great violence and diſorder) ſuch Uſurpers thereof, as in the exerciſe of their power do more than they have been authorized to do, cannot in conſcience bind any Man unto obedience.

That ſubjection which we owe unto lawful Powers, doth not only import that we ſhould be under them by order of our ſtate, but that we ſhew all ſubmiſſion towards them both by honour and obedience. He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: and reſiſted they be, if either the authority itſelf which they exerciſe be denied, as by Anabaptiſts all Secular Juriſdictions; or if reſiſtance be made but only ſo far forth as doth touch their perſons which are inveſted with power; (for they which ſaid, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, did not utterly exclude regiment; nor did they wiſh all kind of Government clearly removed, which would not at the firſt have David to govern) or if that which they do by virtue of their power, namely, their Laws, Edicts, Services, or other acts of Juriſdiction, be not ſuffered to take effect, contrary to the bleſſed Apoſtle's moſt holy rule, *Obey them who have the overſight of you.* Or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby ſatisfied neither, as long as that which we do is con-

Heb. xiii. 17.

temptuouſly, or repiningly done, becauſe we can do no otherwiſe. In ſuch ſort the Iſraelites in the deſart obeyed Moſes, and were notwithſtanding deſervedly plagued for diſobedience. The Apoſtle's precept therefore is, *Be ſubject even for God's cauſe: be ſubject, not for fear, but of mere conſcience; knowing, that he which reſiſteth them, purchaſeth to himſelf condemnation.* Diſobedience therefore unto Laws which are made by them, is not a thing of ſo ſmall account as ſome would make it.

Howbeit, too rigorous it were, that the breach of every Human Law ſhould be held a deadly ſin: a mean there is between theſe extremities, if ſo be we can find it out.

TO THE

READER.

THE pleaſures of thy ſpacious walks in Mr. Hooker's Temple-Garden (not unfitly ſo called, both for the Temple whereof he was Maſter, and the ſubject, Eccleſiaſtical Polity) do promiſe acceptance to theſe flowers, planted and watered by the ſame hand, and, for thy ſake, compoſed into this poſy. Sufficiently are they commended by their fragrant ſmell, in the dogmatical truth; by their beautiful colours, in the accurate ſtyle; by their medicinable virtue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour Churches, now proving epidemical, and threatening farther infection; by their ſtraight feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of Faith (which, as here is proved, can never be rooted up) and extending the branches of Charity to the covering of Noah's nakedneſs; opening the windows of Hope to Men's miſty conceits of their bemiſted Fore-fathers. Thus, and more than thus, do the Works commend themſelves; the Workman needs a better Workman to commend him; (Alexander's picture requires Apelles's pencil) nay, he needs it not, *His own Works commend him in the gates*; and, *being dead he yet ſpeaketh*; the ſyllables of that memorable name, Mr. Richard Hooker, proclaiming more, than if I ſhould here ſtyle him, a painful Student, a profound Scholar, a judicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receive then this poſthume orphan for his own, yea, for thine own ſake; and if the Printer hath with overmuch

overmuch haſte, like Mephibosheth's Nurſe, lamed the Child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of David's mind, *ſhew kindneſs to him for his Father Jonathan's ſake.* God grant, that the reſt of his Brethren be not more than lamed, and that as *Saul's three ſons died the ſame day with him*, ſo thoſe three promiſed to perfect his Polity, with other iſſues of that learned brain, be not buried in the grave with their renowned Father. Farewel.

W. S.

The Contents of the Treatiſes following.

I. *A Supplication made to the Council by Maſter Walter Travers.*

II. *Maſter Hooker's Anſwer to the Supplication that Maſter Travers made to the Council.*

III. *A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown.*

IV. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*

V. *A remedy againſt Sorrow and Fear, delivered in a Funeral Sermon.*

VI. *Of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect: eſpecially the Prophet Habakkuk's Faith.*

VII. *Two Sermons upon part of St. Jude's Epiſtle.*

VIII. *A Sermon upon Matth.* vii. 7.

A

SUPPLICATION

MADE TO THE

COUNCIL

BY

MASTER WALTER TRAVERS.

Right Honourable,

THE manifold benefits which all the Subjects within this Dominion do at this preſent, and have many years enjoyed, under her Majeſty's moſt happy and proſperous reign, by your godly wiſdom and careful watching over this Eſtate night and day, I truly and unfeignedly acknowledge from the bottom of my heart, ought worthily to bind us all to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and increaſe of the life and good eſtate of your Honours, and to be ready, with all good duties, to ſatisfy and ſerve the ſame to our power. Beſides publick benefits common unto all, I muſt needs, and do willingly confeſs myſelf to ſtand bound by moſt ſpecial obligation to ſerve and honour you more than any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleaſed you to vouchſafe both oftentimes heretofore, and alſo now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than my earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my ſervice in the miniſtring

miniſtring of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe, as I have been always careful ſo to carry myſelf as I might by no means give occaſion to be thought unworthy of ſo great a benefit, ſo do I ſtill, next unto her Majeſty's gracious countenance, hold nothing more dear and precious to me, than that I may always remain in your Honours' favour, which hath oftentimes been helpful and comfortable unto me in my Miniſtry, and to all ſuch as reaped any fruit of my ſimple and faithful labour. In which dutiful regard I humbly beſeech your Honours to vouchſafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwiſe than according to the duty wherein I ought to live by any information againſt me, before your Honours have heard my anſwer and being throughly informed of the matter. Which, although it be a thing that your wiſdoms, not in favour, but in juſtice, yield to all Men, yet the ſtate of the calling into the Miniſtry, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me, though unworthieſt of all, is ſo ſubject to miſinformation, as, except we may find this favour with your Honours, we cannot look for any other, but that our unindifferent parties may eaſily procure us to be hardly eſteemed of; and that we ſhall be made like the poor fiſher-boats in the ſea, which every ſwelling wave and billow raketh and runneth over. Wherein my eſtate is yet harder than any others of my rank and calling, who are indeed to fight againſt fleſh and blood in what part ſoever of the Lord's hoſt and field they ſhall ſtand marſhalled to ſerve, yet many of them deal with it naked, and unfurniſhed of weapons: but my ſervice was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with ſkill and with authority, whereof as I have always thus deſerved, and therefore have been careful by all good means to entertain ſtill your Honours' favourable reſpect of me, ſo have I ſpecial cauſe at this preſent, wherein miſinformation to the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other of the High Commiſſion, hath been able ſo far to prevail againſt

againſt me, that by their letter they have inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of Miniſtry in the Temple or elſewhere, having never once called me before them to underſtand by mine anſwer the truth of ſuch things as had been informed againſt me. We have a ſtory in our Books wherein the Phariſees' proceeding againſt our Saviour Chriſt, without having heard him, is reproved by an honourable Counſellor (as the Evangeliſt doth term him) ſaying, *Doth our Law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he hath done?* Which I do not mention, to the end that by an indirect and covert ſpeech I might ſo compare thoſe who have without ever hearing me pronounced a heavy ſentence againſt me; for notwithſtanding ſuch proceedings, I purpoſe by God's grace to carry myſelf towards them in all ſeeming duty, agreeable to their places: much leſs do I preſume to liken my cauſe to our Saviour Chriſt's, who hold it my chiefeſt honour and happineſs to ſerve him, though it be but among the hinds and hired ſervants that ſerve him in the baſeſt corners of his houſe: but my purpoſe in mentioning it is, to ſhew by the judgment of a Prince and great Man in Iſrael, that ſuch proceeding ſtandeth not with the Law of God, and in a princely pattern to ſhew it to be a noble part of an honourable Counſellor, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to love and affect ſuch a courſe in juſtice as is agreeable to the Law of God. We have alſo a plain rule in the Word of God, not to proceed any otherwiſe againſt any Elder of the Church; much leſs againſt one that laboureth in the Word, and in teaching. Which rule is delivered with this moſt earneſt charge and obteſtation; *I beſeech and charge thee in the ſight of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect Angels, that thou keep thoſe* [*rules*] *without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partiality or inclining to either part*; which Apoſtolical and moſt earneſt charge, I refer to your Honours' wiſdom how it hath been regarded in ſo heavy a judgment againſt me, without ever hearing

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my cauſe; and whether, as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jeſus by whom all former judgments ſhall be tried again; and, as in the preſence of the elect Angels, witneſſes and obſervers of the Regiment of the Church, they have proceeded thus to ſuch a ſentence. They alledge indeed two reaſons in their letters whereupon they reſtrain my Miniſtry; which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I refer to your Honours' wiſdoms, whether the quality of ſuch an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerve ſo grievous a puniſhment both to the Church and me, in taking away my Miniſtry, and that poor little commodity which it yieldeth for the neceſſary maintenance of my life; if ſo unequal a balancing of faults and puniſhment ſhould have place in the Commonwealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly have no actions upon the caſe, nor of treſpaſs, but all ſhould be pleas of the crown, nor any Man amerced, or fined, but for every light offence put to his ranſom. I have credibly heard that ſome of the Miniſtry have been committed for grievous tranſgreſſions of the Laws of God and Men, being of no ability to do other ſervice in the Church than to read; yet hath it been thought charitable, and ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperancy, not to deprive ſuch of Miniſtry and Beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment. Which I write not becauſe ſuch, as I think, were to be favoured, but to ſhew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodneſs of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame; and one, who, according to the meaſure of the gift of God, have laboured now ſome years painfully, in regard of the weak eſtate of my body, in preaching the Goſpel, and, as I hope, not altogether unprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their letter, and what anſwer I have to make to it.

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The first is, that, as they say, *I am not lawfully called to the function of the Ministry, nor allowed to preach according to the Laws of the Church of England.*

For answer to this, I had need to divide the points. And first to make answer to the former, (wherein leaving to shew what by the Holy Scriptures is required in a lawful calling, and that all this is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your weighty affairs) I rest in this answer.

My calling to the Ministry was such as, in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be used by the Orders agreed upon in the National Synods of the Low-Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches; which Orders are the same with those whereby the French and Scottish Churches are governed; whereof I have shewed such sufficient testimonial to my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, as is requisite in such a matter: whereby it must needs fall out, if any Man be lawfully called to the Ministry in those Churches, then is my calling, being the same with theirs, also lawful. But I suppose, notwithstanding they use this general speech, they mean only, my calling is not sufficient to deal in the Ministry within this Land, because I was not made Minister according to that Order which in this case is ordained by our Laws. Whereunto I beseech your Honours to consider throughly of mine answer, because exception now again is taken to my Ministry, whereas having been heretofore called in question for it, I so answered the matter, as I continued in my Ministry, and, for any thing I discerned, looked to hear that no more objected unto me. The Communion of Saints (which every Christian Man professeth to believe) is such, as that the acts which are done in any true Church of Christ's according to his Word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which, as it holdeth in other acts of Ministry, as Baptism, Marriage, and such like, so doth it in the calling to the Ministry; by reason whereof,

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all Churches do acknowledge and receive him for a Minister of the Word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A Doctor created in any University of Christendom, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any Country. The Church of Rome itself, and the Canon Law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spain, they may execute that, that belongeth to their Order in Italy, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Gospel never made any question of it; which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and deny such to be lawfully called to the Ministry, as are called by another Order than our own; then may it well be looked for, that other Churches will do the like: and if a Minister called in the Low Countries, be not lawfully called in England, then may they say to our Preachers which are there, that being made of another Order than theirs, they cannot suffer them to execute any act of Ministry amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schism, and dangerous divisions in the Churches. Further, I have heard of those that are learned in the Laws of this Land, that by express Statute to that purpose, *Anno* 13. of her Majesty's reign, upon subscription to the articles agreed upon, *Anno* 1562. that they who pretend to have been ordered by another Order than that which is now established, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of Ministry within the Land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by Law in this established. Which comprehending manifestly all, even such as were made Priests according to the Order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the Law of a Christian Land professing the Gospel should be as favourable for a Minister of the Word as for a Popish Priest; which also was so found in Mr Whittingham's case, who, notwithstanding such replies against him, enjoyed still the benefit he had by his Ministry, and might have done until this day, if God had spared him life so long; which, if it be understood so, and

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practiſed in others, why ſhould the change of the Perſon alter the right which the Law giveth to all others?

The place of Miniſtry whereunto I was called, was not preſentative: and if it had been ſo, ſurely they would never have preſented any Man whom they never knew; and the Order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the ancient and beſt Canons, that no Man ſhould be made a Miniſter *ſine titulo*: therefore having none, I could not by the Orders of this Church have entered into the Miniſtry, before I had a charge to tend upon. When I was at Antwerp, and to take a place of Miniſtry among the People of that Nation, I ſee no cauſe why I ſhould have returned again over the Seas for Orders here; nor how I could have done it, without diſallowing the Orders of the Churches provided in the Country where I was to live. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the Miniſtry is lawful, and maketh me by our Law of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity that any other by reaſon of his Miniſtry may enjoy. But my cauſe is yet more eaſy, who reaped no benefit of my Miniſtry by Law, receiving only a benevolence and voluntary contribution; and the Miniſtry I dealt with, being preaching only, which every Deacon here may do being licenſed, and certain that are neither Miniſters nor Deacons. Thus I anſwer the former of theſe two points, whereof, if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a final end thereof, that ſome competent Judges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I refer and ſubmit myſelf with all reverence and duty.

The ſecond is, *That I preached without Licence.* Whereunto, this is my anſwer; I have not preſumed, upon the calling I had to the Miniſtry abroad, to preach or deal with any part of the Miniſtry within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as were to allow me unto it. My allowance was from the Biſhop of London, teſtified by his two ſeveral letters to the Inner Temple, who without ſuch teſti-

mony would by no means reſt ſatisfied in it: which letters being by me produced, I refer it to your Honour's wiſdom, whether I have taken upon me to preach, without being allowed (as they charge) according to the Orders of the Realm. Thus having anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I have done with the objection *of dealing without Calling or Licenſe.*

The other reaſon they alledge, is, concerning a late action, wherein I had to deal with Mr. Hooker, Maſter of the Temple. In the handling of which cauſe, they charge me with an indiſcretion, and want of duty, *in that I inveighed* (as they ſay) *againſt certain points of Doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them.* My anſwer hereunto ſtandeth, in declaring to your Honours the whole courſe and carriage of that cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth (God being my witneſs), as near as my beſt memory, and notes of remembrance may ſerve me thereunto. After that I have taken away that which ſeemed to have moved them to think me not charitably minded to Mr. Hooker; which is, becauſe he was brought into Mr. Alvey's place, wherein this Church deſired that I might have ſucceeded: which place, if I would have made ſuit to have obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not have refuſed to have ſatisfied, by ſubſcription, ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend upon: whereas contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to do that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I, neither by ſpeech nor letter, make ſuit to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that reſolution, which I judge to be moſt agreeable to the Word and Will of God; that is, that labouring and ſuing for places and charges in the Church is not lawful. Further, whereas at the ſuit of the Church ſome of your Honours entertained the cauſe, and brought it to a near iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing

thing to remain, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when as he could not be ſatisfied, but by my ſubſcribing to his late Articles; and that my anſwer (agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any Law, and to the Statute provided in that caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in conſcience do, either for the Temple (which otherwiſe, he ſaid, he would not commend me to) nor for any other place in the Church) did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolved that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it: I had utterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Mr. Hooker, whom I did in no ſort eſteem to have prevented or undermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him, by ſuch means and occaſions as I have declared.

Moreover, as I have taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. Hooker for being preferred, ſo there were many witneſſes, that I was glad that the place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good-will which hath been between us, and for ſome kind of affinity in the marriage of his neareſt kindred and mine. Since his coming, I have ſo carefully endeavoured to entertain all good correſpondence and agreement with him, as I think he himſelf will bear me witneſs of many earneſt diſputations and conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that, contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but ſmally thereunto, but joined rather with ſuch as had always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in this Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to this preſent ſtate and proceedings. For, both knowing that God's Commandment charged me with ſuch duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſervice of God and his Church, and the mutual comfort of us both, I had reſolved conſtantly to ſeek for peace; and though it ſhould fly from me (as I ſaw it did by means of ſome, who

little desired to see the good of our Church) yet according to the rule of God's Word, to follow after it. Which being so (as hereof I take God to witness, who searcheth the heart and reins, and who by his Son will judge the World, both quick and dead) I hope no charitable judgment can suppose me to have stood evil-affected towards him for his place, or desirous to fall into any controversy with him.

Which my resolution I so pursued, that, whereas I discovered sundry unsound matters in his Doctrine (as many of his Sermons tasted of some sour leaven or other), yet thus I carried myself towards him. Matters of smaller weight, and so covertly delivered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly passed by, as one that discerned nothing of them, or had been unfurnished of replies; for others of great moment, and so openly delivered, as there was just cause of fear lest the Truth and Church of God should be prejudiced and perilled by it, and such as the conscience of my duty and calling would not suffer me altogether to pass over, this was my course; to deliver, when I should have just cause by my Text, the truth of such Doctrine as he had otherwise taught, in general speeches, without touch of his person in any sort; and further at convenient opportunity to confer with him upon such points.

According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning Predestination otherwise than the Word of God doth, as it is understood by all Churches professing the Gospel, and not unlike that wherewith Coranus sometime troubled this Church, I both delivered the truth of such points in a general doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also privately upon such articles. In which conference, I remember, when I urged the consent of all Churches and good Writers against him that I knew; and desired, if it were otherwise, to understand what Authors he had followed in such Doctrine: he answered me, that his best Author was

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his own Reaſon; which I wiſhed him to take heed of, as a matter ſtanding more with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſdom in a Doctrine not received by the Church, not to truſt to his own judgment ſo far as to publiſh it, before he had conferred with others of his profeſſion, labouring by daily prayer and ſtudy to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they underſtood ſuch Doctrine. Notwithſtanding, he, with wavering, replied, that he would ſome other time deal more largely in the matter. I wiſhed him, and prayed him not ſo to do, for the peace of the Church, which, by ſuch means, might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but think, that Men, who make any conſcience of their Miniſtry, will judge it a neceſſary duty in them, to teach the truth, and to convince the contrary.

Another time, upon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, *That the aſſurance of that we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain, as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things above, and contrary to all ſenſe and human underſtanding, and dealt with him alſo privately upon that point: according to which courſe of late, when as he had taught, *That the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church*; and further, *that he doubted not, but that thouſands of the Fathers, which lived and died in the ſuperſtitions of that Church, were ſaved, becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſed them*; miſ-alledging to that end a text of Scripture to prove it; the matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment, that might prejudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and others weak in Faith to ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their Souls; I thought it my moſt bounden duty to God and to his Church, whilſt I might have opportunity to ſpeak,

1 Tim. i. 13.

to teach the truth in a general ſpeech in ſuch points of Doctrine.

At which time I taught, *That ſuch as die, or have died at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith which is taught in it, and namely, Juſtification in part by Works, could not be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaved.* In which matter, foreſeeing that if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould be in danger to be reported (as hath fallen out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemn all the Fathers, I ſaid directly and plainly to all Men's underſtanding, *That it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaved*; *but the means* (ſaid I) *was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no Man with God, but their knowledge and faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchſafed them, by many notable monuments and records extant of it in all ages.* Which being the laſt point in all my Sermon, riſing ſo naturally from the Text I then propounded, as would have occaſioned me to have delivered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former Doctrine had been found; and being dealt in by a general ſpeech, without touch of his particular; I looked not that a matter of controverſy would have been made of it, no more than had been of my like dealing in former time. But, far otherwiſe than I looked for, Mr. Hooker ſhewing no grief or offence taken at my ſpeech all the week long, the next ſabbath, leaving to proceed upon his ordinary Text, profeſſed to preach again that he had done the day before, for ſome queſtion that his Doctrine was drawn into, which he deſired might be examined with all ſeverity.

So proceeding, he beſtowed his whole time in that Diſcourſe, concerning his former Doctrine, and anſwering the places of Scripture which I had alledged to prove that a Man dying in the Church of Rome is not to be judged by the Scriptures to be ſaved. In which long ſpeech, and utterly impertinent to his Text, under colour of anſwering for himſelf, he impugned

impugned directly and openly to all Men's understanding, the true Doctrine which I had delivered; and, adding to his former points some other like (as willingly one error follows another), that is, *That the Galatians joining with Faith in Christ, Circumcision, as necessary to Salvation, might be saved: and that they of the Church of Rome may be saved by such a Faith of Christ as they had, with a general repentance of all their errors, notwithstanding their opinion of Justification in part by their Works and Merits:* I was necessarily, though not willingly, drawn to say something to the points he objected against sound Doctrine; which I did in a short speech in the end of my Sermon, with protestation of so doing not of any sinister affection to any Man, but to bear witness to the Truth according to my calling; and wished, if the matter should needs farther be dealt in, some other more convenient way might be taken for it. Wherein, I hope, my dealing was manifest to the consciences of all indifferent Hearers of me that day, to have been according to peace, and without any uncharitableness, being duly considered.

For that I conferred not with him the first day, I have shewed that the cause requiring of me in duty, at the least not to be altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, the time also being short wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small upon experience of our former conferences, and my expectation being that the Church should be no further troubled with it, upon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing; I suppose my deferring to speak with him till some fit opportunity, cannot in charity be judged uncharitable.

The second day, his unlooked for opposition with the former reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessity some publick answer; which being so temperate as I have shewed, if notwithstanding it be censured as uncharitable, and punished so

grievouſly as it is, what ſhould have been my puniſhment, if (without all ſuch cautions and reſpects as qualified my ſpeech) I had before all, and in the underſtanding of all, ſo reproved him offending openly, that others might have feared to do the like? which yet, if I had done, might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the Apoſtle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the reſt may alſo fear*; and by his example, who, when Peter in this very caſe which is now between us, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of converſation, not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Goſpel, conferred not privately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproved him openly before all, that others might hear, and fear, and not dare to do the like. All which reaſons together weighed, I hope, will ſhew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable, and warrantable in every ſort.

The next ſabbath-day after this, Mr. Hooker kept the way he had entered into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more only upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained; wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have made Men believe. The one, in that he ſaid, *They acknowledge all Men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin*, though ſome of them freed her from ſin, for the Council of Trent holdeth, that ſhe was free from ſin. Another, in that he ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it*: for Thomas Aquinas their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop Catherinus teach, *That Chriſt took away only Original Sin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by ourſelves*; yea, the Council of Trent teacheth, *That Righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight,*

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is an inherent Righteouſneſs; which muſt needs be of our own Works, and cannot be underſtood of the Righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's perſon, and accounted unto us. Moreover he taught the ſame time, *That neither the Galatians, nor the Church of Rome, did directly overthrow the foundation of Juſtification by Chriſt alone, but only by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaved; or elſe neither the Churches of the Lutherans, nor any which hold any manner of error, could be ſaved; becauſe* (ſaith he) *every error by conſequent overthroweth the foundation.* In which diſcourſes, and ſuch like, he beſtowed his whole time and more; which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace of the Church, he would ſurely not have done.

Whoſe example could not draw me to leave the Scripture I took in hand, but ſtanding about an hour to deliver the Doctrine of it, in the end, upon juſt occaſion of the Text, leaving ſundry other his unſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the principal, I confirmed the believing of the doctrine of Juſtification by Chriſt only, to be neceſſary to the juſtification of all that ſhould be ſaved, and that the Church of Rome directly denieth, that a Man is ſaved by Chriſt, or by Faith alone, without the Works of the Law. Which my anſwer, as it was moſt neceſſary for the ſervice of God, and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech to Mr. Hooker: whoſe unſound and wilful dealings in a cauſe of ſo great importance to the Faith of Chriſt, and ſalvation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerved, and what ſome zealous earneſt Men of the ſpirit of John and James, ſirnamed Boanerges, Sons of Thunder, would have ſaid in ſuch a caſe; yet I choſe rather to content myſelf in exhorting him to re-viſit his Doctrine, as Nathan the Prophet did the device, which, without conſulting with God, he had of himſelf given to David, concerning the building of the Temple; and

Mark iii. 17.

2 Sam. vii. 2, 3, 4, 5.

with

Gal. ii. 11, 14. with Peter the Apoſtle, to endure to be withſtood in ſuch a caſe, not unlike unto this. This, in effect, was that which paſſed between us concerning this matter, and the invectives I made againſt him, wherewith I am charged. Which rehearſal, I hope, may clear me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid upon me for want of duty to Mr. Hooker in not conferring with him, whereof I have ſpoken ſufficiently already; and to the High Commiſſion, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My anſwer is, that I proteſt, no contempt nor wilful neglect of any lawful Authority, ſtayed me from complaining unto them, but theſe reaſons following:

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Mr. Hooker, notwithſtanding he had been over-carried with a ſhew of charity to prejudice the Truth, yet when it ſhould be ſufficiently proved, would have acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with peace, that it might be offered, without any offence to him, to ſuch as would receive it; either of which would have taken away any cauſe of juſt complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation and deſire, but that he replied to the Truth, and objected againſt it, I thought he might have ſome doubts and ſcruples in himſelf; which yet, if they were cleared, he would either embrace ſound Doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to have its courſe: which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long, as the matter was not bitterly and immodeſtly handled between us.

Another reaſon was the cauſe itſelf, which, according to the Parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſown among the Wheat), ſprung up firſt in his graſs: therefore, as the Servants in that place are not ſaid to have come to complain to the Lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kinds; ſo, I thinking it yet but a time of diſcovering of what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it down.

For further anſwer, it is to be conſidered, that the

the conſcience of my duty to God, and to his Church, did bind me at the firſt, to deliver ſound Doctrine in ſuch points as had been otherwiſe uttered in that place, where I had now ſome years taught the truth; otherwiſe the rebuke of the Prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach, and ſtanding in it, and the peril for anſwering the blood of the city, in whoſe watch-tower I ſate; if it had been ſurpriſed by my default. Moreover, my publick proteſtation, in being willing, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it: and laſtly, that I had reſolved (which I uttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to have proteſted the next ſabbath-day, that I would no more anſwer, in that place, any objections to the Doctrine taught by any means, but ſome other way ſatisfy ſuch as ſhould require it. Ezek. xxxiii. 30. Ezek. xxxiii. 6.

Theſe, I truſt, may make it appear, that I failed not in duty to Authority, notwithſtanding I did not complain, nor give over ſo ſoon dealing in the caſe. If I did, how is he clear, which can alledge none of all theſe for himſelf; who leaving the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily diſcourſed upon School-points and Queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth? Who after all this, as promiſing to himſelf, and to untruth, a victory by my ſilence, added yet, the next ſabbath-day, to the maintenance of his former opinions, theſe which follow:

That no Additament taketh away the Foundation, except it be a privative; of which ſort, neither the Works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, nor Circumciſion by the Galatians were: as one denieth him not to be a Man, that ſaith, he is a righteous Man, but he that ſaith he is a dead Man: whereby it might ſeem, that a Man might, without hurt, add Works to Chriſt, and pray alſo that God and St. Peter would ſave them.

That the Galatians' caſe is harder than the caſe of the

the Church of Rome, becauſe the Galatians joined Circumciſion with Chriſt, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed; but that which the Church of Rome joined with Chriſt, were good Works, which God had commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault, one, in expounding all the queſtions of the Galatians, and conſequently of the Romans, and other Epiſtles, of Circumciſion only, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they do, who anſwer for the Church of Rome in their writings) contrary to the clear meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appear by many ſtrong and ſufficient reaſons: the other, in that he ſaid, *the addition of the Church of Rome was of Works commanded of God.* Whereas the leaſt part of the Works whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works; and moſt were works of Supererogation, and works which God never commanded, but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of Maſſes, Pilgrimages, Pardons, pains of Purgatory, and ſuch like. Further, *That no one ſequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the Galatians for joining Circumciſion with Chriſt, but might be as well enforced againſt the Lutherans; that is, that for their ubiquity it may be as well ſaid to them, If ye hold the Body of Chriſt to be in all places, you are fallen from Grace, you are under the curſe of the Law, ſaying,* Curſed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this Book, with ſuch like. He addeth yet further, *That to a Biſhop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinal, yea, to the Pope himſelf, acknowledging Chriſt to be the Saviour of the World, denying other errors, and being diſcomforted for want of Works whereby he might be juſtified, he would not doubt to uſe this ſpeech; Thou holdeſt the foundation of Chriſtian Faith, though it be but by a ſlender thread; thou holdeſt Chriſt, though but by the hem of his garment; why ſhouldſt thou not hope that virtue may paſs from Chriſt to ſave thee? That which thou holdeſt of Juſtification by thy Works, overthroweth indeed by conſequent the foundation of Chriſtian Faith; but be of good cheer, thou haſt not to do with a captious Sophiſter,*

Sophiſter, but with a merciful God, who will juſtify thee for that thou holdeſt, and not take the advantage of doubtful conſtruction to condemn thee. And if this, ſaid he, *be an error, I hold it willingly; for it is the greateſt comfort I have in the World, without which I would not wiſh either to ſpeak or live.* Thus far, being not to be anſwered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the abſurdity of which ſpeech I need not to ſtand upon. I think the like to this, and other ſuch in this Sermon, and the reſt of this matter, hath not been heard in publick places within this Land ſince Queen Mary's days. What conſequence this Doctrine may be of, if he be not by authority ordered to revoke it, I beſeech your Honours, as the Truth of God and his Goſpel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly wiſdom to conſider.

I have been bold to offer to your Honours a long and tedious diſcourſe of theſe matters; but ſpeech being like to tapeſtry, which if it be folded up, ſheweth but part of that which is wrought; and being unlapt and laid open, ſheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it; I thought it neceſſary to unfold this tapeſtry, and to hang up the whole chamber of it in your moſt honourable Senate, that ſo you may the more eaſily diſcern of all the pieces, and the ſundry works and matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your Honours may ſee I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment as is laid upon the Church for my ſake, and alſo upon myſelf, in taking from me the exerciſe of my Miniſtry. Which puniſhment, how heavy it may ſeem to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I refer it to them to judge, and ſpare to write what I fear, but to myſelf it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the exerciſe of my calling. Which I do not ſay is dear unto me, as the means of that little benefit whereby I live (although this be a lawful conſideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the Au-

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thority under whoſe protection I moſt willingly live, even by God's Commandment both unto them, and unto me); but, which ought to be more precious unto me than my life, for the love which I ſhould bear to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and ſalvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like ſervice to God, nor of ſuch uſe and profit to Men by any means. For which cauſe, as I diſcern how dear my Miniſtry ought to be unto me, ſo it is my hearty deſire, and moſt humble requeſt unto God, to your Honours, and to all the Authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may ſpend my life (according to his example, who in a word of like ſound, but of fuller ſenſe, comparing by it the beſtowing of his life to the offering poured out) upon the ſacrifice of the faith of God's People, and eſpecially of this Church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the ſame calling, from which I ſtand now reſtrained. And if your Honours ſhall find it ſo, that I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment, but rather performed the duty which a good and faithful Servant ought, in ſuch caſe, to do to his Lord and the People he putteth him in truſt withal carefully to keep; I am a moſt humble ſuitor by theſe preſents to your Honours, that, by your godly wiſdom, ſome good courſe may be taken for the reſtoring of me to my Miniſtry and place again. Which ſo great a favour ſhall bind me yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already ſo great, as it ſeemed nothing could be added unto it to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increaſe of your good eſtate, and to be ready with all the poor means God hath given me, to do your Honours that faithful ſervice I may poſſibly perform. But if, notwithſtanding my cauſe be never ſo good, your Honours can by no means pacify ſuch as are offended, nor reſtore me again, then am I to reſt in the good plea-

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ſure of God, and to commend to your Honours protection, under her Majeſty's, my private life, while it ſhall be led in duty; and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himſelf a People with his precious blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the quick and dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evil; to the Wicked and Unbelievers, juſtice unto death; but to the Faithful, and ſuch as love his Truth, mercy and grace to life everlaſting.

Your Honour's moſt Bounden, and

Moſt Humble Supplicant,

WALTER TRAVERS,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL.

MR. *HOOKER'S*

ANSWER

TO THE

SUPPLICATION

THAT

MR. *TRAVERS*

MADE TO THE

COUNCIL.

To my Lord of CANTERBURY *his Grace.*

MY duty in my moſt humble wiſe remembered, may it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that whereas there hath been a late controverſy raiſed in the Temple, and purſued by Mr. Travers, upon conceit taken at ſome words by me uttered, with a moſt ſimple and harmleſs meaning, in the heat of which purſuit, after three publick invectives, ſilence being enjoined him by Authority, he hath hereupon, for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the Right Honourable Lords, and others of her Majeſty's Privy Council, with a writing; and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be copied out, and ſpread through the hands of ſo many, that well nigh all ſorts of men have it in their boſoms; the matters wherewith I am therein charged, being of ſuch quality as they are, and myſelf being better known to your Grace

than to any other of their Honours beſides, I have choſen to offer to your Grace's hands a plain declaration of my innocence in all thoſe things wherewith I am ſo hardly, and ſo heavily charged; leſt, if I ſtill remain ſilent, that which I do for quietneſs ſake, be taken as an argument, that I lack what to ſpeak truly and juſtly in mine own defence.

2. Firſt, becauſe Mr. Travers thinketh it expedient to breed an opinion in Men's minds, that the root of all inconvenient events which are now ſprung out, is the ſurly and unpeaceable diſpoſition of the Man with whom he hath to do; therefore the firſt in the rank of accuſations laid againſt me, is *my inconformity, which have ſo little inclined to ſo many, and ſo earneſt exhortations and conferences, as myſelf*, he ſaith, *can witneſs, to have been ſpent upon me, for my better faſhioning unto good correſpondence and agreement.*

3. Indeed, when at the firſt, by means of ſpecial well-willers, without any ſuit of mine, as they very well know (although I do not think it had been a mortal ſin, in a reaſonable ſort, to have ſhewed a moderate deſire that way), yet when by their endeavour without inſtigation of mine, ſome Reverend and Honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her Majeſty's grant of the place; at the very point of my entering thereinto, the evening before I was firſt to preach, he came, and two other Gentlemen joined with him: the effect of his conference then was, *That he thought it his duty to adviſe me, not to enter with a ſtrong hand, but to change my purpoſe of preaching there the next day, and to ſtay till he had given notice of me to the Congregation, that ſo their allowance might ſeal my calling.* The effect of my anſwer was, *That, as in a place where ſuch order is, I would not break it; ſo here, where it never was, I might not, of my own head, take upon me to begin it:* but liking very well the motion, for the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requeſted him not to miſlike my anſwer, though it were not correſpondent to his mind.

4. When this had ſo diſpleaſed ſome, that whatſoever was afterwards done or ſpoken by me, it offended

fended their taſte, angry informations were daily ſent out, intelligence given far and wide, what a dangerous enemy was crept in; the worſt that jealouſy could imagine was ſpoken and written to ſo many, that at the length ſome knowing me well, and perceiving how injurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my diſcredit, wrought means to bring Mr. Travers and me to a ſecond conference. Wherein, when a common Friend unto us both had quietly requeſted him to utter thoſe things wherewith he found himſelf any way grieved, he firſt renewed the memory of my entering into this charge, by virtue only of an human creature (for ſo the want of that formality * of popular allowance was then cenſured), and unto this was annexed a catalogue, partly of cauſeleſs ſurmiſes, as, *That I had conſpired againſt him, and that I ſought ſuperiority over him*; and partly of faults, which to note, I ſhould have thought it a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them faults, and had heard them ſo curiouſly obſerved in any other than myſelf, they are ſuch ſilly things, as, *Praying in the entrance of my Sermon only, and not in the end, naming Biſhops in my prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receive the Communion*, with ſuch like, which I would be as loth to recite, as I was ſorry to hear them objected, if the rehearſal thereof were not by him thus wreſted from me. Theſe are the conferences wherewith I have been wooed to entertain peace and good agreement.

5. As for the vehement exhortations he ſpeaketh of, I would gladly know ſome reaſon wherefore he thought them needful to be uſed. Was there any thing found in my ſpeeches or dealings that gave them occaſion, who are ſtudious of peace, to think that I diſpoſed myſelf to ſome unquiet kind of proceedings? Surely, the ſpecial Providence of God I do now ſee it was, that the firſt words I ſpake in

* A mere formality it had been to me in that place; where, as no man had ever uſed it before me, ſo it could neither further me if I did uſe it, nor hinder me if I did not.

this place, ſhould make the firſt thing whereof I am accuſed, to appear not only untrue, but improbable, to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears; and do, I doubt not, in their conſciences clear me of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit, I grant this were nothing, if it might be ſhewed, that my deeds following were not ſuitable to my words. If I had ſpoken of peace at the firſt, and afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieve him, by croſſing him in his function, by ſtorming, if my pleaſure were not aſked, and my will obeyed in the leaſt occurrences, by carping needleſsly ſometimes at the manner of his teaching, ſometimes at this ſometimes at that point of his doctrine; I might then with ſome likelihood have been blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand when it had been offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prove that myſelf hath now a full year together borne the continuance of ſuch dealings, not only without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint, as might let or hinder him in his courſe, I ſee no cauſe in the world why of this I ſhould be accuſed, unleſs it be, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I mean not. If therefore I have given him occaſion to uſe conferences and exhortations to peace, if when they were beſtowed upon me I have deſpiſed them, it will not be hard to ſhew ſome one word or deed wherewith I have gone about to work diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only, I require if any thing be ſhewed, it may be proved, and not objected only as this is, *That I have joined with ſuch as have always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in the Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent ſtate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it ſeemeth, unto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my coming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually forward (perhaps) as he that deviſed them would have wiſhed. An order, as I learn, there was tendered, that Communicants ſhould neither kneel, as in moſt places of the Realm; nor ſit, as in this place the cuſtom is; but walk to the

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one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding till they had received, paſs afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering what it ſhould mean, others deliberating what to do; till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might do as they had been accuſtomed, which was granted; and as Mr. Travers had miniſtered his way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which unproſperous beginning of a thing (ſaving only for the inconvenience of needleſs alteration, otherwiſe harmleſs) did ſo diſgrace that order, in their conceit who had to allow or diſallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themſelves to think it good, and it ſo much offended Mr. Travers, who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although content-ed to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they ſhould ever receive it of his, which would not admit that order of re-ceiving it, and therefore in my time hath been always preſent not to miniſter, but only to be mi-niſtered unto.

6. Another order there was likewiſe deviſed, but an order of much more weight and importance. This ſoil, in reſpect of certain immunities and other ſpecialties belonging unto it, ſeemed likely to bear that which in other places of the Realm of England doth not take. For which cauſe, requeſt was made to ſome of her Majeſty's Privy Council, that whereas it is provided by a Statute there ſhould be Collectors and Sidemen in Churches, which thing, or ſomewhat correſpondent unto it, this place did greatly want; it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And ac-cording to their honourable manner of helping for-ward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their let-ters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon, although theſe Houſes never had uſe of ſuch Col-

lectors and Sidemen as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a box and received Men's devotions for the Poor, appointing the Treasurer of both Houses to take care for bestowing it where need was; and granting farther, that if any could be intreated (as in the end some were) to undertake the labour of observing Men's slackness in divine duties, they should be allowed, their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. Alvey's * private admonition did not serve, then by some other means redressed; but according to the old received orders of both Houses. Whereby the substance of their Honours' letters was indeed fully satisfied. Yet, because Mr. Travers intended not this, but, as it seemed, another thing; therefore, notwithstanding the orders which have been taken, and, for any thing I know, do stand still in as much force in this Church now as at any time heretofore, he complaineth much that the good orders which he doth mean have been withstood. Now it were hard, if as many as did any ways oppose unto these and the like orders, in his persuasion good, did thereby make themselves to be thought dislikers of the present state and proceedings. If they, whom he aimeth at, have any other ways made themselves to be thought such, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, disclose to whom it appertaineth, both the Persons whom he thinketh, and the causes why he thinketh them so ill-affected. But whatsoever the Men be, do their faults make me faulty? They do, if I join myself with them: I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I have joined with them. Other joining than this with any Man here, I cannot imagine: it may be I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably used the duties of common humanity with some such as he is hardly persuaded of. For I know no Law of God or Man, by force whereof they should be as Heathens and Publicans unto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another

* Mr. Travers—MS. Bodl.

Man,

Man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is privy unto, and not I. Could he, or any reaſonable Man think it a charitable courſe in me, to obſerve them that ſhewed by external courteſies a favourable inclination toward him, and if I ſpy out any one amongſt them of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath given up his againſt me? which notwithſtanding I will acknowledge to be juſt and reaſonable, if he or any Man living ſhall ſhew that I uſe as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath ever given me cauſe to ſuſpect or conjecture him ſuch as here they are termed with whom complaint is made that I join myſelf. This being ſpoken therefore, and written without all poſſibility of proof, doth not Mr. Travers give me overgreat cauſe to ſtand in ſome fear leſt he make too little conſcience how he uſeth his tongue or pen? Theſe things are not laid againſt me for nothing; they are to ſome purpoſe if they take place. For in a mind perſuaded that I am, as he decyphereth me, one who refuſeth to be at peace with ſuch as embrace the truth, and ſide myſelf with Men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhall be ſpoken concerning the unſoundneſs of my Doctrine cannot chooſe but be favourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will have likelihood enough which afterwards followeth, *that many of my Sermons have taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other, that in them he hath diſcovered many unſound matters.* A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this, which might have been ſo well provided for, hath fallen into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found, that he judgeth my words, as they do colours which look upon them with green ſpectacles, and think that which they ſee is green, when indeed that is green whereby they ſee.

7. Touching the firſt point of his diſcovery, which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet

down that I ſpake (for I have it written), to declare and confirm the ſeveral branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I have ſo many things to touch, that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein ſo needful for me to juſtify my ſpeech, when the very place and preſence where I ſpake, doth itſelf ſpeak ſufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind alley, or uttered where none was to hear it that had ſkill with authority to controul, or covertly inſinuated by ſome gliding ſentence.

8. That which I taught was at Paul's Croſs; it was not huddled in amongſt other matters, in ſuch ſort that it could paſs without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. I ſee not which way my Lord of London, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault, as patiently, without rebuke or controulment afterwards, to hear any Man there teach otherwiſe than *the Word of God doth*; not as it is underſtood by the private interpretation of ſome one or two Men, or by a ſpecial conſtruction received in ſome few books; but, as it is underſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel*; by them all, and therefore even by our own alſo amongſt others. A Man that did mean to prove that he ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9. The next thing diſcovered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of Men's perſuaſions in matters of Faith. I have taught, he ſaith, *That the aſſurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceive by Senſe.* And, is it as certain? Yea, I taught, as he himſelf, I truſt, will not deny, that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word are ſurer unto us than any thing which we touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes unto us, as he doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is

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no proof. How is it, that if ten Men do all look upon the Moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moon as another; but many believing one and the ſame Promiſe, all have not one and the ſame fulneſs of perſuaſion? How falleth it out, that Men being aſſured of any thing by Senſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in Faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things, may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?

10. The Sermon wherein I have ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point was, long before this late controverſy roſe between him and me, upon requeſt of ſome of my Friends, ſeen and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcern: and I never heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing unſound matter. My caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeak diſpleaſeth one Man's taſte, my doctrine upon his only word ſhould be taken for ſour leaven.

11. The reſt of this diſcovery is all about the matter now in queſtion; wherein he hath two faults predominant which would tire out any that ſhould anſwer unto every point ſeverally; unapt ſpeaking of School-Controverſies, and of my words ſometime ſo untoward a reciting, that he which ſhould promiſe to draw a Man's countenance, and did indeed expreſs the parts, at leaſtwiſe moſt of them, truly, but perverſely place them, could not repreſent a more offenſive viſage, than unto me my own ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places, as he hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that writing is ſufficient, wherein I have ſet down both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this accuſation doth deprave the one, and either miſinterpret, or without juſt cauſe, miſlike the other, it will appear ſo plainly, that I may ſpare very well to take upon me a new needleſs labour here.

12. Only at one thing which is there to be found, becauſe Mr. Travers doth here ſeem to take ſuch a ſpecial

ſpecial advantage, as if the matter were unanſwerable, he conſtraineth me either to detect his overſight, or to confeſs mine own in it. In ſetting down the queſtion between the Church of Rome and us, about Grace and Juſtification, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they do, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propoſe to ourſelves ſuch inſtead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how far we do agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement: not generally (as Mr. Travers his * words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtening that upon me wherewith, ſaving only by him, I was never in my life touched), but about the matter only of Juſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time. What was then my offence in this caſe? I did, as he ſaith, ſo ſet it out as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in ſmaller matters. It will not be found, when it cometh to the balance, a light difference where we diſagree, as I did acknowledge that we do, about the very eſſence of the medicine whereby Chriſt cureth

* His words be theſe: The next ſabbath-day after this, Mr. Hooker kept the way he had entered into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more, only upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained. Wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters. Which agreement noted by him, in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have made Men believe; the one in that he ſaid, They acknowledge all Men Sinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from Sin; for the Council of Trent holdeth, that ſhe was free from Sin: Another, in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away Sin, and differ from us only in the applying of it. For Thomas Aquinas, their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop Catharinus, teach, that Chriſt took away only Original Sin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by ourſelves: yea, the Council of Trent teacheth, that the Righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is an inherent Righteouſneſs, which muſt needs be of our own works, and cannot be underſtood of the Righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's perſon, and accounted unto us.

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our diſeaſe. Did I go about to make a ſhew of agreement in the weightieſt points, and was I ſo fond as not to conceal our diſagreement about this? I do wiſh that ſome indifferency were uſed by them that have taken the weighing of my words.

13. Yea, but our agreement is not ſuch in two of the chiefeſt points, as I would have men believe it is: and what are they? The one is, I ſaid, *They acknowledge all Men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them free her from ſin.* Put the caſe I had affirmed, that only ſome of them free her from ſin, and had delivered it as the moſt current opinion amongſt them that ſhe was conceived in ſin: doth not Bonaventure ſay plainly, *Omnes fere*, in a manner all Men do hold this? doth he not bring many reaſons wherefore all Men ſhould hold it; were their voices ſince that time ever counted, and their number found ſmaller which hold it than theirs that hold the contrary? Let the queſtion then be, whether I might ſay, the moſt of them *acknowledged all Men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin herſelf.* To ſhew, that their general received opinion is the contrary, the Tridentine Council is alledged, peradventure not altogether ſo conſiderately. For if that Council have by reſolute determination freed her, if it hold as Mr. Travers ſaith it doth, that ſhe was free from ſin; then muſt the Church of Rome needs condemn them that hold the contrary. For what that Council holdeth, the ſame they all do and muſt hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other: ſo that, this argument, the Council of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from Sin, *ergo*, it is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue, that moſt of them do acknowledge her a Sinner, were forcible to overthrow my ſuppoſed aſſertion if it were true that the Council did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appear, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what myſelf do conceive of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceived that if

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they ſhould define of this matter, it would be dangerous howſoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her original ſin, the reaſons againſt them are unanſwerable, which Bonaventure and others do alledge, but eſpecially Thomas, whoſe line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did reſolve the other way, they ſhould controul themſelves in another thing, which in no caſe might be altered. For they profeſs to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgin's conception they honour with a * feaſt, which they could not abregate without cancelling a Conſtitution of Xyſtus Quartus. And that which is worſe, the World might perhaps ſuſpect, that if the Church of Rome did amiſs before in this, it is not impoſſible for her to fail in other things. In the end, they did wiſely quote out their Canon by a middle thread, eſtabliſhing the feaſt of the Virgin's conception, and leaving the other queſtion doubtful as they found it; giving only a caveat, that no Man ſhould take the decree which pronounceth all Mankind originally ſinful for a definitive ſentence concerning the Bleſſed Virgin. This in my ſight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hac ipſa ſancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our Countrymen at Rhemes, mentioning this point, are marvellous wary how they ſpeak; they touch it as though it were a hot coal: *Many godly devout Men judge that our Bleſſed Lady was neither born, nor conceived in ſin.* Is it their wont to ſpeak nicely of things definitively ſet down in that Council?

Annot. in Rom. v. ſect. 9.

* This doth much trouble Thomas, holding her conception ſtained with the natural blemiſh inherent in mortal ſeed. And therefore he putteth it off with two anſwers, the one, that the Church of Rome doth not allow, but tolerate the feaſt, which anſwer now will not ſerve: the other, that being ſure ſhe was ſanctified before birth, but unſure how long a while after her Conception, therefore under the name of her conception day, they honour the time of her ſanctification. So that beſides this, they have now no ſoder to make the certain allowance of their feaſt, and their uncertain ſentence concerning her ſin, to cleave together, Tom. iii. part. 1. quæſt. 27. art. 2. ad 2 et 3.

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In like ſort, we find that the reſt, which have ſince the time of the Tridentine Synod written of original ſin, are in this point, for the moſt part, either ſilent, or very ſparing in ſpeech: and, when they ſpeak, either doubtful what to think, or whatſoever they think themſelves, fearful to ſet down any certain determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Council otherwiſe than they themſelves do, let him expound it whoſe ſentence was neither laſt aſked, nor his pen leaſt occupied in ſetting it down; I mean Andradius, whom Gregory the Thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confeſs, that it is a matter which neither expreſs evidence of Scripture, nor the tradition of the Fathers, nor the ſentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too ſurly and ſelf-willed, which, defending either opinion, are diſpleaſed with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the Fathers of Trent have not ſet down any certainty about this queſtion, but left it doubtful and indifferent. Lib. v. def. fidei.

Now whereas my words, which I had ſet down in writing, before I uttered them, were indeed theſe, *Although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin: yet concerning the reſt, they teach as we do, that all have ſinned.* Againſt my words they might, with more pretence, take exception, becauſe ſo many of them think ſhe had ſin: which exception notwithſtanding, the propoſition being indefinite and the matter contingent, they cannot take, becauſe they grant, that many whom they account grave and devout amongſt them think that ſhe was clear from all ſin. But, whether Mr. Travers did note my words himſelf, or take them upon the credit of ſome other man's noting, the tables were faulty wherein it was noted, *All Men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin*: when my ſpeech was rather, *All Men except the bleſſed Virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth, that I ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it.* I did ſay and do,

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They teach as we do, that although Christ be the only meritorious cause of our justice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; so, by the merits of Christ, there can be no life nor justification, without the application of his merits: but about the manner of applying Christ, about the number and power of means whereby he is applied, we dissent from them. This of our dissenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to be such as I pretend. Let their own words therefore and mine concerning them be compared. Doth not Andradius plainly confess; *Our sins do shut, and only the merits of Christ open the entering into blessedness?* And Soto, *It is put for a ground, that all, since the fall of Adam, obtain salvation only by the passion of Christ; howbeit, as no cause can be effectual without applying, so neither can any Man be saved to whom the suffering of Christ is not applied.* In a word, who not? When the Council of Trent, reckoning up the causes of our first justification, doth name no end but God's glory and our felicity; no efficient but his mercy; no instrumental but Baptism; no meritorious but Christ; whom to have merited the taking away of no sin but original, is not their opinion: which himself will find, when he hath well examined his witnesses, Catharinus and Thomas. Their Jesuits are marvellous angry with the men out of whose gleanings Mr. Travers seemeth to have taken this; they openly disclaim it; they say plainly, *Of all the Catholics there is not one that did ever so teach*; they make solemn protestation, *We believe and profess, that Christ upon the cross hath altogether satisfied for all sins, as well original as actual.* * Indeed they teach, that the merit of Christ doth not take away actual sin in such sort as it doth original; wherein, if their doctrine had been under-

Orthod. lib. iii. In Sent. dist. 1. quæst. 4. art. 6.

* Bellarm. Judic. de lib. Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum unquam sic docuit; sed credimus et profitemur, Christum in cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis satisfeciisse, tam originalibus quam actualibus.

stood,

ſtood, I for my ſpeech had never been accuſed. As for the Council of Trent, concerning inherent righteouſneſs, what doth it here? No Man doubteth, but they make another formal cauſe of juſtification than we do. In reſpect whereof, I have ſhewed already, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our ſpiritual diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Every Man judgeth well of that which he knoweth*; and therefore till we know the things throughly whereof we judge, it is a point of judgment to ſtay our judgment.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcovering the unſoundneſs of my Doctrine, ſome pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that, *I beſtowed my whole hour and more, my time and more than my time, in diſcourſes utterly impertinent to my text.* Which, if I had done, it might have paſſed without complaining of to the Privy Council.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures, and my ordinary calling, and diſcourſed upon School-Points and Queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no lecture in the Law, or in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinary calling may be drawn like a purſe, how are they ſo much wider unto him than to me, that he within the limits of his ordinary calling, ſhould reprove that in me, which he underſtood not; and I labouring that both he and others might underſtand, could not do this without forſaking my calling? The matter whereof I ſpake was ſuch, as being at firſt by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnly taken upon him to diſprove. If therefore it were a ſchool-queſtion, and unfit to be diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a propoſition only at the firſt, wherefore made he a problem of it? Why took he firſt upon him to maintain the negative of that, which I had affirmatively ſpoken only to ſhew mine own opinion, little thinking that ever it would have been made a queſtion? Of what nature ſoever the queſtion were, I could do no leſs than there

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explain myſelf to them, unto whom I was accuſed of unſound doctrine; wherein if to ſhew what had been through ambiguity miſtaken in my words, or miſapplied by him in this cauſe againſt me, I uſed the diſtinction and helps of Schools, I truſt that herein I have committed no unlawful thing. Theſe ſchool implements are acknowledged by grave and wiſe Men not unprofitable to have been invented. The moſt approved for learning and judgment do uſe them without blame; the uſe of them hath been well liked in ſome that have taught even in this very place before me: the quality of my Hearers is ſuch, that I could not but think them of capacity very ſufficient, for the moſt part, to conceive harder ſentences than I uſed any; the cauſe I had in hand did in my judgment neceſſarily require them which were then uſed: when my words ſpoken generally without diſtinctions had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by diſtinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all Men whether they were conſonant to truth or no? And although Mr. Travers be ſo inured with the city, that he thinketh it unmeet to uſe any ſpeech which ſavoureth of the School, yet his opinion is no canon; though unto him, his mind being troubled, my ſpeech did ſeem like fetters and manacles, yet there might be ſome more calmly affected which thought otherwiſe; his private judgment will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I ſpake *were neither of edification or truth*. They might edify ſome other, for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proof to cry, *Abſurdities, the like whereunto have not been heard in public places within this Land ſince Queen Mary's days!* If this came in earneſt from him, I am ſorry to ſee him ſo much offended without cauſe; more ſorry, that his fit ſhould be ſo extreme, to make him ſpeak he knoweth not what. That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church*; *Mihi pro minimo eſt*, it doth not much move

Calv. Inſt. l. i. c. 6. ſect. 9.

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me, when Mr. Travers doth ſay that, which I truſt a greater than Mr. Travers will gainſay.

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath ſaid be granted him, let it be as he would have it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much diſallowed by all Men's judgments as by his, what is all this to his purpoſe? He alledgeth this to be the cauſe why he bringeth it in; the High-Commiſſioners *charge him with an indiſcretion and want of duty in that he inveighed againſt certain points of doctrine taught by me, as erroneous, not conferring firſt with me, nor complaining of it to them.* Which faults, a ſea of ſuch matter as he hath hitherto waded in, will never be able to ſcour from him. For the avoiding of ſchiſm and diſturbance in the Church, which muſt needs grow if all Men might think what they liſt, and ſpeak openly what they think; therefore by a * Decree agreed upon by the Biſhops, and confirmed by her Majeſty's Authority, it was ordered that erroneous doctrine, if it were taught publickly, ſhould not be publickly refuted; but that notice thereof ſhould be given unto ſuch as are by her Highneſs appointed to hear and to determine ſuch cauſes. For breach of which order, when he is charged with lack of duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon me will make but a weak defence for him. As ſurely his defence is not much ſtronger, when he alledges for himſelf, that *he was in ſome hope that his ſpeech in proving the*

* In the Advertiſements publiſhed in the ſeventh year of her Majeſty's reign; "If any Preacher, or Parſon, Vicar, or Curate ſo licenſed, ſhall fortune to preach any matter tending to diſſenſion, or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine received, that the Hearers denounce the ſame to the Ordinary, or to the next Biſhop of the ſame place, but not openly to contrary, or to impugn the ſame ſpeech ſo diſorderly uttered whereby may grow offence, and diſquiet of the People, but ſhall be convinced and reproved by the Ordinary, after ſuch agreeable order as ſhall be ſeen to him, according to the gravity of the offence: and that it be preſented within one month after the words ſpoken."

truth, and clearing thoſe ſcruples which I had in myſelf, might cauſe me either to embrace ſound doctrine, or ſuffer it to be embraced of others; which, if I did he ſhould not need to complain: that *it was meet he ſhould diſcover firſt what I had ſown, and make it manifeſt to be tares, and then deſire their ſcythe to cut it down:* that, *conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe, than the foreſaid order requireth;* that, *he was unwilling to deal in that publick manner, and wiſhed a more convenient way were taken for it:* that, *he had reſolved to have proteſted the next ſabbath-day, that he would ſome other way ſatisfy ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deal more in that place.* Be it imagined (let me not be taken as if I did compare the offenders, whom I do not, but their anſwers only) that a Libeller did make this apology for himſelf; I am not ignorant that if I have juſt matter againſt any Man, the Law is open, there are Judges to hear it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a Man, yet without breach of duty; foraſmuch as I am able to yield a reaſon of my doing, I conceive ſome hope that a little diſcredit amongſt Men would make him aſhamed of himſelf, and that his ſhame would work his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need; could this anſwer be thought ſufficient, could it in the judgment of diſcreet Men free him from all blame? No more can the hope Mr. Travers conceived to reclaim me by publick ſpeech, juſtify his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

18. His thinking it meet, *he ſhould firſt openly diſcover to the People the tares that had been ſown amongſt them, and then require the hand of authority to mow them down*; doth only make it a queſtion, whether his opinion that this was meet, may be a privilege or protection againſt the lawful Conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet? Which queſtion I leave for them to diſcuſs whom it moſt concerneth. If the Order be ſuch, that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good conſcience,

ſcience, the peril whereof could be no greater to him, than it needs muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like cauſes; when this is evident, it will be an effectual motive, not only for England, but alſo for other Reformed Churches, even Geneva itſelf (for they have the like), to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be obſerved. In the mean while the breach of it may, in ſuch conſideration, be pardoned (which truly I wiſh, howſoever it be), yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force uncancelled.

19. Now, whereas he confeſſeth that another *way had been more convenient*, and that he found in himſelf ſecret unwillingneſs to do that which he did, doth he not ſay plainly, in effect, that the light of his own underſtanding proved the way that he took perverſe and crooked? Reaſon was ſo plain and pregnant againſt it, that his mind was alienated, his will averted to another courſe; yet ſomewhat there was that ſo far over-ruled, that it muſt needs be done even againſt the very ſtream; what doth this bewray? Finally, his purpoſed proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to make it known, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would ſatisfy Men otherwiſe, *and deal no more in this place*, ſheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to ſtay himſelf from further offending; but it ſerveth not his turn. He is blamed becauſe the thing he hath done was amiſs, and his anſwer is, that which I would have done afterwards had been well, if ſo be I had done it.

20. But as in this he ſtandeth perſuaded, that he hath done nothing beſides duty, ſo he taketh it hardly, that the High-Commiſſioners ſhould charge him with indiſcretion. Wherefore, as if he could ſo waſh his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himſelf; how he waded in *matters of ſmaller weight*, and how in things of *greater moment*; how warily he dealt; how *naturally he took things riſing from the text*; how *cloſely he kept himſelf*

to the Scriptures he took in hand; how *much pains he took to confirm the neceſſity of believing juſtification by Chriſt only*, and to ſhew how *the Church of Rome denieth that a Man is ſaved by Faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sons of Thunder would have done*, if they had been in his caſe; that his *anſwer was very temperate, without immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech*; that when he might *before all have reproved me*, he did not, *but contented himſelf with exhorting me* before all, *to follow Nathan's example, and reviſit my Doctrine*; when he might have followed St. Paul's example in *reproving* Peter, he did not, but exhorted me, with Peter, *to endure to be withſtood.* This teſtimony of his diſcreet carrying himſelf in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and given him by another than by himſelf, might make ſomewhat for the praiſe of his perſon; but for defence of his action, unto them by whom he is thought undiſcreet for not conferring privately before he ſpake, will it ſerve to anſwer, that when he ſpake, he did it conſiderately? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reaſons, ſuch as they are; as, namely, how he purpoſed at the firſt to take another courſe, and that was this, *Publickly to deliver the truth of ſuch Doctrine as I had otherwiſe taught, and at convenient opportunity to confer with me upon ſuch points.* Is this the rule of Chriſt? If thy Brother offend openly in his ſpeech, controul it firſt with contrary ſpeech openly, and confer with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunity ſerveth? Is there any Law of God or Man, whereupon to ground ſuch a reſolution? any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed thus to do, or to be done unto? He cannot but ſee how weak an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this courſe, firſt in one matter, and ſo afterwards in another, to approve himſelf now following it again. For if the purpoſe of doing of a thing ſo uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the

doing

doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The weight of the cauſe, which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The weightier it was, the more it required conſiderate advice and conſultation, the more it ſtood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were raſhly done or ſpoken in it. But he meaneth weighty, in regard of the wonderful danger, except he had preſently withſtood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cauſe being of ſuch moment that might prejudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and others weak in Faith, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced, to the deſtruction of their ſouls, he thought it his bounden duty to ſpeak before he talked with me.* A Man that ſhould read this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denied the Divinity of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can teſtify that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom for ſoundneſs of doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr. Travers himſelf doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour; they which heard, and do know, that the doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearful a manner, the doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the Faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely to *encourage ill-affected Men to continue ſtill in their damnable ways*; that gave ſo great cauſe to tremble for fear of the preſent *deſtruction of Souls*, was only this; *I doubt not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly*; and this ſpoken in a Sermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Popery, they will hardly be able to diſcern how *CHRISTIANITY* ſhould herewith be ſo grievouſly ſhaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might

have been either very well omitted, or at leaſt more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their judgments that caſt the moſt favourable aſpect towards theſe his haſty proceedings. The poiſon which Men had taken at my hands, was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight days to make them paſt cure; by eight days delay, there was no likelihood that the force and power of his ſpeech could die, longer meditation might bring better and ſtronger proofs to mind, than extemporal dexterity could furniſh him with. And, who doth know, whether Time, the only mother of ſound judgment and diſcreet dealing, might have given that action of his ſome better ripeneſs, which, by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing born out of time, brought ſmall joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better, that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an arrow ſticking in a thigh of fleſh; nor his own as a child whereof he muſt needs be delivered by an hour? His laſt way of diſburthening himſelf is, by caſting his load upon my back, as if I had brought him by former conferences out of hope, that any fruit ſhould ever come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip up thoſe conferences, whereof he maketh but a ſlippery and looſe relation. In one of them, the queſtion between us was, whether the perſuaſion of Faith concerning Remiſſion of Sins, Eternal Life, and whatſoever God doth promiſe unto Man, be as free from doubting, as the perſuaſion which we have by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeen? For the negative, I mentioned their example, whoſe Faith in Scripture is moſt commended, and the experience which all faithful Men have continually had of themſelves. For proof of the affirmative, which he held, I deſiring to have ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *all good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, upon requeſt to ſee ſome one of them, Peter Martyr's common places were brought, where the leaves were

turned

turned down, at a place ſounding to this effect: *That the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more virtuous than Moral Philoſophy doth make Heathens*: which came not near the queſtion by many miles.

22. In the other conference he queſtioned about the matter of Reprobation, miſliking firſt, that I had termed God a permiſſive, and no poſitive cauſe of the evil which the Schoolmen do call *Malum culpæ*: ſecondly, that to their objection, who ſay, *If I be elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditional, to ſave his Elect believing, fearing, and obediently ſerving him: thirdly, that to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for rejecting Caſt-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſs of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For, if God's electing do in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor only the poſitive foreſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, becauſe Election is through mercy, and mercy doth always preſuppoſe miſery: it followeth, that the very Choſen of God acknowledge, to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, *Thoſe ſhall live and not die*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrefied in their fathers' loins, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken Creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſign me unto endleſs torments, only to ſatisfy thine own Will, finding nothing in me for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feel everlaſting flames?

23. When I ſaw that Mr. Travers carped at theſe things, only becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed

at ſome convenient time to make them clear as light, both to him and all others. Which, if they that reprove me will not grant me leave to do, they muſt think that they are for ſome cauſe or other more deſirous to have me reputed an unſound Man, than willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appear and be approved. When I was further aſked what my grounds were? I anſwered, that St. Paul's words concerning this cauſe were my grounds. His next demand, what Author I did follow in expounding St. Paul, and gathering the Doctrine out of his words, againſt the judgment (he ſaith) *of all Churches and all good Writers?* I was well aſſured, that to controul this over-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might have cited out of Church confeſſions, together with the beſt learned monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of: but what had this booted me? For, although he himſelf in generality do much uſe thoſe formal ſpeeches, *All Churches*, and *all good Writers*, yet as he holdeth it in the pulpit, lawful to ſay in general, the Paynims think this, or the Heathens that, but utterly unlawful to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it; ſo he gave me at that time great cauſe to think, that my particular alledging of other Men's words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much have diſpleaſed his mind, as the thing itſelf for which it had been alledged; for he knoweth how often he hath in publick place bitten me for this, although I did never in any Sermon uſe many of the ſentences of other Writers, and do make moſt without any; having always thought it meeteſt, neither to affect nor contemn the uſe of them.

24. He is not ignorant, that in the very entrance to the talk which we had privately at that time, to prove it unlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe, to cite any thing but mere Canonical Scripture, he brought in,

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The Scripture is given by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c. urging much the vigour of theſe two clauſes, *the Man of God* and *every good work.* If therefore the work were good which he required at my hands, if privately to ſhew why I thought the Doctrine I had delivered to be according to St. Paul's meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning every Man of God, who in doing the work of preaching any way uſeth human authority, like it in me, if in the work of ſtrengthening that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortal Men? I alledged therefore that which might under no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely, reaſons; not meaning thereby mine own reaſon, as now it is reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe concluſions might be out of St. Paul demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon, proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are known; Theological reaſon, which out of principles in Scripture that are plain, ſoundly deduceth more doubtful inferences, in ſuch ſort, that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant unto them received; but whatſoever was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of dark places is thereby forced to yield itſelf, and the true conſonant meaning of ſentences not underſtood is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for me to eſcape the ferula in any thing I do or ſpeak, I had undoubtedly eſcaped in this. In this I did that which by ſome is enjoined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure and ſafe way, whereby to reſolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion. So that Mr. Travers had here ſmall cauſe given him to be weary of conferring, unleſs it was in other reſpects, than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25. Yet

25. Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complaining to the High-Commiſſion is, *That ſith I offended only through an over-charitable inclination, he conceived good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleared, and ſome ſcruples which were in my mind removed by his diligence, I would yield.* But what experience ſoever he had of former conferences, how ſmall ſoever his hope was that fruit would come of it, if he ſhould have conferred, will any Man judge this a cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in publick, without any one word privately ſpoken? He might have conſidered that Men do ſometimes reap, where they ſow but with ſmall hope; he might have conſidered, that although unto me (whereof he was not certain neither), but if to me his labour ſhould be as water ſpilt or poured into a torn diſh, yet to him it could not be fruitleſs to do that which Order in Chriſtian Churches, that which Charity amongſt Chriſtian Men, that which at many Men's hands, even common humanity itſelf, at his, many other things beſides, did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſte, with ſo ſmall advice, but ſuch as muſt needs be unpleaſant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that in this there was no overſight, muſt beware, leſt by ſuch defences he leave an opinion dwelling in the minds of Men, that he is more ſtiff to maintain what he hath done, than careful to do nothing but that which may juſtly be maintained.

26. Thus have I, as near as I could, ſeriouſly anſwered things of weight: with ſmaller I have dealt, as I thought their quality did require. I take no joy in ſtriving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Chriſt they which have at this preſent enforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might never have been conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much as in mine own defence. Wherefore to proſecute this long and tedious contention no further, I ſhall wiſh that your Grace, and

their

their Honours (unto whoſe intelligence the dutiful regard, which I have of their judgments, maketh me deſirous, that as accuſations have been brought againſt me, ſo that this my anſwer thereunto may likewiſe come), did both with the one and the other, as Conſtantine with books containing querelous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wiſhed or no, I cannot tell: but ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the Parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the grave advice which Conſtantine gave for re-uniting of his Clergy ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort divided, or rather the ſtrict Commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould not be divided at all, may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, prevail ſo far, at leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian World, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall moment never disjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, bands of ſo great force, have linked; that a reſpective eye towards things wherewith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very Patriarchs themſelves ſometimes were, full gorged, unable to ſpeak peaceably to their own Brother: finally, that no ſtrife may ever be heard of again, but this, who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue peace and unity with ſwifteſt paces.

TO

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

WHEREAS many desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to have it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath been thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not only they might be satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Author from the suspicion of some errors, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have answered with Cremutius in Tacitus, Verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum. *Certainly the event of that time wherein he lived, shewed that to be true, which the same Author spake of a worse,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus, *and that there is not* minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala. *But he hath so quit himself, that all may see how, as it was said of Agricola,* Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Author said of the same Man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. *But as of all other his Writings, so of this I will add that which Velleius spake in commendation of Piso,* Nemo fuit, qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, sine ulla ostentatione agendi. *So not doubting, good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy favourable acceptance of this work (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned labours), I take my leave, from Corpus Christi College in Oxford, the sixth of July,* 1612.

Lib. iv. Ann.

Lib. i. Hist.

In vita Agricolæ.

Lib. ii.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

HENRY JACKSON.

A

LEARNED DISCOURSE

OF

JUSTIFICATION, WORKS,

AND HOW THE

FOUNDATION OF FAITH IS OVERTHROWN.

HABAK. i. 4.

The Wicked doth compaſs about the Righteous: therefore perverſe Judgment doth proceed.

FOR the better manifeſtation of the Prophet's meaning in this place, we are firſt to conſider the Wicked, of whom he ſaith, that *they compaſs about the Righteous*; ſecondly, the Righteous that are compaſſed about by them: and, thirdly, that which is inferred; *therefore perverſe Judgment proceedeth.* Touching the firſt, there are two kinds of wicked Men, of whom in the fifth of the former to the Corinthians, the bleſſed Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus: *Do ye not judge them that are within? but God judgeth them that are without.* There are wicked therefore whom the Church may judge, and there are wicked whom God only judgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the walls of the Church. If within the Church, particular perſons be apparently ſuch, as cannot otherwiſe be reformed, the rule of the Apoſtolical

1 Cor. v. 13.

2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.

tolical judgment is this, *Separate them from among you*: if whole assemblies, this: *Separate yourselves from among them: for what society hath light with darkness?* But the Wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cause we have heard at large heretofore in what sort he urgeth God to judge them.

2. Now concerning the Righteous, there neither is, nor ever was any mere natural Man absolutely righteous in himself, that is to say, void of all unrighteousness, of all sin. We dare not except, no not the blessed Virgin herself, of whom although we say with St. Augustine, for the honour sake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Christ, we are not willing, in this cause, to move any question of his Mother; yet forasmuch as the Schools of Rome have made it a question; we may answer with * Eusebius Emissenus, who speaketh of her, and to her in this effect: *Thou didst by special prerogative nine months together entertain within the closet of thy flesh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the common joy of Men. He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he took the blood, which was to be shed for the life of the World, of thee he took that which even for thee he paid. A peccati enim veteris nexu, per se† non est immunis ipsa genetrix Redemptoris*: The Mother of the Redeemer himself is not otherwise loosed from the bond of ancient sin, than by redemption. If Christ have paid a ransom for all, even for her, it followeth, that all, without exception, were captives. If one have died for all, then all were dead

* Or whosoever it be, that was the author of those Homilies that go under his name.

† Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this question, some critical wits may perhaps half suspect that these two words, *per se*, are inmates. But if the place which they have, be their own, their sense can, be none other than that which I have given them by a paraphrastical interpretation.

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in ſin; all ſinful therefore, none abſolutely righteous in themſelves; but we are abſolutely righteous in Chriſt. The World then muſt ſhew a righteous Man, otherwiſe it is not able to ſhew a Man that is perfectly righteous: *Chriſt is made to us Wiſdom, Juſtice, Sanctification, and Redemption:* Wiſdom, becauſe he hath revealed his Father's will: Juſtice, becauſe he hath offered up himſelf a Sacrifice for ſin: Sanctification, becauſe he hath given us his Spirit; Redemption, becauſe he hath appointed a day to vindicate his Children out of the bands of corruption into liberty which is glorious. How Chriſt is made Wiſdom, and how Redemption, it may be declared, when occaſion ſerveth; but how Chriſt is made the Righteouſneſs of Men, we are now to declare.

3. There is a glorifying Righteouſneſs of Men in the World to come: as there is a juſtifying and ſanctifying Righteouſneſs here. The Righteouſneſs, wherewith we ſhall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are juſtified is perfect; but not inherent. That whereby we are ſanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that grand queſtion, which hangeth yet in controverſy between us and the Church of Rome, about the matter of juſtifying Righteouſneſs.

4. Firſt, although they imagine that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt were for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin; yet touching the reſt, they teach as we do, that Infants that never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, deſtitute of juſtice, averted from God; that in making Man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God*. They teach

* They teach as we do, that God doth juſtify the ſoul of Man alone, without any co-effective cauſe of juſtice. Deus ſine medio co effectivo animam juſtificat. Caſal. de quadripart. juſt. lib. vi. Idem. lib. iii. c. 9.

as we do, that unto juſtice no Man ever attained, but by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we do, that although Chriſt as God be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cauſe of our juſtice; yet in us alſo there is ſomething required. God is the cauſe of our natural life; in him we live: but he quickeneth not the body without the ſoul in the body. Chriſt hath merited to make us juſt: but as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt there can be no juſtification, without the application of his merit. Thus far we join hands with the Church of Rome.

The difference between the Papiſts and us about *Juſtification.*

5. Wherein then do we diſagree? We diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the medicine whereby Chriſt cureth our diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our ſoul's comfort. When they are required to ſhew what the Righteouſneſs is whereby a Chriſtian Man is juſtified, they * anſwer, that it is a divine ſpiritual quality; which quality received into the Soul, doth firſt make it to be one of them who are born of God: and, ſecondly, endue it with power to bring forth ſuch works, as they do that are born of him; even as the ſoul of Man being joined to his body, doth firſt make him to be of the number of reaſonable Creatures; and, ſecondly, enable him to perform the natural functions which are proper to his kind; that it maketh

* Tho. Aquin. 1, 2. quæſt. 100. Gratia gratum faciens, id eſt, juſtificans, eſt in anima quiddam reale et poſitivum, qualitas quædam (art. ii. concl.) ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, ut magiſter; ſed aliquid (art. iii.) præter virtutes infuſas, fidem, ſpem, charitatem, habitudo quædam (art. iii. ad 3.) quæ præſupponitur in virtutibus iſtis ſicut earum principium et radix, eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubjectum occupat, non potentias, ſed ab ipſa (art. iv. ad 1.) effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ moventur ad actus. Plur. vid. quæſt. 113. de Juſtificatione.

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the Soul amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed Grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtains and pollutions of ſins; that by it, through the merit of Chriſt we are delivered as from ſin, ſo from eternal death and condemnation, the reward of ſin. This Grace they will have to be applied by infuſion; to the end, that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, ſo the Soul might be righteous by inherent Grace: which Grace they make capable of increaſe; as the body may be more and more warm, ſo the Soul more and more juſtified, according as Grace ſhould be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore the firſt receipt of Grace in their divinity is the firſt Juſtification: the increaſe thereof, the ſecond Juſtification. As Grace may be increaſed by the merit of good works; ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſins venial; it may be loſt by mortal ſin. Inaſmuch therefore as it is needful in the one caſe to repair, in the other to recover the loſs which is made; the infuſion of Grace hath her ſundry after-meals; for the which cauſe, they make many ways to apply the infuſion of Grace. It is applied to Infants through Baptiſm, without either Faith or Works, and in them really it taketh away Original ſin, and the puniſhment due unto it; it is applied to Infidels and wicked Men in the firſt Juſtification, through Baptiſm without Works, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both ſins Actual and Original together, with all whatſoever puniſhment, eternal or temporal, thereby deſerved. Unto ſuch as have attained the firſt Juſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receipt of Grace, it is applied farther by good works to the increaſe of former Grace, which is the ſecond Juſtification. If they work more and more, Grace doth more increaſe, and they are more and more juſtified. To ſuch as diminiſh it by venial ſins, it is applied

by Holy-water, *Ave Maria's*, Croſſings, Papal Salutations, and ſuch like, which ſerve for reparations of Grace decayed. To ſuch as have loſt it through mortal ſin, it is applied by the ſacrament (as they term it) of Penance: which ſacrament hath force to confer Grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtain or guilt of ſin committed, and changeth the puniſhment eternal into a temporal ſatisfactory puniſhment here, if time do ſerve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightened by Maſſes, works of Charity, Pilgrimages, Faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortened by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed, and taken away. This is the myſtery of the Man of ſin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cauſe her followers to tread, when they aſk her the way to Juſtification. I cannot ſtand now to unrip this building, and ſift it piece by piece; only I will paſs it by in few words, that that may befal Babylon, in the preſence of that which God hath builded, as happened unto Dagon before the ark.

Phil. iii. 8. 6. Doubtleſs, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I have counted all things loſs, and judge them to be dung, that I may win Chriſt; and to be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God through Faith.* Whether they ſpeak of the firſt or ſecond Juſtification, they make the eſſence of a divine quality inherent, they make it righteouſneſs which is in us. If it be in us, then is it ours, as our ſouls are ours though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaſeth him; for if he withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, we fall to duſt: but the Righteouſneſs wherein we muſt be found, if we will be juſtified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be juſtified by any inherent quality. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſs for as many as are found in him.

In

In him God findeth us, if we be faithful; for by Faith we are incorporated into Christ. Then, although in ourselves we be altogether sinful and unrighteous, yet even the Man which is impious in himself, full of iniquity, full of sin; him being found in Christ through Faith, and having his sin remitted through Repentance; him God beholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his sin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the punishment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jesus Christ, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: shall I say more perfectly righteous than if himself had fulfilled the whole Law? I must take heed what I say: but the Apostle saith, *God made him to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* Such we are in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himself. Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury, whatsoever; it is our comfort, and our wisdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that Man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the Son of Man, and that Men are made the Righteousness of God. You see therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching Justification by inherent Grace, doth pervert the truth of Christ; and that by the hands of the Apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth. Now concerning the righteousness of Sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent; we grant, that unless we work, we have it not; only we distinguish it as a thing different in nature from the righteousness of Justification: we are righteous the one way, by the Faith of Abraham; the other way, except we do the works of Abraham, we are not righteous. Of the one, St. Paul, *To him that worketh not, but believeth, Faith is counted for righteousness*: of the other, St. John, *Qui facit justitiam, justus est*; He is righteous which worketh righteousness. Of the one, St. Paul doth prove by Abraham's ex-

2 Cor. v. 21.

Rom. iv. 5.

ample, that we have it of Faith without Works: of the other, St. James by Abraham's example, that by Works we have it, and not only by Faith. St. Paul doth plainly ſever theſe two parts of Chriſtian Righteouſneſs one from the other. For in the ſixth
Rom. vi. to the Romans thus he writeth, *Being freed from ſin, and made Servants to God, ye have your fruit in holineſs, and the end everlaſting life. Ye are made free from ſin, and made Servants unto God*; this is the righteouſneſs of Juſtification; *Ye have your fruit in holineſs*; this is the righteouſneſs of Sanctification. By the one we are intereſted in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual poſſeſſion of eternal bliſs, and ſo the end of both is everlaſting life.

7. The Prophet Habakkuk doth here term the Jews *righteous Men*, not only becauſe being juſtified by Faith they were free from ſin; but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruits in Holineſs. According to whoſe example of charitable judgment, which leaveth it to God to diſcern what we are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that which they do profeſs themſelves to be, although they be not holy Men whom Men do think, but whom God doth know indeed to be ſuch: yet let every Chriſtian Man know, that in Chriſtian equity, he ſtandeth bound for to think and ſpeak of his Brethren, as of Men that have a meaſure in the fruit of Holineſs, and a right unto the titles wherewith God, in token of ſpecial favour and mercy, vouchſafed to honour his choſen Servants. So we ſee the Apoſtles of our Saviour Chriſt do uſe every where the name of *Saints*; ſo the Prophet the name of *righteous*. But let us all be ſuch as we deſire to be termed: *Reatus impii eſt pium nomen*, ſaith Salvianus; godly names do not juſtify godleſs Men. We are but upbraided, when we are honoured with names and titles whereunto our lives and manners are not ſuitable. If indeed we have our fruit in Holineſs, notwithſtanding we muſt note,

that

that the more we abound therein, the more need we have to crave that we may be ſtrengthened and ſupported. Our very virtues may be ſnares unto us. The enemy that waiteth for all occaſions to work our ruin, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble Sinner, than a proud Saint. There is no Man's caſe ſo dangerous, as his whom Satan hath perſuaded that his own righteouſneſs ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſs in the ſight of God. If we could ſay, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our conſciences (we know ourſelves far from this innocency; we cannot ſay, we know nothing by ourſelves; but if we could) ſhould we therefore plead not guilty before the preſence of our Judge, that ſees further into our hearts than we ourſelves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our Brethren, a bloody thought doth prove us Murderers before him: if we had never opened our mouth to utter any ſcandalous, offenſive, or hurtful word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the ſins, which daily and hourly either in deed, word, or thoughts we do commit; yet in the good things which we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, reſpecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein we have regarded our own glory, thoſe things which Men do to pleaſe Men, and to ſatisfy our own liking, thoſe things which we do for any by-reſpect, not ſincerely and purely for the love of God, and a ſmall ſcore will ſerve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holieſt and beſt things which we do be conſidered. We are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! How little reverence do we ſhew unto the grand majeſty of God, unto whom we ſpeak! How little remorſe of our own miſeries! How little taſte of the ſweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as un-

willing many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in saying, *Call upon me*, he had set us a very burdensome task? It may seem somewhat extreme, which I will speak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart shall tell him, and no otherwise; I will but only make a demand: If God should yield unto us, not as unto Abraham, if fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good persons could be found in a city, for their sakes this city should not be destroyed; but, and if he should make us an offer thus large; search all the generations of Men, sithence the fall of our father Adam, find one Man, that hath done one action, which hath passed from him pure, without any stain or blemish at all; and for that one Man's only action, neither Man nor Angel shall feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ransom, to deliver Men and Angels, could be found to be among the Sons of Men? The best things which we do, have somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life to as many as sincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful necessity of doing well, but the meritorious dignity of doing well we utterly renounce. We see how far we are from the perfect righteousness of the Law; the little fruit which we have in holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our debt-books: our continual suit to him, is, and must be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the People of whom the Prophet speaketh, were they all, or were the most part of them such as had care to walk uprightly? did they thirst after righteousness? did they wish, did they long with the

righteous

righteous Prophet, *Oh that our ways were ſo direct that we might keep thy Statutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apoſtle, *Oh miſerable Men, the good which we wiſh and purpoſe, and ſtrive to do, we cannot?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people do ſhew the contrary. How grievouſly hath Eſay mourned over them! *Oh ſinful nation, laden with iniquity, wicked ſeed, corrupt Children!* All which notwithſtanding, ſo wide are the bowels of his compaſſion enlarged, that he denieth us not, no, not when we were laden with iniquity, leave to commune familiarly with him, liberty to crave and intreat, that what plagues ſoever we have deſerved, we may not be in worſe caſe than unbelievers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans and Infidels. Jeruſalem is a ſinful polluted city: but Jeruſalem, compared with Babylon, is righteous. And ſhall the righteous be overborne? ſhall they be compaſſed about by the wicked? But the Prophet doth not only complain; Lord, how cometh it to paſs, that thou handleſt us ſo hardly, of whom thy name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen Nations, that deſpiſe thee? no, he breaketh out through extremity of grief, and inferreth violently: This *proceeding is perverſe*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore perverſe judgment doth proceed.*

Rom. vii. 19.

Cap. i. ver. 4.

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for you to hear, and me to ſpeak, if neceſſity did not draw me to another taſk. Paul and Barnabas being requeſted to preach the ſame things again which once they had preached, thought it their duties to ſatisfy the godly deſires of Men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeem burdenous for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion unto theirs being offered me. When we had laſt the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words: *In theſe laſt days he hath ſpoken unto us by his Son:* after we had thence collected

Acts xiii. 41, 44.

Heb. i. 2.

lected the nature of the visible Church of Christ; and had defined it to be a community of Men sanctified through the profession of the Truth,* which God hath taught the world by his Son; and had declared, that the scope of Christian Doctrine is the comfort of them whose hearts are overcharged with the burden of sin; and had proved that the doctrine professed in the Church of Rome doth bereave Men of comfort both in their lives and in their deaths: the conclusion in the end whereunto we came was this; the Church of Rome being in Faith so corrupted, as she is, and refusing to be reformed, as she doth, we are to sever ourselves from her; the example of our Fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that we so continuing, may be saved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciful to save thousands of them, though they lived in Popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this last sentence, namely, these words: *I doubt not, but God was merciful to save thousands of our Fathers living in Popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly:* this sentence, I beseech you to mark, and to sift it with the severity of austere judgment, that if it be found to be gold, it may be suitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid: for I protest, that if it be hay or stubble, my own hand shall set fire on it. Two questions have risen by reason of this speech before alledged: The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popish errors and superstitions, may be saved?* The other, *Whether their ignorance be a reasonable inducement to make us think they might?* We are then to examine, first, what possibility;

* By Sanctification, I mean a separation from others not professing as they do. For true holiness consisteth not in professing, but in obeying the truth of Christ.

then what probability there is that God might be merciful unto ſo many of our Fathers.

10. So many of our Fathers living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angel from Heaven, unto his people concerning Babylon (by Babylon we underſtand the Church of Rome); *Go out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her* Apoc. xviii. *plagues.* For anſwer whereunto, firſt, I do not take 4. the words to be meant only of temporal plagues, of the corporal death, ſorrow, famine, and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to ſave his choſen people from theſe plagues, he ſaith, *Go out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpel, ſpeaking of Jeruſalem's deſolation, he ſaith, *Let* Mat. xxiv. *them that are in Judea, fly unto the mountains, and* 16. *them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*: or, as in former times to Lot, *Ariſe, take thy wife and thy* Gen. xix. *daughters which are there, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the* 15. *puniſhment of the City*: but foraſmuch as here it is ſaid, *Go out of Babylon*; we doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implied in this ſentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of your Fathers to be ſaved, ſith they were ſo far from departing out of Babylon, that they took her for their Mother, and in her boſom yielded up the ghoſt?

11. Firſt, for the plagues being threatened unto them that are partakers in the ſins of Babylon, we can define nothing concerning our fathers, out of this ſentence: unleſs we ſhew what the ſins of Babylon be; and what they be which are ſuch partakers of them, that their everlaſting plagues are inevitable. The ſins which may be common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſevered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of Babylon, leſt ye be partakers of her ſins*, ſheweth plainly, that he meaneth ſuch ſins, as, except we ſeparate ourſelves, we have no power in the world to avoid; ſuch impieties, as by their Law they

they have eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either do indeed aſſent, or elſe are by powerable means forced in ſhew and appearance to ſubject themſelves. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the ſame credit and reverence that we give to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be given to unwritten verities; that the Pope is ſupreme head miniſterial over the univerſal Church militant; that the bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; that it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God, as a ſacrifice propitiatory for quick and dead; that Images are to be worſhipped; Saints to be called upon as interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies do concern things only believed, as the tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental elements in the Euchariſt; ſome concern things which are practiſed and put in ure, as the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: we muſt note, that erroneouſly, the practice of that is ſometime received, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not heretically maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſy to be Hereſy, do, notwithſtanding, in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn: but Hereſy is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholeſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation without an actual repentance, is inevitable. Leſt any Man therefore ſhould think, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeak indifferently of them all, let my words, I beſeech you, be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers:* which thing I will now, by God's aſſiſtance, ſet more plainly before your eyes.

12. Many

12. Many are partakers of the error which are not of the hereſy of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, and obſerving as they did, exactly, that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſervice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the Hereſy of the Church of Rome, their dogmatical poſitions oppoſite unto Chriſtian truth, what one Man amongſt ten thouſand did ever underſtand? Of them, which underſtand Roman Hereſies, and allow them, all are not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt founders and eſtabliſhers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes and Councils: the people are clear and free from this. Of them which maintain Popiſh Hereſies, not as authors, but receivers of them from others, all maintain them not as Maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the Predicants and Schoolmen. Of them which have been partakers in this ſin of teaching Popiſh Hereſy, there is alſo a difference; for they have not all been Teachers of all Popiſh Hereſy. *Put a difference*, ſaith St. Jude; *have compaſſion upon ſome*. Shall we lap up all in one condition? ſhall we caſt them all headlong, ſhall we plunge them all into that infernal and everlaſting flaming lake? them that have been partakers of the errors of Babylon, together with them which are in the Hereſy? them which have been the Authors of Hereſy, with them that by terror and violence have been forced to receive it? them who have taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicity hath, by ſleights and conveyances of falſe Teachers, been ſeduced to believe it? them which have been partakers in one, with them which have been partakers in many? them which in many, with them which in all? Ver. 22.

13. Notwithſtanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable than of theſe;

theſe; yet from the Man that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſins of Babylon; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guide heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſs. But woe worth the hour wherein we were born, except we might promiſe ourſelves better things; things which accompany Man's ſalvation, even where we know that worſe and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt we ſhew ſome way how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there that ſinners can find to eſcape the judgment of God, but only by appealing to the ſeat of his ſaving mercy? which mercy, with Origen, we do not extend to devils and damned ſpirits. God hath mercy upon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which he hardeneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his ſaving mercy within the compaſs of theſe terms: *God ſent not his own Son to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be ſaved.* In the third of St. John's Goſpel mercy is reſtrained to believers: *He that believeth ſhall not be condemned; he that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not in the Son of God.* In the ſecond of the Revelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of Jezebel and her ſectaries thus he ſpeaketh: *I gave her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her Children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers is, if they were not altogether faithleſs and impenitent, that they are ſaved.

John iii. 17.

Rev. ii. 22.

14. They are not all faithleſs that are weak in aſſenting to the truth, or ſtiff in maintaining things oppoſite to the truth of Chriſtian Doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though

though they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a ſlender thread, although they frame many baſe and unſuitable things upon it, things that cannot abide the trial of the fire; yet ſhall they paſs the fiery trial and be ſaved, which indeed have builded themſelves upon the rock, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt but they were faithleſs. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaved. Then let us ſee what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may think that thouſands of our Fathers being in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15. If the foundation of Faith do import the general ground, whereupon we reſt when we do believe, the writings of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith: *Credimus quia legimus* (ſaith St. Jerome): Oh that the Church of Rome did as * ſoundly interpret theſe fundamental writings whereupon we build our Faith, as ſhe doth willingly hold and embrace them.

16. But if the name of Foundation do note the principal thing which is believed, then is that the foundation of our Faith which St. Paul hath to Timothy: *God manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of Nathaniel, *thou art the Son of the living God: thou art the King of Iſrael:* that of the inhabitants of Samaria, *This is Chriſt the Saviour of the world:* he that directly denieth this, doth utterly raze the very foundation of our Faith. I have proved heretofore, that although the Church of Rome hath played the harlot worſe than ever did Iſrael, yet are they not as now the Synagogue of the Jews, which

1 Tim. iii. 16.

John i. 49.

John iv. 42.

* They miſinterpret, not only by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes upon the Scripture, but alſo by forcing the old vulgar tranſlation as the only authentical: howbeit, they refuſe no book which is canonical, though they admit ſundry which are not.

plainly

plainly deny Christ Jesus, quite and clean excluded from the new Covenant. But as Samaria compared with Jerusalem is termed Aholath, a Church or Tabernacle of her own; contrariwise, Jerusalem Aholibath, the resting place of the Lord: so, whatsoever we term the Church of Rome, when we compare her with reformed Churches, still we put a difference, as then between Babylon and Samaria, so now between Rome and the Heathenish assemblies. Which opinion I must and will recal; I must grant and will, that the Church of Rome, together with all her children, is clean excluded. There is no difference in the world between our Fathers and Saracens, Turks and Painims, if they did directly deny Christ crucified for the Salvation of the World.

17. But how many millions of them were known so to have ended their lives, that the drawing of their breath hath ceased with the uttering of this Faith, *Christ my Saviour, my Redeemer Jesus?* Answer is made, that this they might unfeignedly confess, and yet be far enough from Salvation. For behold, Gal. v. 2. saith the Apostle, *I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Christ in the work of Man's salvation is alone: the Galatians were cast away by joining Circumcision, and the other rites of the Law, with Christ: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to join other things likewise with him; therefore their faith, their belief doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true that they do indeed join other things with Christ: but how? not in the work of redemption itself, which they grant, that Christ alone hath performed sufficiently for the salvation of the whole World; but in the application of this inestimable treasure, that it may be effectual to their salvation: how demurely soever they confess, that they seek remission of sins no otherwise than by the blood of Christ, using humbly the means appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy blood; they teach, indeed, so many things

pernicious

pernicious in Christian Faith, in setting down the means whereof they speak, that the very foundation of Faith which they hold, is thereby * plainly overthrown, and the force of the blood of Jesus Christ extinguished. We may therefore dispute with them, urge them even with as dangerous sequels, as the Apostle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if some of those Galatians heartily embracing the Gospel of Christ, sincere and sound in Faith (this one only error excepted) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how perilous an opinion they held; shall we think that the danger of this error did so overweigh the benefit of their Faith, that the mercy of God might not save them? I grant they overthrew the foundation of Faith by consequent: doth not that so likewise which the † Lutheran Churches do at this day so stiffly and so firmly maintain? For mine own part I dare not here deny the possibility of their salvation which have been the chiefest instruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a persuasion so greatly repugnant to the truth. Forasmuch therefore as it may be said of the Church of Rome, she hath yet a little strength; she doth not directly deny the foundation of Christianity: I may, I trust without offence, persuade myself, that thousands of our Fathers in former times, living and

* Plainly in all Men's sight whose eyes God hath enlightened to behold his truth. For they which are in error, are in darkness, and see not that which in light is plain. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Christ, they hold the same with Nestorius fully, the same with Eutyches about the proprieties of his nature.

† The opinion of the Lutherans, though it be no direct denial of the foundation, may notwithstanding be damnable unto some; and I do not think but that in many respects it is less damnable, as at this day some maintain it, than it was in them which held it at first; as Luther and others whom I had an eye unto in this speech. The question is not whether an error with such and such circumstances; but simply, whether an error overthrowing the foundation, do exclude all possibility of salvation, if it be not recanted, and expressly repented of.

dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What although they repented not of their errors? God forbid that I ſhould open my mouth to gainſay that which Chriſt himſelf hath ſpoken: *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh.* And if they did not repent, they periſhed. But withal note, that we have the benefit of a double repentance: the leaſt ſin which we commit in deed, thought, or word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things do eſcape us in every of theſe, which we do not know? how many, which we do not obſerve to be ſins? and without the knowledge, without the obſervation of ſin, there is no actual repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the foundation, and have all holden ſins and errors in hatred, the bleſſing of repentance for unknown ſins and errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuiters as cry with the Prophet David, *Purge me, O Lord, from my ſecret ſins.*

19. But we waſh a wall of loam; we labour in vain; all this is nothing; it doth not prove; it cannot juſtify that which we go about to maintain. Infidels and Heathen Men are not ſo godleſs, but that they may, no doubt, cry God mercy, and deſire in general to have their ſins forgiven them. To ſuch as deny the foundation of Faith there can be no ſalvation (according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving Men) without a particular repentance of that error. The Galatians thinking, that unleſs they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaved, overthrew the foundation of Faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſuaded, whether before or after they were told of their errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh nothing of Men departed, but

Gal. v. ſaith generally of all, *If you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. You are aboliſhed from Chriſt, whoſoever*

whoſoever are juſtified by the Law; ye are fallen from Grace. Of them in the Church of Rome the reaſon is the ſame. For whom Antichriſt hath ſeduced, concerning them did not St. Paul ſpeak long before, They received not the word of truth, that they might be ſaved, therefore God would *ſend them ſtrong deluſions to believe lies, that all they might be damned which believe not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs?* and St. John, *All that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life?* Indeed many in former times, as their books and writings do yet ſhew, held the foundation, to wit, Salvation by Chriſt alone, and therefore might be ſaved. God hath always had a Church amongſt them, which firmly kept his ſaving truth. As for ſuch as hold with the Church of Rome, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works; they do not only by a circle of conſequence, but directly deny the foundation of Faith; they hold it not, no not ſo much as by a thread.

2 Theſſ. ii. 11.

Apoc. xiii. ver. 8. Apoc. xiii.

20. This, to my remembrance, being all that hath been oppoſed with any countenance or ſhew of reaſon, I hope, if this be anſwered, the cauſe in queſtion is at an end. Concerning general repentance therefore: what? a Murtherer, a Blaſphemer, an unclean Perſon, a Turk, a Jew, any Sinner to eſcape the wrath of God by a general repentance, *God forgive me?* Truly it never came within my heart, that a general repentance doth ſerve for all ſins: it ſerveth only for the common overſights of our ſinful life, and for the faults which either we do not mark, or do not know that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for ſins, wherein they knew they diſpleaſed God; or elſe they fall not within the compaſs of my firſt ſpeech. Again, that otherwiſe they could not be ſaved, than holding the foundation of Chriſtian Faith, we have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confeſſed, that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions,

ſtitions, might yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? Firſt, if they had directly denied the very foundations of Chriſtianity, without repenting them particularly of that ſin, he which ſaith there could be no ſalvation for them, according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving Men, granteth plainly, or at the leaſt cloſely inſinuateth, that an extraordinary privilege of mercy might deliver their ſouls from hell, which is more than I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of ſome hereſy which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongſt our Fathers, who being ſeduced by the common error of that Church, never knew the meaning of her Hereſies? So that although all Popiſh Hereticks did periſh; thouſands of them which lived in Popiſh Superſtitions, might be ſaved. Thirdly, ſeeing all that held Popiſh Hereſies, did not hold all the Hereſies of the Pope; why might not thouſands which were infected with other leaven, live and die unſoured with this, and ſo be ſaved? Fourthly, if they all held this Hereſy, many there were that held it, no doubt, but only in a general form of words, which a favourable interpretation might expound in a ſenſe differing far enough from the poiſoned conceit of Hereſy. As for example; did they hold that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without good works?* We ourſelves do, I think, all ſay as much, with this conſtruction, ſalvation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*; except Infants, and Men cut off upon the point of their converſion, of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeek peace and holineſs, though not as a cauſe of their ſalvation, yet as a way which

* For this is the only thing alledged to prove the impoſſibility of their ſalvation: the Church of Rome joineth works with Chriſt, which is a denial of the foundation, and unleſs we hold the foundation, we cannot be ſaved.

they

they muſt walk which will be ſaved. Did they hold, that without works we are not juſtified? Take juſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and St. James doth ſay as much. For except there be an ambiguity in the ſame term, St. Paul and St. James do contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of Faith, or of Works, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that juſtification is ſpoken of by St. Paul without implying ſanctification, when he proveth that a Man is juſtified by Faith without Works; finding likewiſe that juſtification doth ſometime imply ſanctification alſo with it; I ſuppoſe nothing to be more ſound, than ſo to interpret St. James, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

21. We have already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian Righteouſneſs: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which conſiſteth of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and other Chriſtian Virtues: and St. James doth prove that Abraham had not only the one becauſe the thing believed was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; but alſo the other, becauſe he offered up his Son. God giveth us both the one juſtice and the other; the one by accepting us for righteous in Chriſt; the other by working Chriſtian righteouſneſs in us. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in us of this latter, is the Spirit of Adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed Virtues proper and peculiar unto Saints; which the Spirit in the very moment when firſt it is given of God bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doth call the fruits of works, the operations of the Spirit: the difference of the which operation from the root whereof they ſpring maketh it needful to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſs, habitual and actual. Habitual, that

holineſs, wherewith our Souls are inwardly endued, the ſame inſtant when firſt we begin to be the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt: actual, that holineſs which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life, the holineſs for which Enoch, Job, Zachary, Elizabeth, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe we do firſt receive; I anſwer, that the Spirit, the virtue of the Spirit, the habitual juſtice, which is engrafted, the external juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt, which is imputed; theſe we receive all at one and the ſame time; whenſoever we have any of theſe, we have all; they go together: yet ſith no Man is juſtified except he believe, and no Man believeth except he has Faith, and no Man except he hath received the Spirit of Adoption, hath Faith; foraſmuch as they do neceſſarily infer juſtification, and juſtification doth of neceſſity preſuppoſe them: we muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſs, in dignity being the chiefeſt, is notwithſtanding in order to the laſt of all theſe: but actual righteouſneſs, which is the righteouſneſs of good works, ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, ſheweth plainly how the faith of true Believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet unto juſtification neceſſary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith: finally, how our Fathers might hold, that we are juſtified by faith alone, and yet hold truly that without works we are not juſtified. Did they think that Men do merit rewards in heaven by the works they perform on earth? The ancients uſe meriting for obtaining, and in that ſenſe they of Wittenberg have in their confeſſion; *We teach that good works commanded of God, are neceſſarily to be done, and by the free kindneſs of God they merit their certain rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech in a ſound meaning, as

we may take our Fathers, and might, forasmuch as their meaning is doubtful, and charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably; what should induce us to think that rather the damage of the worst construction did light upon them all, than that the blessing of the better was granted unto thousands? Fifthly, if in the worst construction that may be made, they had generally all embraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? Howsoever Men, when they sit at ease, do vainly tickle their hearts with the vain conceit of I know not what proportionable correspondence between their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high speculations they dream that God hath measured, weighed, and laid up, as it were in bundle for them; notwithstanding we see by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the hour of death approacheth, when they secretly hear themselves summoned forthwith to appear, and stand at the bar of that Judge, whose brightness causeth the eyes of the Angels themselves to dazzle, all these idle imaginations do then begin to hide their faces; to name merits then, is to lay their souls upon the rack, the memory of their own deeds is loathsome unto them, they forsake all things wherein they have put any trust or confidence; no staff to lean upon, no ease, no rest, no comfort then, but only in Jesus Christ.

22. Wherefore if this proposition were true: *To hold in such wise, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be saved by Christ alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I say, that if this proposition were true: nevertheless so many ways I have shewed, whereby we may hope that thousands of our Fathers which lived in Popish superstition might be saved.* But what if it be not true? What

* They may cease to put any confidence in works, and yet never think, living in Popish superstition, they did amiss. Pighius died Popish, and yet denied Popery in the article of justification by works long before his death.

if neither that of the Galatians, concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of Rome by Works be any direct denial of the foundation, as it is affirmed that both are? I need not wade ſo far as to diſcuſs this controverſy, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo clear, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire that the truth even in that alſo ſhould receive light, I will do mine endeavour to ſet down ſomewhat more plainly; firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: ſecondly, what is directly to deny the foundation: thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to be Heirs of life, may fall ſo far as directly to deny it: fourthly, whether the Galatians did ſo by admitting the error about Circumciſion and the Law; laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Works, may be thought to do the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, than are the aſſemblies of Turks and Jews.

What the foundation of Faith is.

23. This word Foundation being figuratively uſed, hath always reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a material building, as both that doctrine of Laws and the community of Chriſtians do. By the maſters of Civil Policy nothing is ſo much inculcated, as that Commonwealths are founded upon Laws; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe than by a common acception of Laws, whereby they are to be kept in order.* The ground of all Civil Laws is this; *No Man ought to be hurt or injured by another*; take away this perſuaſion, and ye take away all the Laws; take away Laws, and what ſhall become of Commonweals? So it is in our Spiritual Chriſtian Community: I do not mean
Ephef. i. 23. & iv. 15. that Body Myſtical, whereof Chriſt is only the Head, that building undiſcernible by mortal eyes, wherein

* Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi unius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat. Liv. de Rom. lib. i.

Chriſt

Chriſt is the chief Corner-ſtone: but I ſpeak of the viſible Church; the foundation whereof is the doctrine which the Prophets and the Apoſtles profeſſed. Ephes. ii. 20.

The mark whereunto their doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of Peter unto Chriſt, *Thou haſt the words of eternal life:* in thoſe words of Paul to Timothy, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* It is the demand of Nature itſelf, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life?* The deſire of immortality and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is ſo natural unto all Men, that even they who are not perſuaded that they ſhall, do notwithſtanding wiſh that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And becauſe natural means are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of death, there is no people in the earth ſo ſavage, which hath not deviſed ſome ſupernatural help or other, to fly to for aid and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the enemies of the Laws. A longing therefore to be ſaved, without underſtanding the true way how, hath been the cauſe of all the ſuperſtitions in the world. Oh that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſs, and wot not whither they go, could give us underſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteem the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whoſe eyes the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven are ſet wide open! ſhould we offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe when I fall to bewail the cold affection which we bear towards that whereby we ſhould be ſaved; my purpoſe being only to ſet down what the ground of ſalvation is. The doctrine of the Goſpel propoſeth ſalvation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attaining thereunto? Yea, the Damſel poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination ſpake the truth: *Theſe Men are the Servants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of ſalvation:* Acts xvi. 17. *A new and living way which Chriſt hath prepared for us, through the vail, that is, his fleſh;* Heb. x. 20.

ſalvation

ſalvation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this
Gen. xlix. foundation the Children of God, before the written Law, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſons of Men, the reverend Patriarchs both poſſeſſed it living, and ſpake expreſsly of it at the hour of their death. It
Job xix. comforted Job in the midſt of grief; as it was afterwards the anchor-hold of all the righteous in Iſrael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace, every Prophet making mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the coming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew near, that the ſound thereof was heard even amongſt the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their ſalvation; he, that long expected hope of
Acts iv. 12. Iſrael; he, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed.* So that now he is a name of ruin, a name of death and condemnation, unto ſuch as dream of a new Meſſias, to as many as look for ſalvation by any other but by him: *For amongſt Men there is given no other name under heaven wherely we muſt be ſaved.* Thus much St. Mark doth intimate by that which he doth put in the front of his Book, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God.* His doctrine be termeth the Goſpel, becauſe he teacheth ſalvation; the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, becauſe it teacheth ſalvation by him. This is then the Foundation, whereupon the frame
Luke ii. 28. of the Goſpel is erected; that very Jeſus whom the Virgin conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, whom Simeon embraced in his arms, whom Pilate condemned, whom the Jews crucified, whom the Apoſtles preached, he is Chriſt, the Lord, the only Saviour of the
1 Cor. iii. 11. World: *Other foundation can no Man lay.* Thus I have briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianity, which we call the foundation of our Faith. It followeth now that I declare unto you, what is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we underſtand,

underſtand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who never heard the name of Chriſt, held the foundation of Chriſtianity: and why? they acknowledged many of them, the providence of God, his infinite wiſdom, ſtrength, power; his goodneſs, and his mercy towards the children of men; that God hath judgment in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous which ſerve him rewards, &c. In this which they confeſſed, that lyeth covered which we believe; in the rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our Faith concerning Chriſt lieth ſecretly wrapt up, and is virtually contained: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of reaſon defend, that every plowman hath all the ſciences, wherein philoſophers have excelled? For no man is ignorant of their firſt principles, which do virtually contain whatſoever by natural means is or can be known. Yea, might we not with as great reaſon affirm, that a man might put three mighty oaks whereſoever three acorns may be put? For virtually an acorn is an oak. To avoid ſuch paradoxes, we teach plainly, that to hold the foundation is, in expreſs terms, to acknowledge it.

25. Now, becauſe the foundation is an affirmative poſition, they all overthrow it, who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoever, whereupon the direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. What is the queſtion between the Gentiles and us, but this, Whether Salvation be by Chriſt? What between the Jews and us, but this, Whether by this Jeſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea or no? This to be the main point whereupon Chriſtianity ſtandeth, it is clear by that one ſentence of Feſtus concerning Paul's accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch*

ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certain queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtitions, and of one Jeſus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. Where we ſee that Jeſus, dead and raiſed for the ſalvation of the World, is by Jews denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore, in the primitive Church, when they wrote; Tertullian, the book which he called Apologeticus; Minutius Fœlix, the book which he intitled Octavius; Arnobius, the ſeven books againſt the Gentiles; Chryſoſtom, his orations againſt the Jews; Euſebius, his ten books of Evangelical Demonſtration: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianity againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt Novatians, Pelagians, and other Hereticks of the like note, refel poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was overthrown by conſequent only. In the former ſort of writings the foundation is proved; in the latter, it is alledged as a proof, which to men that had been known directly to deny it, muſt needs have ſeemed a very beggarly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore deny the foundation of Faith directly: by conſequent, many a Chriſtian Man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches denied it, and do deny it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianity? not directly, for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches; but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof we condemn them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation we do and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. We ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent to deny it. The next thing which followeth is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may, once effectually called, and through Faith juſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to deny the foundation which their hearts have before embraced with joy and comfort in the

Holy

Holy Ghoſt; for ſuch is the Faith, which indeed doth juſtify. Devils know the ſame things which we believe, and the minds of the moſt ungodly may be fully perſuaded of the truth; which knowledge in the one and in the other, is ſometimes termed Faith, but equivocally, being indeed no ſuch Faith as that whereby a Chriſtian Man is juſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption which worketh Faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe, are by us apprehended, not only as true, but alſo as good, and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian Man the more he increaſeth in Faith, the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort have a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſque conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare quam credere; malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith Minutius, that there be many, who being conſcious what they are to look for, do rather wiſh that they might, than think that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to live; becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them unto nothing, than God revive them unto puniſhment. So it is in other articles of Faith, whereof wicked men think, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrary ſide, to the other, there is no grief or torment greater, than to feel their perſuaſion weak in things, whereof, when they are perſuaded, they reap ſuch comfort and joy of ſpirit: ſuch is the Faith whereby we are juſtified; ſuch, I mean, in reſpect of the quality. For touching the principal object of Faith, longer than it holdeth the foundation whereof we have ſpoken, it neither juſtifieth, nor is; but ceaſeth to be Faith when it ceaſeth to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the only Saviour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpiritual in us, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting,

inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoul of Man, as a thing which (when the mind apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabit or poſſeſs the mind. The mind conceiveth Chriſt by hearing the doctrine of Chriſtianity, as the light of nature doth cauſe the mind to apprehend thoſe truths which are merely rational; ſo that ſaving truth, which is far above the reach of human reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, than by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived. All theſe are implied, whereſoever any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the Spiritual life. Wherefore if we have
Rom. viii. 10. read, that *The Spirit is our life*; or, *The Word our*
Phil. ii. 16. *life*; or, *Chriſt our life*; we are in every of theſe to
Col. iii. 4. underſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpel apprehended as a Saviour, and aſſented unto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectual conceit and comprehenſion of
1 Pet. i. 23. Chriſt ſo embraced, St. Peter calleth *the ſeed whereof*
Epheſ. ii. 5. *we be new born*: our firſt embracing of Chriſt, is our firſt reviving from the ſtate of death and condemna-
1 John. v. 12. tion. *He that hath the Son, hath life*, ſaith St. John, *and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life.* If therefore he which once hath the Son, may ceaſe to have the Son, though it be for a moment, he ceaſeth for that moment to have life. But the life of
1 John v. 13. them which have the Son of God, is everlaſting in the world to come. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead died no more, death hath no
Perpetuity of Faith. Rom. vi. 10. more power over him; ſo juſtified Man being allied to God in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſa-
John xiv. 19. rily from that time forward always live, as Chriſt, by whom he hath life, liveth always. I might, if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, ſhew by many and ſundry manifeſt and clear proofs, how the motions and operations of life are ſometime ſo indiſcernible, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeem ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill alive unto God in Chriſt.

For as long as that abideth in us, which animateth, quickeneth, and giveth life, ſo long we live,

and

and we know that the cauſe of our Faith abideth in us for ever. If Chriſt, the fountain of life, may flit and leave the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what ſhall become of his promiſe, *I am with you to the world's end?* If the ſeed of God, which containeth Chriſt, may be firſt conceived and then caſt out; how doth St. Peter term it immortal? how doth St. Peter affirm *it abideth*? If the Spirit, which is given to cheriſh and preſerve the ſeed of life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earneſt of our inheritance until redemption? how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once juſt by Faith, ſhall live by Faith, and live for ever, it followeth, that he which once doth believe the foundation, muſt needs believe the foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly deny it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded.

1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9. Ephef. i. 14. John xiv. 14

Object. But you will ſay, *That as he that is to-day holy may to-morrow forſake his holineſs, and become impure; as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither; ſo Faith may die in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguiſhed, they which believe may be quite turned away from the Truth.*

Sol. The caſe is clear, long experience hath made this manifeſt, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forſake God; but is God as ready to forſake us? Our minds are changeable; is his ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath juſtified, hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Father's will to give them a Kingdom?* Notwithſtanding it ſhall not be otherwiſe given them, than if they continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel; *if they abide in love and holineſs.* Our Saviour therefore, when he ſpake of the ſheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, *I give unto them eternal life, and they*

Col. i. 23. 1 Tim. ii. 15. John x.

ſhall

ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands; in promiſing to ſave them, he promiſed, no doubt, to preſerve them in that, without which there can be no ſalvation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecoverably loſt. Every error in things appertaining unto God is repugnant unto Faith; every fearful cogitation, unto hope; unto love every ſtraggling inordinate deſire; unto holineſs every blemiſh wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our lives are ſtained. But Hereſy, ſuch as that of Ebion, Cerinthus, and others, againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelves, both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we have Iſrael in the deſert for a pattern; coldneſs, ſuch as that in the Angels of Epheſus; foul ſins, known to be expreſsly againſt the firſt or ſecond table of the Law, ſuch as Noah, Manaſſes, David, Solomon, and Peter committed: theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former virtues, that they leave no place for ſalvation without an actual repentance. But infidelity, extreme deſpair, hatred of God and all goodneſs, obduration in ſin cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſpark of faith, hope, love, and ſanctity; even as cold in the loweſt degree cannot be, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the firſt kind, no man liveth, which ſinneth not; and in the ſecond, as perfect as any do live, may ſin: yet ſith the man which is born of God, hath a promiſe, that

x John iii. 9. in him *the ſeed of God ſhall abide*, which ſeed is a ſure preſervative againſt the ſins that are of the third ſuit; greater and clearer aſſurance we cannot have of any thing, than of this, that from ſuch ſins God ſhall preſerve the righteous, as the apple of his eye, for ever. Directly to deny the foundation of Faith is plain infidelity; where Faith is entered, there infidelity is for ever excluded: therefore by him which

hath

hath once ſincerely believed in Chriſt, the foundation of Chriſtian Faith can never be directly denied. Did not Peter? did not Marcellinus? did not others both directly deny Chriſt after that they had believed, and again believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they confeſs in words, whoſe condemnation is nevertheleſs their not believing (for example we have Judas): ſo likewiſe, they may believe in heart, whoſe condemnation, without repentance, is their not confeſſing. Although, therefore, Peter and the reſt, for whoſe Faith Chriſt hath prayed, that it might not fail, did not by denial ſin the ſin of Infidelity, which is an inward abnegation of Chriſt (for if they had done this, their Faith had clearly failed): yet becauſe they ſinned notoriouſly and grievouſly, committing that which they knew to be expreſsly forbidden by the Law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; neceſſary it was, that he which purpoſed to ſave their ſouls, ſhould, as he did, touch their hearts with true unfeigned repentance, that his mercy might reſtore them again to life, whom ſin had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may ſafely ſet down, that if the juſtified err, as he may, and never come to underſtand his error, God doth ſave him through general repentance: but if he fall into Hereſy, he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance; but from Infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, he preſerveth him by ſpecial providence for ever. Whereby we may eaſily know, what to think of thoſe Galatians, whoſe hearts were ſo poſſeſt with the love of the truth, that if it had been poſſible, they would have plucked out their eyes to beſtow upon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly *

* Howſoever men be changed (for changed they may be, even the beſt amongſt men), if they that have received, as it ſeemeth

changed, both in perſuaſion and affection: ſo that the Galatians, when St. Paul wrote unto them, were not now the Galatians which they had been in former time, for that through error they wandered, although they were his ſheep. I do not deny, but that I ſhould deny, that they were his ſheep, if I ſhould grant, that through error they periſhed. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perilous, even in them that held it only as an error, becauſe it overthroweth the foundation by conſequent. But in them which obſtinately maintain it, I cannot think it leſs than a damnable Hereſy. We muſt therefore put a difference between them which err of ignorance, retaining nevertheleſs a mind deſirous to be inſtructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is laid open, perſiſt in the ſtubborn defence of their blindneſs. Heretical defenders, froward and ſtiff-necked Teachers of Circumciſion, the bleſſed Apoſtle calls dogs: ſilly men, who were ſeduced to think they taught the truth, he pitieth, he taketh up in his arms, he lovingly embraceth, he kiſſeth, and with more than fatherly tenderneſs doth ſo temper, qualify, and correct the ſpeech he uſeth toward them, that a man cannot eaſily diſcern, whether did moſt abound, the love which he bare to their godly affection, or the grief which the danger of their opinion bred in him. Their opinion was dangerous; was not theirs alſo, who thought the Kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be earthly? was not theirs, which thought the Goſpel only ſhould be preached to the Jews? What more oppoſite to Prophetical Doc-

ſome of the Galatians, which fell into error, had received, the gifts and graces of God, which are called, ἀμεταμελητα, ſuch as faith, hope and charity are, which God doth never take away from him, to whom they are given, as if it repented him to have given them; if ſuch might be ſo far changed by error, as that the very root of faith ſhould be quite extinguiſhed in them, and ſo their ſalvation utterly loſt, it would ſhake the hearts of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt of us all. See the contrary in Beza his obſervations upon the harmony of confeſſions.

trine,

trine, concerning the coming of Chriſt, than the one? concerning the Catholic Church, than the other? Yet they which had theſe fancies, even when they had them, were not the worſt men in the world. The Hereſy of Free-will was a mill-ſtone about the Pelagians neck; ſhall we therefore give ſentence of death inevitable againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greek Church, which being miſ-perſuaded, died in the error of Free-will? Of theſe Galatians therefore, which firſt were juſtified, and then deceived, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as died before admonition, might not by mercy be received, even in error; ſo I make no doubt, but as many as lived till they were admoniſhed, found the mercy of God effectual in converting them from their * error, leſt any one that is Chriſt's ſhould periſh. Of this, I take it, there is no controverſy; only againſt the ſalvation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in error, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plain direct denial of the foundation. If Paul and Barnabas had been ſo perſuaded, they would haply have uſed the terms otherwiſe, ſpeaking of the Maſters themſelves, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, *certain of the ſect of the Phariſees which believed.* What difference was there between theſe Phariſees, and other Phariſees, from whom by a ſpecial deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? Theſe which came to Antioch, teaching the neceſſity of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other enemies of Chriſtianity. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly Believers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our belief; beſides which, there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no believers? We need go no farther than S. Paul's very reaſoning againſt them, for proof of this matter; Acts xv. 5.

* Error convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more than error: for although opinion be the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill call it error, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.

Gal. iv. 9. *Seeing you know God, or rather are known of God, how turn you again to impotent rudiments?* The Verſ. 24. *Law engendereth ſervants, her children are in bondage: they which are begotten by the Goſpel, are free.* Verſ. 31. *Brethren, we are not children of the ſervant, but of the free-woman, and will ye yet be under the Law?* That they thought it unto ſalvation neceſſary, for the Church of Chriſt to obſerve days, and Verſ. 10. months, and times, and years, to keep the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their error. Yet he which condemneth their error, confeſſeth, that notwithſtanding they knew God, and were known of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sons begotten of the immortal ſeed of the Goſpel. Let the heavieſt words which he uſeth, be weighed; conſider the drift of thoſe dreadful concluſions: *If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: As many as are juſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace.* It had been to no purpoſe in the world ſo to urge them, had not the Apoſtle been perſuaded, that at the hearing of ſuch ſequels, *No benefit by Chriſt, a defection from Grace*, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace, their ſalvation lay, which is a plain direct acknowledgment of the foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeem to hold that which no one learned or godly hath done, let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirm. Surely thoſe Brethren, which in St. Paul's time, thought that God did lay a neceſſity upon them to make choice of days and meats, ſpake as they believed, and could not but in words condemn the liberty, which they ſuppoſed to be brought in againſt the authority of Divine Scripture. Otherwiſe it had been needleſs for St. Paul to admoniſh them, not to condemn ſuch as eat without ſcrupuloſity, whatſoever was ſet before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of itſelf, did at once overthrow all Scriptures, whereby we are taught

Bucer. de Unit. Eccleſ. ſervanda.

ſalvation

ſalvation by Faith in Chriſt, all that ever the Prophets did foretel, all that ever the Apoſtles did preach of Chriſt; it drew with it the denial of Chriſt utterly: inſomuch, that St. Paul complaineth, that his labour was loſt upon the Galatians, unto whom this error was obtruded, affirming that Chriſt, if ſo be they were circumciſed, ſhould not profit them any thing at all. Yet ſo far was St. Paul from ſtriking their names out of Chriſt's book, that he commandeth others to entertain them, to accept with ſingular humanity, to uſe them like brethren; he knew Man's imbecility, he had a feeling of our blindneſs which are mortal Men, how great it is, and being ſure that they are the Sons of God whoſoever be endued with his fear, would not have them counted enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themſelves to be friends, but did ever, upon a very religious affection to the truth, willingly reject the truth. They acknowledged Chriſt to be their only and perfect Saviour, but ſaw not how repugnant their believing the neceſſity of Moſaical Ceremonies was to their faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Hereupon a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might have been ſaved; but ſaved they could not be, therefore their opinion was not only by conſequent, but directly a denial of the foundation. When the queſtion was about the poſſibility of their ſalvation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prove, that they could not be ſaved: now that the queſtion is about their denial of the foundation, the impoſſibility of their ſalvation is alledged to prove they denied the foundation. Is there nothing which excludeth Men from ſalvation, but only the foundation of faith denied? I ſhould have thought, that beſides this, many other things are death unto as many as, underſtanding that to cleave thereunto, was to fall from Chriſt, did notwithſtanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the laſt queſtion, *Whether that the doctrine of*

the Church of Rome, concerning the neceſſity of Works unto ſalvation, be a direct denial of our Faith?

27. I ſeek not to obtrude unto you any private opinion of mine own; the beſt learned in our profeſſion are of this judgment, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome do not prove her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they ſhould grant her ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. *But I ſuppoſe,* ſaith one, *that in the Papacy ſome Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, miſhapen, yet ſome Church:* his reaſon is this, *Antichriſt muſt ſit in the Temple of God.* Leſt any Man ſhould think ſuch ſentences as theſe to be true, only in regard of them whom that Church is ſuppoſed to have kept by the ſpecial providence of God, as it were, in the ſecret corners of his boſom, free from infection, and as ſound in the Faith, as we truſt, by his mercy, we ourſelves are; I permit it to your wiſe conſiderations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzy, though it take away the uſe of reaſon, doth notwithſtanding prove them reaſonable creatures which have it, becauſe none can be frantick but they: ſo Antichriſtianity being the bane and plain overthrow of Chriſtianity, may nevertheleſs argue, the Church where Antichriſt ſitteth, to be Chriſtian. Neither have I ever hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwiſe than ſo as in the two next queſtions before hath been declared, bind himſelf to keep his Elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiving his mark in their foreheads: but he hath preſerved, and will preſerve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of Sin, whoſe deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but only unto ſuch as never loved the truth, ſuch as took pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs: they in all ages, whoſe hearts have delighted in the principal truth, and whoſe ſouls have thirſted after righteouſneſs, if they received the mark of Error, the mercy of God, even erring, and dangerouſly erring,

Calv. Ep. 304.

might

might ſave them; if they received the mark of Hereſy, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, convert them. How far Romiſh Hereſies may prevail over God's Elect, how many God hath kept from falling into them, how many have been converted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if Heaven had not received any one of that coat for theſe thouſand years, it may ſtill be true, that the Doctrine which this day they do profeſs, doth not directly deny the foundation, and ſo prove them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I have alledged, whoſe words, in my ears, ſound that way: ſhall I add another, whoſe ſpeech is plain: *I deny her not the name of a Church*, ſaith another, *no more than to a Man the name of a Man, as long as he liveth, what ſickneſs ſoever he hath.* His reaſon is this; *Salvation in Jeſus Chriſt, which is the mark which joineth the head with the body, Jeſus Chriſt with the Church, is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Pope's Pardons, and ſuch other wickedneſs, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very thread*, yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. A third hath theſe words: *I acknowledge the Church of Rome, even at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church as Iſrael did Jeroboam, yet a Church.* His reaſon is this, *Every Man ſeeth, except he willingly hoodwink himſelf, that as always, ſo now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmly and ſtedfaſtly the doctrine of truth concerning Chriſt, and baptizeth in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; confeſſeth and avoucheth Chriſt for the only Redeemer of the World, and the Judge that ſhall ſit upon quick and dead, receiving true believers into endleſs joy, faithleſs and godleſs men being caſt with Satan and his Angels into flames unquenchable.*

Morn. de Eccleſ.

Zanch. præfat. de Relig.

28. I may, and will, rein the queſtion ſhorter than they do. Let the Pope take down his top, and captivate no more Men's ſouls by his Papal juriſdiction; let him no longer count himſelf Lord Paramount over the Princes of the World, no longer hold Kings as his ſervants *paravaile*; let his ſtately

Senate ſubmit their necks to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to dye their garments, like Edom, in blood; let them, from the higheſt to the loweſt, hate and forſake their Idolatry, abjure all their Errors and Hereſies, wherewith they have any way perverted the truth; let them ſtrip their Church, till they leave no polluted rag, but only this one about her, *By Chriſt alone, without works, we cannot be ſaved*: it is enough for me, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prove the foundation of Faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29. Works are an addition: be it ſo, what then? the foundation is not ſubverted by every kind of addition: ſimply to add unto thoſe fundamental words, is not to mingle wine with water, Heaven and Earth, things polluted with the ſanctified blood of Chriſt: of which crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the work of our ſalvation wholly are peculiar to Chriſt; and if I open my mouth to ſpeak in their defence, if I hold my peace, and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my body, let me be guilty of all the diſhonour that ever hath been done to the Son of God. But the more dreadful a thing it is to deny ſalvation by Chriſt alone, the more ſlow and fearful I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grievous to any Man's charge. Let us beware, leſt if we make too many ways of denying Chriſt, we ſcarce leave any way for ourſelves truly and ſoundly to confeſs him. Salvation only by Chriſt is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Chriſtianity ſtandeth. But what if I ſay you cannot be ſaved only by Chriſt, without this addition, Chriſt believed in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and converſation? Becauſe I add, do I therefore deny that which I did directly affirm? There may be an additament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth and concludeth the propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. He which ſaith, Peter was a chief Apoſtle, doth prove that Peter was an Apoſtle:

Apoſtle: he which ſaith, Our ſalvation is of the Lord, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith of the Truth, proveth that our ſalvation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a privation as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequel it overthroweth. He which ſaith, Judas is a dead Man, though in word he granteth Judas to be a Man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very ſpeech no Man, becauſe death depriveth him of being. In like ſort, he that ſhould ſay, our election is of grace for our works' ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent deny that our election is of Grace; for the Grace which electeth us, is no grace, if it elect us for our works' ſake. 2 Theſſ. ii. 13. Rom. xi. 6.

30. Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth Works, we muſt note further, that the adding of *Works is not like the adding of Circumciſion unto Chriſt. Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good Works: he did, to change Circumciſion; for we ſee that, in place thereof, he hath ſubſtituted holy Baptiſm. To ſay, ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt except ye be circumciſed, is to add a thing excluded, a thing not only not neceſſary to be kept, but neceſſary not to be kept by them that will be ſaved. On the other ſide, to ſay, ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without works, is to add things, not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind neceſſary, and therefore ſubordinated unto Chriſt, by Chriſt himſelf, by whom the

*I deny not but that the Church of Rome requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhe ought not to require at men's hands. But our queſtion is general about the adding of good works, not whether ſuch or ſuch works be good. In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much on the matter in queſtion between St. Paul and the Galatians, as inferreth thoſe concluſions. *Ye are fallen from Grace; Chriſt can profit you nothing:* which concluſions will follow Circumciſion and rites of the Law Ceremonial, if they be required as things neceſſary to ſalvation. This only was alledged againſt me: and need I touch more than was alledged?

Mat. v. 20. web of ſalvation is ſpun: *Except your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* They were rigorous exacters of things not utterly to be neglected and left undone, waſhing and tything, &c. As they were in theſe, ſo muſt we be in judgment and the love of God. Chriſt in works ceremonial, giveth more liberty, in moral much leſs, than they did. Works of righteouſneſs therefore are added in the one propoſition; as in the other, Circumciſion is.

Luke xi. 39.

Mat. v. 21.

31. But we ſay, our ſalvation is by Chriſt alone; therefore howſoever, or whatſoever we add unto Chriſt in the matter of ſalvation, we overthrow Chriſt. Our caſe were very hard, if this argument, ſo univerſally meant as it is propoſed, were ſound and good. We ourſelves do not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our own Faith, unto juſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our own Works, unto ſanctification; Chriſt alone, excluding the one or the other unneceſſary unto ſalvation. It is a childiſh cavil wherewith in the matter of Juſtification, our Adverſaries do ſo greatly pleaſe themſelves, exclaiming, that we tread all Chriſtian Virtues under our feet, and require nothing in Chriſtians but Faith; becauſe we teach that Faith alone juſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech we never meant to exclude either Hope or Charity from being always joined as inſeparable mates with Faith in the Man that is juſtified; or Works from being added as neceſſary duties, required at the hands of every juſtified Man: but to ſhew that Faith is the only hand which putteth on Chriſt unto Juſtification; and Chriſt the only garment, which being ſo put on, covereth the ſhame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preſerveth us blameleſs in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe, the weakneſs of our Faith were cauſe ſufficient to make us culpable, yea, to ſhut us from the Kingdom of Heaven, where nothing that is not abſolute can enter. That our dealing with them

them be not as childiſh as theirs with us; when we hear of Salvation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that *alone*, as an excluſive particle, we are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a Judge only ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination thereof, beſides the perſon of the Judge, as Laws, Depoſitions, Evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but only from determining and giving ſentence. How then is our Salvation wrought by Chriſt alone? is it our meaning, that nothing is requiſite to Man's Salvation, but Chriſt to ſave, and he to be ſaved quietly without any more ado? No, we acknowledge no ſuch foundation. As we have received, ſo we teach, that beſides the bare and naked work, wherein Chriſt, without any other aſſociate, finiſhed all the parts of our Redemption, and purchaſed Salvation himſelf alone; for conveyance of this eminent bleſſing unto us, many things are of neceſſity required, as, to be known and choſen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, juſtified, ſanctified; after we have left the World, to be received unto glory; Chriſt in every of theſe hath ſomewhat which he worketh alone. Through him, according to the eternal purpoſe of God before the foundation of the World, born, crucified, buried, raiſed, &c. we were in a gracious acceptation known unto God long before we were ſeen of Men: God knew us, loved us, was kind to us in Jeſus Chriſt, in him we were elected to be heirs of life. Thus far God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that ourſelves are mere patients, working no more than dead and ſenſeleſs matter, wood, ſtone, or iron, doth in the artificer's hands; no more than clay, when the potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable uſe; nay, not ſo much. For the matter whereupon the craftſman worketh he chooſeth, being moved by the fitneſs which is in it to ſerve his

Eph. i. 11.

his turn; in us no such thing. Touching the rest which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, it importeth farther, that by him we are called, that we have redemption, remission of sins through his blood, health by his stripes; justice by him; that he doth sanctify his Church, and make it glorious to himself, that entrance into joy shall be given us by him; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not so by him alone, as if in us, to our Vocation, the hearing of the Gospel; to our Justification, Faith; to our Sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into rest, perseverance in Hope, in Faith, in Holiness, were not necessary.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth Works at their hands which will be saved: but that she attributeth unto Works a power of satisfying God for sin; yea, a virtue to merit both grace here, and in Heaven glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of Faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denial thereof, I utterly deny. What it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of Faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this cause, and there needs no more ado. The thing which is handled, if the form under which it is handled be added thereunto, it sheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatsoever. Christ is the matter whereof the doctrine of the Gospel treateth; and it treateth of Christ as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Christ is the foundation of Christianity: as for Works, they are a thing subordinate, no otherwise than because our sanctification cannot be accomplished without them. The doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation; therefore the doctrine which addeth unto them the power of satisfying, or of meriting, addeth unto a thing subordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation itself; yet is the foundation by this addition consequently overthrown, forasmuch as

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out of this addition it may be negatively concluded, he which maketh any work good and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the natural freedom of our will; he which giveth unto any good Works of ours the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for ſin, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards; he which holdeth Works going before our vocation; in congruity to merit our vocation; Works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond Juſtification, and by condignity our laſt reward in the Kingdom of Heaven, pulleth up the doctrine of Faith by the roots; for out of every of theſe the plain direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. Not this only, but what other Hereſy is there that doth not raze the very foundation of Faith by conſequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of Hereſies; accounting them in the next degree to Infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expreſsly acknowledged in the Articles of our Belief; for out of any one Article ſo denied, the denial of the very foundation itſelf is ſtraightway inferred.* As for example; if a Man ſhould ſay, *There is no Catholick Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this Jeſus, whom we call the Saviour, is not the Saviour of the World; becauſe all the Prophets bear witneſs, that the true Meſſias ſhould *ſhew light unto the Gentiles*; that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholick, not reſtrained any longer unto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond rank we place them, out of whoſe poſitions the denial of any the foreſaid Articles may be with like facility concluded: ſuch as are they which have denied, with Hebion, or with Marcion, his Acts xxvi. 23.

* Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti et Catholicæ Fidei eſt, ut qui partem divini Sacramenti negat, divini partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa et concorporata ſunt omnia, ut aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, et qui unum ex omnibus denegaverit, alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit. Caſſian. lib. vi. de incarnat. Dom. If he obſtinately ſtand in the denial, pag. 193.

Humanity:

Lib. vi. de incar. Dom. cap. 5.

Humanity: an example whereof may be that of Caſſianus defending the Incarnation of the Son of God againſt Neſtorius Biſhop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when ſhe brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Son of God, but a ſole and mere Man. Out of which Hereſy the denial of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou doſt deny our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in denying the Son, thou canſt not chooſe but deny the Father; for, according to the voice of the Father himſelf,* He that hath not the Son, hath not the Father. *Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Again, denying the Son of God to have been born in the fleſh, how canſt thou believe him to have ſuffered? believing not his paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his Reſurrection? For we believe him not raiſed, except we firſt believe him dead: neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the dead ſtand, without the faith of his death going before. The denial of his Death and Paſſion inferreth the denial of his riſing from the Depth: whereupon it followeth, that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heaven. The Apoſtle affirmeth,* That he which aſcended, did firſt deſcend; *ſo that, as much as lieth in thee, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the Depth, nor is aſcended into Heaven, nor ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the final account, which is looked for, nor ſhall judge the quick and dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou think thyſelf a Biſhop, when thou haſt denied all thoſe things whereby thou doſt obtain a biſhoply calling?* Neſtorius confeſſed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denial of every part of his confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort, ſuch as the Church of Rome maintaineth, which be removed by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they overthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſs, which the Philoſopher noteth in Men's capacities when he ſaith, that the common

common ſort cannot ſee things which follow in reaſon, when they follow, as it were, afar off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancy of ſuch Hereſy and the foundation is not ſo quickly, or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretick of this, ſooner than of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently nevertheleſs deny the foundation of Faith.

33. If reaſon be ſuſpected, trial will ſhew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwiſe, by teaching the doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good Works. Offer them the very fundamental words, and what Man is there that will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny, one and the very ſelf-ſame thing? Our own proceedings in diſputing againſt their Works ſatisfactory and meritorious do ſhew, not only that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Father's wrath: Chriſt hath merited Salvation alone.* We ſhould do fondly to uſe ſuch diſputes, neither could we think to prevail by them, if that whereupon we ground, were a thing which we know they do not hold, which we are aſſured they will not grant. Their very anſwers to all ſuch reaſons, as are in this controverſy brought againſt them, will not permit us to doubt whether they hold the foundation or no. Can any Man, that hath read their books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their anſwers unto theſe heads? *That the remiſſion of all our ſins, the pardon of all whatſoever puniſhments thereby deſerved, the rewards which God hath laid up in Heaven, are by the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt purchaſed, and obtained ſufficiently for all Men: but for no Man effectually for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Chriſt be applied particularly to him by ſuch means as God hath appointed that to work by. That thoſe means of themſelves, being but dead things, only the blood of Chriſt is that which put-*

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teth life, force, and efficacy in them to work, and to be available, each in his kind, to our Salvation. Finally, that Grace being purchaſed for us by the blood of Chriſt, and freely without any merit or deſert at the firſt beſtowed upon us, the good things which we do, after Grace received, be thereby made ſatisfactory and meritorious. Some of their ſentences to this effect I muſt alledge for mine own warrant. If we deſire to hear foreign judgments, we find in one this confeſſion; *He that could reckon how many the virtues and merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath been, might likewiſe underſtand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, for ſo much as Men are made partakers of them all by means of his paſſion: by him is given unto us remiſſion of our ſins, grace, glory, liberty, praiſe, ſalvation, redemption, juſtification, juſtice, ſatisfaction, ſacraments, merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoveful for our ſalvation.* In another we have theſe oppoſitions, and anſwers made unto them: *All grace is given by Chriſt Jeſus. True; but not except Chriſt Jeſus be applied. He is the propitiation for our ſin; by his ſtripes we are healed, he hath offered himſelf up for us: all this is true, but apply it. We put all ſatisfaction in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; but we hold, that the means, which Chriſt hath appointed for us in the caſe to apply it, are our penal works.* Our Countrymen in Rhemes make the like anſwer, that they ſeek Salvation no other way than by the blood of Chriſt; and that humbly they do uſe Prayers, Faſtings, Alms, Faith, Charity, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Prieſts, only as the means appointed by Chriſt, to apply the benefit of his holy blood unto them: touching our good Works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor anſwerable to the joys of Heaven: it cometh by the grace of Chriſt, and not of the work itſelf, that we have by well-doing a right to Heaven, and deſerve it worthily. If any Man think that I ſeek to varniſh their opinions, to ſet the better foot of a lame cauſe foremoſt,

Lewis of Granada Med. cap. laſt. 3.

Paulgarola, ſect. 11.

Annot. in 1 John i.

moſt, let him know, that ſince I began throughly to underſtand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it ſeemeth to them which know not the deepneſs of Satan, as the bleſſed Divine ſpeaketh. For, although this be proof ſufficient, that they do not directly deny the foundation of Faith; yet, if there were no other leaven in the lump of their doctrine but this, this were ſufficient to prove, that their doctrine is not agreeable to the foundation of Chriſtian Faith. The Pelagians being over-great friends unto Nature made themſelves enemies unto Grace, for all their confeſſing, that Men have their ſouls, and all the faculties thereof, their wills, and all the ability of their wills from God. And is not the Church of Rome ſtill an adverſary to Chriſt's Merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the blood of Chriſt? Sir Thomas More ſetteth down the odds between us and the Church of Rome in the matter of Works thus. *Like as we grant them, that no good work of Man is rewardable in Heaven of its own nature, but through the mere goodneſs of God, that liſts to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſt's paſſion, and for that alſo they be his own works with us; for good works to God-ward worketh no Man, without God work in him: and as we grant them alſo, that no Man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working, and for that in all that Man may do, he can do God no good, but is a Servant unprofitable, and doth but his bare duty: as we, I ſay, grant unto them theſe things, ſo this one thing or twain do they grant us again, that Men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that whoſo worketh in true Faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded; but then ſet they thereto, that all his rewards ſhall be given him for his Faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, becauſe his Faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to work well.* I ſee by this of Sir Thomas More, how eaſy it is for Men of the

In his Book of Conſolation.

greateſt capacity to miſtake things written or ſpoken as well on the one ſide as on the other. Their doctrine, as he thought, maketh the work of Man rewardable in the world to come through the goodneſs of God, whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing: and ours, that a Man doth receive that eternal and high reward, not for his works, but for his Faith's ſake, by which he worketh; whereas in truth our doctrine is no other than that we have learned at the feet of Chriſt; namely, that God doth juſtify the believing Man, yet not for the worthineſs of his belief, but for the worthineſs of him which is believed; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the work, but through his mere mercy, by whoſe commandment he worketh. Contrariwiſe, their doctrine is, that as pure water of itſelf hath no ſavour, but if it paſs through a ſweet pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the pipe through which it paſſeth; ſo, although before Grace received, our Works do neither ſatisfy nor merit; yet after, they do both the one and the other. Every virtuous action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfy; that if we ourſelves commit no mortal ſin, no heinous crime, whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our own behalf, it turneth to the benefit of other Men's releaſe, on whom it ſhould pleaſe the Steward of the Houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that we may ſatisfy for ourſelves and others; but merit only for ourſelves. In meriting, our actions do work with two hands; with one they get their morning ſtipend, the increaſe of grace; with the other their evening hire, the everlaſting crown of glory. Indeed they teach, that our good works do not theſe things as they come from us, but as they come from grace in us; which grace in us is another thing in their divinity, than is the mere goodneſs of God's mercy towards us in Chriſt Jeſus.

Works of Supererogation.

34. If it were not a long deluded ſpirit which hath

hath poſſeſſion of their hearts; were it poſſible but that they ſhould ſee how plainly they do herein gainſay the very ground of Apoſtolick Faith? Is this that Salvation by Grace, whereof ſo plentiful mention is made in the Scriptures of God? was this their meaning, which firſt taught the World to look for Salvation only by Chriſt? By Grace, the Apoſtle ſaith, and by Grace in ſuch ſort as a gift; a thing that cometh not of ourſelves, nor of our Works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt, and ſay, *I have wrought out my own Salvation.* By Grace they confeſs; but by Grace in ſuch ſort, that as many as wear the diadem of bliſs, they wear nothing but what they have won. The Apoſtle, as if he had foreſeen how the Church of Rome would abuſe the world in time by ambiguous terms, to declare in what ſenſe the name of Grace muſt be taken, when we make it the cauſe of our Salvation, ſaith, *He ſaved us according to his mercy:* which mercy, although it exclude not the waſhing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, the means, the virtues, the duties which God requireth of our hands which ſhall be ſaved; yet it is ſo repugnant unto merits, that to ſay, we are ſaved for the worthineſs of any thing which is ours, is to deny we are ſaved by Grace: Grace beſtoweth freely; and therefore juſtly requireth the glory of that which is beſtowed. We deny the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter paſſion, if we reſt in theſe proud imaginations, that life is deſervedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, conſidering how many virtuous and juſt Men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, have had their ſundry perilous opinions; and amongſt ſundry of their opinions this, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends for their ſins, by the voluntary puniſhment which they laid upon themſelves,

ſelves, becauſe by a conſequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Chriſt; ſhall we therefore make ſuch deadly epitaphs, and ſet them upon their graves, *They denied the foundation of Faith directly, they are damned, there is no Salvation for them?* Saint Auſtin ſaith of himſelf, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And, except we put a difference between them that err, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in error, how is it poſſible that ever any Man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Surely, in this caſe, I have no reſpect of any perſon either alive or dead. Give me a Man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever, yea, a Cardinal or a Pope, whom in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himſelf; whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with love towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee the truth, and his mouth to renounce all hereſy and error any wiſe oppoſite thereunto, this one opinion of Merits excepted; he thinketh God will require at his hands, and becauſe he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is diſcouraged; it may be I am forgetful, and unſkilful, not furniſhed with things new and old, as a wiſe and learned Scribe ſhould be, nor able to alledge that, whereunto, if it were alledged he doth bear a mind moſt willing to yield, and ſo to be recalled, as well from this, as from other errors: and ſhall I think, becauſe of this only error, that ſuch a Man toucheth not ſo much as the hem of Chriſt's garment? If he do, wherefore ſhould not I have hope, that virtue might proceed from Chriſt to ſave him? Becauſe his error doth by conſequent overthrow his Faith, ſhall I therefore caſt him off, as one that hath utterly caſt off Chriſt? one that holdeth not ſo much as by a ſlender thread? No, I will not be afraid to ſay unto a Pope or Cardinal in this plight, Be of good comfort, we have to do with a merciful God, ready to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter,

Sophiſter, which gathereth the worſt out of every thing wherein we err. Is there any reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? * Is it a dangerous thing to imagine that ſuch Men may find mercy? The hour may come, when we ſhall think it a bleſſed thing to hear, that if our ſins were the ſins of the Pope and Cardinals, the bowels of the mercy of God are larger. I do not propoſe unto you a Pope with the neck of an Emperor under his feet; a Cardinal, riding his horſe to the bridle in the blood of Saints; but a Pope or a Cardinal ſorrowful, penitent, diſrobed, ſtript, not only of uſurped power, but alſo delivered and recalled from error and Antichriſt, converted and lying proſtrate at the foot of Chriſt; and ſhall I think that Chriſt will ſpurn at him? and ſhall I croſs and gainſay the merciful promiſes of God, generally made unto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a Pope or a Cardinal? What difference is there in the world between a Pope and a Cardinal, and John a Style in this caſe? If we think it impoſſible for them, if they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I, or an Angel from Heaven, preach unto, &c.* Let it be as likely, that St. Paul, or an Angel from Heaven, ſhould preach Hereſy, as that a Pope or a Cardinal ſhould be brought ſo far forth to acknowledge the truth; yet if a Pope or Cardinal ſhould, what find we in their perſons why they might not be ſaved? It is not the perſons, you will ſay, but the error wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercy; the opinion of Merits doth take away all poſſibility of Salvation from them. What if they hold it only as an error? although they hold the Truth truly and ſincerely in all other parts of

* Let all affection be laid aſide; let the matter indifferently be conſidered.

Chriſtian Faith? although they have in ſome meaſure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of God's elect Children in them? although they be far from having any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their deeds? although the only thing which troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fear, riſing from an erroneous conceit that God would require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? although they be not obſtinate in this perſuaſion? although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? although the only lett, why they do not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the means by which it might be diſproved? although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not, to remove it? Let me die, if ever it be proved, that ſimply an error doth exclude a Pope or a Cardinal in ſuch a caſe, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſs unto you, if it be an error, that God may be merciful to ſave Men even when they err, my greateſt comfort is my error; were it not for the love I bear unto this error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak, nor to live.

36. Wherefore to reſume that mother-ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would have grown, *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly.* Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this ſentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our fathers might be ſaved?* I have ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but that they were ſaved?* I ſee no impiety in this perſuaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did find mercy, and ſo were ſaved?* What hindereth

ſalvation

ſalvation but ſin? Sins are not equal; and ignorance, though it doth not make ſin to be no ſin, yet ſeeing it did make their ſin the leſs, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life the greater? We pity the moſt, and doubt not but God hath moſt compaſſion over them that ſin for want of underſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelf-ſame words which I have uſed. It is but only my evil hap, that the ſame ſentences which favour verity in other men's books, ſhould ſeem to bolſter Hereſy when they are once by me recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceived me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelf, *I obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly*. Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe, than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the queſtion concerning our Fathers at length unto an end. Of whoſe eſtate, upon ſo fit an occaſion as was offered me, handling the weighty cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of Rome and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retain Men in that ſociety; amongſt which motives the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one; although I ſaw it convenient to utter the ſentence which I did, to the end that all Men might thereby underſtand, how untruly we are ſaid to condemn as many as have been before us otherwiſe perſuaded than we ourſelves are; yet more than that one ſentence, I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meeter for us to have regard to our own eſtate, than to ſift over-curiouſly what is become of other men; and fearing, leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too far waded in, might ſeem worthy of that rebuke which our Saviour thought needful in a caſe not unlike, *What is this unto thee?* When I was forced, much beſide my expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yield

at the call of others, and proceed ſo far as duty bound me, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds. Wherein I have walked as with reverence, ſo with fear: with reverence in regard of our Fathers, which lived in former times; not without fear, conſidering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant how ready men are to feed and ſooth up themſelves in evil. Shall I (will the Man ſay, that loveth the preſent World, more than he loveth Chriſt) ſhall I incur the higheſt diſpleaſure of the mightieſt upon earth? ſhall I hazard my goods, endanger my eſtate, put myſelf into jeopardy, rather than to yield to that which ſo many of my Fathers embraced, and yet found favour in the ſight of God? *Curſe ye Meroz*, ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the mighty.* If I ſhould not only not help the Lord againſt the mighty, but help to ſtrengthen them that are mighty againſt the Lord; worthily might I fall under the burthen of that curſe, worthy I were to bear my own judgment: but, if the doctrine which I teach be a flower gathered in the garden of the Lord; a part of the ſaving truth of the Goſpel, from whence notwithſtanding poiſonous creatures do ſuck venom; I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content myſelf with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. Saint Paul taught a truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miſery is, in reſpect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe, if we ſeek unto him; the more we have ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory and honour unto him that pardoneth our ſin. But mark what lewd collections were made hereupon by ſome: *Why then am I condemned for a ſinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirm that we ſay, *Why do we not evil that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed people did gather by his

teaching,

teaching, though it were clean not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus do) *is juſt*. I am not haſty to apply ſentences of condemnation: I wiſh from mine heart their converſion, whoſoever are thus perverſely affected. For I muſt needs ſay, their caſe is fearful, their eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelves, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful; but let us beware of preſumptuous ſins. God delivered Jonah from the bottom of the ſea; will you therefore caſt yourſelves headlong from the tops of rocks, and ſay in your hearts, God ſhall deliver us? He pitieth the blind that would gladly ſee; but will he pity him that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelf in blindneſs? No, Chriſt hath ſpoken too much unto you, to claim the privilege of your Fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing or any other which we bring unto you, the counſel is good which the wiſe Man giveth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure underſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteouſneſs.* As a looſe tooth is a grief to him that eateth, ſo doth a wavering and unſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe Man ſpeak words of the wind*, ſaith Eliphaz, light, unconſtant, unſtable words? Surely the wiſeſt may ſpeak words of the wind: ſuch is the untoward conſtitution of our nature, that we do neither ſo perfectly underſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly embrace it when it is underſtood; nor ſo graciouſly utter it, when it is embraced; nor ſo peaceably maintain it, when it is uttered; but that the beſt of us are overtaken ſometime through blindneſs, ſometime through haſtineſs, ſometime through impatience, ſometimes through other paſſions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubject.

ject. We muſt therefore be contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for ſuch things. Let no Man, that ſpeaketh as a Man, think himſelf, while he liveth, always freed from ſcapes and overſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelves which I have ſpoken unto you are ſound, howſoever they have ſeemed otherwiſe unto ſome: at whoſe hands I have, in that reſpect, received injury, I willingly forget it: although indeed, conſidering the benefit which I have reaped by this neceſſary ſpeech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apoſtle, *They have not injured me at all.* I have cauſe to wiſh them as many bleſſings in the Kingdom of Heaven, as they have forced me to utter words and ſyllables in this cauſe; wherein I could not be more ſparing of my ſpeech than I have been. *It becometh no Man*, ſaith Saint Jerom, *to be patient in the crime of Hereſy.* Patient, as I take it, we ſhould be always, though the crime of Hereſy were intended; but ſilent in a thing of ſo great conſequence I could not, beloved, I durſt not be; eſpecially the love, which I bear to the truth of Chriſt Jeſus, being hereby ſomewhat called in queſtion. Whereof I beſeech them in the meekneſs of Chriſt, that have been the firſt original cauſe, to conſider that a watchman may cry, *an Enemy!* when indeed a Friend cometh. In which cauſe, as I deem ſuch a watchman more worthy to be loved for his care than miſliked for his error; ſo I have judged it my own part in this, as much as in me lieth, to take away all ſuſpicion of any unfriendly intent or meaning againſt the truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, beloved, which have heard theſe things, I will uſe no other words of admonition, than thoſe that are offered me by St. James: *My Brethren, have not the Faith of our glorious Lord Jeſus in reſpect of perſons.* Ye are not now to learn, that as of itſelf it is not hurtful, ſo neither ſhould it be to any, ſcandalous and offenſive in doubtful caſes, to

hear

hear the different judgments of men. Be it that Cephas hath one interpretation, and Apollos hath another; that Paul is of this mind, and Barnabas of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of peace give you peaceable minds, and turn it to your everlasting comfort.

A

LEARNED SERMON

OF THE

NATURE

OF

PRIDE.

HABAK. ii. 4.

His mind ſwelleth, and is not right in him: but the Juſt by his Faith ſhall live.

THE nature of Man being much more delighted to be led than drawn, doth many times ſtubbornly reſiſt authority, when to perſuaſion it eaſily yieldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt Law-makers have endeavoured always that thoſe Laws might ſeem moſt reaſonable, which they would have moſt inviolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, even in the Laws of God, although that he hath given commandment, be in itſelf a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of Men; yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity

alacrity and cheerfulneſs of mind, when we ſee plainly that nothing is impoſed more than we muſt needs yield unto, except we will be unreaſonable. In a word, whatſoever be taught, be it precept for direction of our manners; or article for inſtruction of our faith; or document any way for information of our minds, it then taketh root and abideth, when we conceive not only what God doth ſpeak, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing which we derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, joy and delight which we ourſelves ſhould take by it, when we looſely ſlide over his ſpeech as though it were as our own is, commonly vulgar and trivial. Whereas he uttereth nothing but it hath, beſides the ſubſtance of doctrine delivered, a depth of wiſdom, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in. The reaſon whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of brain than our nice minds for the moſt part can well away with, fain would we bring the World, if we might, to think it but a needleſs curioſity to rip up any thing further than extemporal readineſs of wit doth ſerve to reach unto. Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you, that in the firſt branch of this ſentence God doth condemn the Babylonian's Pride; and in the ſecond, teach what happineſs of ſtate ſhall grow to the Righteous by the conſtancy of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certain notes of wholeſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſs over without detaining your minds in any further removed ſpeculation. But, as I take it, there is a difference between the talk that beſeemeth nurſes among children, and that which Men of capacity and judgment do, or ſhould receive inſtruction by.

The mind of the Prophet being erected with that which hath been hitherto ſpoken, receiveth here for full ſatisfaction a ſhort abridgment of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as the

queſtion

queſtion before diſputed of doth concern two ſorts of Men, the Wicked flouriſhing as the bay, and the Righteous like the withered graſs, the one full of Pride, the other caſt down with utter diſcouragement; ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference unto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence containing a brief abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearful eſtate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteouſneſs oppreſſed. In the former branch of which ſentence, let us firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtraightneſs importeth which God denieth to be in the mind of the Babylonian. All things which God did create he made them at the firſt true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence unto that pattern of their being, which was eternally drawn in the counſel of God's fore-knowledge; good, in regard of the uſe and benefit which each thing yieldeth unto other; right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends propoſed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and eſteem of them; and therefore as they tend thereunto unwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſity ſo held that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the heavens do move, the heavens themſelves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only Men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeek for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſity tied naturally unto any certain determinate mean to obtain their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World, no creature but only Man, which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his mind directly bending itſelf, is termed right or ſtraight, otherwiſe perverſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plain, we muſt note,

note, that as they which travel from city to city, enquire ever for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtraighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them to their journey's end: ſo we *having here*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *no abiding city*, but being always in travel towards that place of joy, immortality, and reſt, cannot but in every of our deeds, words and thoughts, think that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That ſovereign good, which is the eternal fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicity, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſs living, which doth not wiſh for. The difference between right and crooked minds, is in the means which the one or the other eſchew or follow. Certain it is, that all particular things which are naturally deſired in the world, as food, raiment, honour, wealth, pleaſure, knowledge, they are ſubordinated in ſuch wiſe unto that future good which we look for in the world to come, that even in them there lieth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwiſe we muſt think, that God making promiſes of good things in this life, did ſeek to pervert Men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the mind of man? His mind is perverſe and crooked, not when it bendeth itſelf unto any of theſe things, but when it bendeth ſo that it ſwerveth either to the right hand or to the left, by exceſs or defect, from that exact rule whereby human actions are meaſured. The rule to meaſure and judge them by, is the Law of God. For this cauſe the Prophet doth make ſo often and ſo earneſt ſuit, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandments: as long as I have reſpect to thy ſtatutes, I am ſure not to tread amiſs.* Under the name of the Law we muſt comprehend not only that which God hath written in tables and leaves, but that which Nature alſo hath engraven in the hearts of Men. Elſe how ſhould thoſe Heathens which never had books, but Heaven

and

and Earth to look upon, be convicted of perverſeneſs? *But the Gentiles which had not the Law in books, had*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *the effect of the Law written in their hearts.*

Then ſeeing that the heart of Man is not right exactly, unleſs it be found in all parts ſuch, that God examining and calling it unto account with all ſeverity of rigor, be not able once to charge it with declining or ſwerving aſide, (which abſolute perfection when did God ever find in the ſons of mere mortal Men?) doth it not follow, that all fleſh muſt of neceſſity fall down and confeſs, We are not duſt and aſhes, but worſe; our minds from the higheſt to the loweſt are not right; if not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that bleſſedneſs which we naturally ſeek, but ſubject unto that which we moſt abhor, anguiſh, tribulation, death, woe, endleſs miſery. For whatſoever miſſeth the way of Life, the iſſue thereof cannot be but perdition. By which reaſon, all being wrapped up in ſin, and made thereby the children of Death, the minds of all Men being plainly convicted not to be right; ſhall we think that God hath indued them with ſo many excellencies more, not only than any, but than all the Creatures in the World beſides, to leave them in ſuch eſtate, that they had been happier if they had never been? Here cometh neceſſarily in a new way of ſalvation, ſo that they which were in the other perverſe, may in this be found ſtraight and righteous. That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace. The end of that way, ſalvation merited, preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of Men's works; their righteouſneſs, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection: but the end of this way ſalvation beſtowed upon Men as a gift, preſuppoſing, not their righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, juſtification; their juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for their not doing, and un-

feigned belief in him for whoſe ſake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out from the number of loſt children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy, their miſery, for whom he vouchſafed to make himſelf a Mediator. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing between theſe two ways, and obſerving what they have common, what peculiar, hath been the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianity at this day laboureth. The lack of diligence in ſearching, laying down, and inuring Men's minds with thoſe hidden grounds of reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particular in each of theſe are moſt firmly and ſtrongly builded, is the only reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and uncertainties, wherewith we are in ſuch ſort intangled, that a number deſpair of ever diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way, how ſome minds may be, and are right truly, even in the ſight of God, though they be ſimply in themſelves not right.

Howbeit, there is not only this difference between the juſt and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverſe, becauſe his ſin is unrepented of; but even as lines that are drawn with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheleſs direct in compariſon of them which run clean another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſs, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and ugly monſters, in whom, becauſe there is nothing but wilful oppoſition of mind againſt God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by ſaying, that their minds are not right. The Angel of the Church of Thyatyra, unto whom the Son of God ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy works,*

works, and thy love, and thy ſervice, and faith; notwithſtanding, I have a few things againſt thee, was not as he unto whom St. Peter, *Thou haſt no fellowſhip in this buſineſs; for thy heart is not right in the ſight of God.* So that whereas the orderly diſpoſition of the mind of Man ſhould be this; perturbation and ſenſual appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and ſober will, in all things framed by Reaſon; Reaſon directed by the Law of God and Nature; this Babylonian had his mind, as it were, turned upſide down. In him unreaſonable cecity and blindneſs trampled all Laws, both of God and Nature under feet; wilfulneſs tyrannized over Reaſon; and brutiſh ſenſuality over Will: an evident token that his outrage would work his overthrow, and procure his ſpeedy ruin. The mother whereof was that which the Prophet in theſe words ſignified, *His mind doth ſwell.*

Immoderate ſwelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable deſtruction: Pride, a vice which cleaveth ſo faſt unto the hearts of Men, that if we were to ſtrip ourſelves of all faults one by one, we ſhould undoubtedly find it the very laſt and hardeſt to put off. But I am not here to touch the ſecret itching humour of vanity wherewith Men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanly inordinate, wherewith the Babylonian did ſwell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more eaſily reap profit by, the nature of this vice, which ſetteth the whole World out of courſe, and hath put ſo many even of the wiſeſt beſides themſelves, is firſt of all to be enquired into: ſecondly, the dangers to be diſcovered which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured; and laſt of all, the ways to cure it.

Whether we look upon the gifts of Nature, or of Grace, or whatſoever is in the world admired as a part of Man's excellency, adorning his Body, beautifying his Mind, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of Men, there is in

every kind ſomewhat poſſible which no Man hath, and ſomewhat had which few Men can attain unto. By occaſion whereof, there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, Pride through Men's ignorance. Firſt, therefore, although Men be not proud of any thing which is not, at at leaſt in opinion, good; yet every good thing they are not proud of, but only of that which neither is common unto many, and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which have it to be honoured above the reſt. Now there is no Man ſo void of brain, as to ſuppoſe that Pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to have virtue were a vice, and they ſhould be the happieſt Men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they have leaſt of that which they would have. And though in ſpeech we do intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we ſay, *They are wiſe Men, and they know it*; yet this doth not prove, that every wiſe Man is proud which doth not think himſelf to be blockiſh. What we may have, and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offenſive when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference between Men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly bleſſings, and Idols gorgeouſly attired, but this, *The one takes pleaſure in that which they have, the other none?* If we may be poſſeſſed with beauty, ſtrength, riches, power, knowledge, if we may be privy to what we are every way, if glad and joyful for our own welfare, and in all this remain unblameable; nevertheleſs ſome there are, who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility, to accept thoſe teſtimonies of praiſe and commendation, thoſe titles, rooms, and other honours which the World yieldeth, as acknowledgments of ſome Men's excellencies above others. For, inaſmuch as Chriſt hath ſaid unto thoſe that are his, *The Kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them, are called gracious Lords; be ye not ſo*: the Anabaptiſt hereupon urgeth equality

lity amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of authority were nothing elſe but heatheniſh Pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no ſuch meaning. But his Diſciples feeding themſelves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the World ſhould in Jeruſalem erect his Throne, and exerciſe dominion with great pomp and outward ſtatelineſs, advanced in honour and terrene power above all the Princes of the earth, began to think, how with their Lord's condition their own would alſo riſe; that having left and forſaken all to follow him, their place about him ſhould not be mean; and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould be the greateſt Man. When ſuit was made for two by name, that of them *one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left*, the reſt began to ſtomach, each taking it grievouſly that any ſhould have what all did affect: their Lord and Maſter, to correct this humour, turneth aſide their cogitations from theſe vain and fanciful conceits, giving them plainly to underſtand that they did but deceive themſelves: his coming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an Heavenly Kingdom, wherein they (if any) ſhall be greateſt whom unfeigned Humility maketh in this World loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom, and ſit on ſeats, and judge the twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* But my Kingdom is no ſuch Kingdom as ye dream of; and therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemlier in Heathens than in you. Wherefore from Chriſt's intent and purpoſe nothing is further removed, than diſlike of diſtinction in titles and callings, annexed for order's ſake unto Authority, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. And when we have examined throughly, what the nature of this vice is, no Man knowing it can be ſo ſimple, as not to ſee an ugly ſhape thereof apparent many times in

rejecting honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of Men. For as Judas his care for the poor was mere covetouſneſs; and that frank-hearted waſtefulneſs ſpoken of in the Goſpel, thrift; ſo, there is no doubt, but that going in rags may be Pride, and thrones be clothed with unfeigned humility.

We muſt go further therefore, and enter ſomewhat deeper, before we can come to the cloſet wherein this poiſon lieth. There is in the heart of every proud Man, firſt, an error of underſtanding, a vain opinion whereby he thinketh his own excellency, and by reaſon thereof his worthineſs of eſtimation, regard and honour, to be greater than in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to raiſe up himſelf; and by his inward affections his outward acts are faſhioned. Which if you liſt to have exemplified, you may, either by calling to mind things ſpoken of them whom God himſelf hath in Scripture eſpecially noted with this fault; or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded Men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentiful an harveſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which we drink in at our ears doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceive by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the Aſſyrian Monarch in the tenth of Iſaiah, of his ſwelling mind, his haughty looks, his great and preſumptuous taunts; *By the power of mine own hand I have done all things, and by mine own wiſdom I have ſubdued the World?* any thing concerning the Dames of Sion, in the third of the Prophet Iſaiah, of their ſtretched-out necks, their immodeſt eyes, their pageant-like, ſtately and pompous gait? any thing concerning the practices of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, of their impatience to live in ſubjection, their mutinies, repining at lawful authority, their grudging againſt their Superiors Eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical and Civil? any thing concerning Pride in any ſort of ſect, which the preſent face of the World doth not, as in a glaſs, repreſent to the view of all Men's beholding? So that if books, both profane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of Men retain the eſtate they are in; for him that obſerveth, how that when Men have once conceived an over-weening of themſelves, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell; how deadly their hatred, how heavy their diſpleaſure, how unappeaſable their indignation and wrath is above other Men's, in what manner they compoſe themſelves to be as Heteroclites, without the compaſs of all ſuch rules as the common ſort are meaſured by; how the oaths which religious hearts do tremble at, they affect as principal graces of ſpeech; what felicity they take to ſee the enormity of their crimes above the reach of laws and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appal with the cloudineſs of their looks; how far they exceed the terms wherewith Man's nature ſhould be limited; how highly they bear their heads over others; how they brow-beat all Men which do not receive their ſentences as Oracles, with marvellous applauſe and approbation; how they look upon no Man, but with an indirect countenance, nor hear any thing ſaving their own praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeak without ſcornfulneſs and diſdain; how they uſe their Servants, as if they were beaſts, their Inferiors as ſervants, their Equals as inferiors, and as for Superiors they acknowledge none; how they admire themſelves as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, provident, every way great, taking all Men beſides themſelves for cyphers, poor, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſs burthens of the earth, off-ſcourings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a falſe conceit

of Men's excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behaviour, unleſs they be cunning to conceal it; for a foul ſcar may be covered with a fair cloth, and as proud as Lucifer, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No Man expecteth grapes of thiſtles; nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other than ſuitable fruits be looked for. What harm ſoever in private Families there groweth by diſobedience of Children, ſtubbornneſs of Servants, untractableneſs in them, who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould, in conſideration of the imparity of their ſex, be alſo ſubject; whatſoever, by ſtrife amongſt Men combined in the fellowſhip of greater Societies, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subjects in Civil States; by Hereſies, Schiſms, Diviſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the mother which brought them forth, and the only nurſe that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all Men humbled; and what is there that can overthrow or diſturb the peace of the World? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much evil; but Pride of all.

To declaim of the ſwarms of evils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſy labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe and perſuade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grievous might be cured, and the means how the Pride of ſwelling minds might be taken down. Whereunto ſo much we have already gained, that the evidence of the cauſe which breedeth it, pointeth directly unto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away. Diſeaſes that come of fulneſs, emptineſs muſt remove. Pride is not cured but by abating the error which cauſeth the mind to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their own excellency; for this cauſe, all that tend to the beating down of their Pride, whether it be advertiſement from Men, or from God himſelf chaſtiſement; it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their error in overſeeing the

thing

thing they were proud of. At this mark Job, in his apology unto his eloquent Friends, aimeth. For perceiving how much they delighted to hear themſelves talk, as if they had given their poor afflicted familiar a ſchooling of marvellous deep and rare inſtruction, as if they had taught him more than all the World beſides could acquaint him with; his anſwer was to this effect: Ye ſwell, as though ye had conceived ſome great matter; but as for that which ye are delivered of, who knoweth it not? Is any Man ignorant of theſe things? At the ſame mark the bleſſed Apoſtle driveth: *Ye abound in all things, ye are rich, ye reign,* and *would to Chriſt we did reign with you:* but boaſt not. For what have ye, or are ye of yourſelves? To this mark all thoſe humble confeſſions are referred, which have been always frequent in the mouths of Saints truly wading in the trial of themſelves: as that of the Prophet's, *We are nothing but ſoreneſs and feſtered corruption*; our very light is darkneſs, and our righteouſneſs itſelf unrighteouſneſs: that of Gregory, *Let no Man ever put confidence in his own deſerts*; *Sordet in conſpectu Judicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis*; in the ſight of the dreadful Judge, it is noiſome, which in the doer's judgment maketh a beautiful ſhew: that of Anſelm, *I adore thee, I bleſs thee, Lord God of Heaven, and Redeemer of the World, with all the power, ability, and ſtrength of my heart and ſoul, for thy goodneſs ſo unmeaſurably extended; not in regard of my merits, whereunto only torments were due, but of thy mere unprocured benignity.* If theſe Fathers ſhould be raiſed again from the duſt, and have the books laid open before them wherein ſuch ſentences are found as this: *Works no other than the value, deſert, price, and worth of the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven; Heaven, in relation to our works, as the very ſtipend, which the hired labourer covenanteth to have of him whoſe work he doth, as a thing equally and juſtly anſwering unto the time and weight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or bountiful*

bountiful gift—if, I ſay, thoſe reverend fore-rehearſed Fathers, whoſe books are ſo full of ſentences witneſſing their Chriſtian humility, ſhould be raiſed from the dead, and behold with their eyes ſuch things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the authors of ſuch writs, that they were fuller of Lucifer than of Chriſt; that they were proud-hearted Men, and carried more ſwelling minds than ſincerely and feelingly known Chriſtianity can tolerate?

But as unruly children, with whom wholſome admonition prevaileth little, are notwithſtanding brought to fear that ever after which they have once well ſmarted for; ſo the mind which falleth not with inſtruction, yet under the rod of divine chaſtiſement ceaſeth to ſwell. If therefore the Prophet David, inſtructed by good experience, have acknowledged; Lord, I was even at the point of clean forgetting myſelf, and ſo ſtraying from my right mind; but thy rod was my reformer; it *hath been good for me*, even as much as my ſoul is worth, *that I have been with ſorrow troubled:* if the bleſſed Apoſtle did need the corroſive of ſharp and bitter ſtrokes, leſt his heart ſhould ſwell with too great *abundance of heavenly revelations*, ſurely, upon us whatſoever God in this World doth or ſhall inflict, it cannot ſeem more than our Pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedy. So hard it is to cure a ſore of ſuch quality as Pride is, inaſmuch as that which rooteth out other vices, cauſeth this; and (which is even above all conceit) if we were clean from all ſpot and blemiſh both of other faults; of Pride, the fall of Angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion, whether we might not need a preſervative ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply wax proud that we are not proud. What is Virtue, but a medicine, and Vice, but a wound? Yet we have ſo often deeply wounded ourſelves with medicine, that God hath been fain to make wounds medicinable; to cure by Vice where Virtue hath ſtrucken;

ſtrucken; to ſuffer the juſt Man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what power it was which upheld him ſtanding. I am not afraid to affirm it boldly with St. Auguſtin, that Men puffed up through a proud opinion of their own ſanctity and holineſs, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his Grace, when with his Grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grievouſly, to tranſgreſs; whereby, as they were in overgreat liking of themſelves ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them, may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Aſk the very ſoul of Peter, and it ſhall undoubtedly make you itſelf this anſwer; My eager proteſtations, made in the glory of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of; but thoſe cryſtal tears wherewith my ſin and weakneſs was bewailed, have procured my endleſs joy; my ſtrength hath been my ruin, and my fall my ſtay.

A

REMEDY

AGAINST

SORROW AND FEAR,

DELIVERED IN A

FUNERAL SERMON.

JOHN xiv. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.

THE holy Apoſtles having gathered themſelves together by the ſpecial appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receive from him ſuch inſtructions as they had been accuſtomed with, were told that which they leaſt looked for, namely, that the time of his departure out of the World was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration, firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereave them of; and, ſecondly, of the ſundry evils which themſelves ſhould be ſubject unto, being once bereaved of ſo gracious a Maſter and Patron. The one conſideration overwhelmed their ſouls with heavineſs; the other with fear. Their Lord and Saviour, whoſe words had caſt down their hearts, raiſeth them preſently again with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement. My dear, it is for your own ſakes

I leave

I leave the World; I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that adviſed and ſtaid judgment which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leaving the World, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Deſolate and comfortleſs I will not leave you; in ſpirit I am with you to the World's end. Whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall ever take you out of theſe hands. My going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names, which is not only for me, but alſo for you prepared; where I am, you ſhall be. In the mean while, *my peace I give, not as the World giveth, give I unto you: let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.* The former part of which ſentence having otherwhere already been ſpoken of, this unacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not look for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the ways of Men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which he hath thus ordered by his providence, may through his gracious goodneſs turn unto your comfort.

Our Nature coveteth for preſervation from things hurtful. Hurtful things being preſent, do breed heavineſs; being future, do cauſe fear. Our Saviour, to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus unto his Diſciples: *Let not your hearts be troubled*; and to moderate the other, addeth, *Fear not.* Grief and heavineſs in the preſence of ſenſible evils cannot but trouble the minds of Men. It may therefore ſeem that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being natural, and therefore ſimply not reprovable, is in us good or bad according to the cauſes for which we are grieved, or the meaſure of our grief. It is not my meaning to ſpeak ſo largely of this affection, or to go over all the particulars whereby Men do one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo far only, as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles' equals to ſwerve. Our grief and heavineſs

heavineſs therefore is reprovable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt, the life of the World, was led unto cruel death, there followed a number of People and Women, which Women bewailed much his heavy caſe. It was a natural compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw undeſerved miſeries there to pour forth unreſtrained tears. Nor was this reproved. But in ſuch readineſs to lament where they leſs needed, their blindneſs in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned; this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the tears which were waſted for him, might better have been ſpent upon themſelves; *Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, weep for yourſelves and for your Children.* It is not, as the Stoicks have imagined, a thing unſeemly for a wiſe Man to be touched with grief of mind: but to be ſorrowful when we leaſt ſhould; and where we ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſdom. Again, when the Prophet David confeſſeth thus of himſelf, *I grieved to ſee the great proſperity of godleſs Men, how they flouriſh and go untouched*, himſelf hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not have made ſo penſive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where we ſhould not, becauſe this grief doth riſe from error. We err when we grieve at wicked Men's impunity and proſperity, becauſe their eſtate being rightly diſcerned, they neither proſper nor go unpuniſhed. It may ſeem a paradox, it is truth, that no wicked Man's eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they bleſs themſelves, and think their happineſs great? Have not frantick perſons many times a great opinion of their own wiſdom? It may be that ſuch as they think themſelves, others alſo do account them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelves are. Truth and Reaſon diſcerneth far otherwiſe of them.

Pſal. lxxiii.

them. Unto whom the Jews wiſh all proſperity, unto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſs, when the Prophet ſaith plainly, *That the wicked have no peace*; how can we think them to have any part of other than vainly imagined felicity? What wiſe Man did ever account fools happy? If wicked Men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked. Their iniquity therefore proving their folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſery? They abound in thoſe things which all Men deſire. A poor happineſs to have good things in poſſeſſion. *A Man to whom God hath given riches, and treaſures, and honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his ſoul of all that it deſireth, but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; ſuch a felicity Solomon eſteemeth but as vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things add nothing to Men's happineſs, where they are not uſed, ſurely wicked Men that uſe them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their proſperity therefore we ſee what we are to think. Touching their impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftener plagued than we are aware of. The pangs they feel are not always written in their forehead. Though wickedneſs be ſugar in their mouths, and wantonneſs as oil to make them look with cheerful countenances; nevertheleſs if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering ſtate would not greatly be envied. The voices that have broken out from ſome of them, *O that God had given me a heart ſenſeleſs, like the flints in the rocks of ſtone!* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe and the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which Zophar in the Book of Job poureth upon the head of the impious Man: *He ſhall ſuck the gall of aſps, and the viper's tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeem light, becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we think they go unpuniſhed, becauſe no apparent plague is preſently ſeen upon them? The judgments of God

Eccleſ. vi. 2.

do

do not always follow crimes, as thunder doth lightning; but sometimes the space of many ages coming between. When the sun hath shined fair the space of six days upon their tabernacle, we know not what clouds the seventh may bring. And when their punishment doth come, let them make their account in the greatness of their suffering to pay the interest of that respite which had been given them. Or if they chance to escape clearly in this world, which they seldom do; in the day when the heavens shall shrivel as a scroll, and the mountains move as frighted Men out of their places, what cave shall receive them? What mountain or rock shall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? what covert to hide them from that wrath, which they shall neither be able to abide or avoid? No Man's misery therefore being greater than theirs whose impiety is most fortunate; much more cause there is for them to bewail their own infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their prosperous and happy estate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not, or would not touch them. For these causes, and the like unto these, therefore, *Be not troubled.*

Now, though the cause of our heaviness be just, yet may not our affections herein be yielded unto with too much indulgency and favour. The grief of compassion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other Men's woes, is of all other least dangerous: yet this is a lett unto sundry duties; by this we are apt to spare sometimes where we ought to strike. The grief which our own sufferings do bring, what temptations have not risen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly grief of hearty contrition for sins committed against God, the near approaching of so many afflicted souls, whom the conscience of sin hath brought unto the very brink of extreme despair, doth but too abundantly shew. These things, wheresoever they fall, cannot but trouble and molest the mind. Whether we be therefore moved vainly with that

which ſeemeth hurtful, and is not; or have juſt cauſe of grief, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grievous, our Saviour's leſſon is touching the one, *Be not troubled*, nor over-troubled for the other. For though to have no feeling of that which nearly concerneth us were ſtupidity, nevertheleſs, ſeeing that as the Author of our ſalvation was himſelf conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thorns; be it never ſo hard to learn, we muſt learn to ſuffer with patience, even that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered; that in the hour when God ſhall call us unto our trial, and turn this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwell, into that gall and bitterneſs which fleſh doth ſhrink to taſte of, nothing may cauſe us, in the troubles of our ſouls, to ſtorm, and grudge, and repine at God; but every heart be enabled with divinely inſpired courage to inculcate unto itſelf, *Be not troubled*; and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember, that nothing may be ſo ſharp and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we ourſelves may give ourſelves this encouragement, *Even learn alſo patience, O my Soul.*

Naming Patience, I name that virtue which only hath power to ſtay our Souls from being over-exceſſively troubled. A virtue, wherein if ever any, ſurely that Soul had good experience, which extremity of pains having chaſed out of the tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the boſom of her Father Abraham. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeem unto us ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to hear in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himſelf hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the Book of Life, after what ſort his Servants have cloſed up their days on earth, that he deſcendeth even to their very meaneſt actions; what meat they have longed for in their ſickneſs, what they have ſpoken unto their Children, Kinsfolks, and Friends,

where

where they have willed their dead carcaſes to be laid, how they have framed their wills and teſtaments; yea, the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their natural heat hath departed from them, their cries, their groans, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaſpings he hath moſt ſolemnly commended unto the memory of all generations. The care of the living both to live and die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or ſhould have by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſome time or other to wiſh in their hearts, *Oh, that we might die the death of the Righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words would be to ſtrike even as many wounds into their minds, whom I rather wiſh to comfort; therefore concerning this virtuous Gentlewoman only this little I ſpeak, and that of knowledge, *She lived a dove, and died a lamb.* And if amongſt ſo many virtues hearty devotion towards God, towards poverty tender compaſſion, motherly affection towards Servants, toward Friends even ſerviceable kindneſs, mild behaviour and harmleſs meaning towards all; if, where ſo many virtues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpecial mention, I wiſh her deareſt friends of that ſex to be her neareſt followers in two things; Silence, ſaving only where duty did exact ſpeech; and Patience, even then when extremity of pains did enforce grief. *Bleſſed are they that die in the Lord.* And concerning the

dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged, with grief over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of Fear, which reſpecteth evil to come, as the other which we have ſpoken of doth preſent evils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plain, that we are not of every future evil afraid. Perceive we not how they, whoſe tenderneſs ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a needle's point, do kiſs the ſword that pierceth their Souls quite through? If every evil did cauſe Fear, Sin, becauſe it is ſin, would be feared; whereas properly ſin is not feared as ſin, but only as having ſome kind of harm annexed. To teach Men to avoid ſin, it had been ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, *Fly it*: but to make them afraid of committing ſin, becauſe the naming of ſin ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is as a *Serpent which ſtingeth the Soul*. Again, be it that ſome nocive or hurtful thing be towards us, muſt Fear of neceſſity follow hereupon? Not, except that hurtful thing do threaten us either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch, as we have neither a conceit of ability to reſiſt, nor of utter impoſſibility to avoid. That which we know ourſelves able to withſtand, we fear not; and that which we know we are unable to defer or diminiſh, or any way avoid, we ceaſe to fear; we give ourſelves over to bear and ſuſtain it. The evil therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſuaſion unable to be reſiſted when it cometh, yet not utterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither do we much fear ſuch evils, except they be imminent and near at hand; nor if they be near, except we have an opinion that they be ſo. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch evils preſt, and ready to invade us; becauſe they are hurtful unto our nature, we feel in ourſelves a kind of abhorring; becauſe they are thought near, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and provide for itſelf; becauſe they are

evils

evils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not provide to withſtand, but to ſhun and avoid. Hence it is, that in extreme fear, the Mother of Life contracting herſelf, avoiding as much as may be the reach of evil, and drawing the heat together with the ſpirits of the body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weak, feeble, unapt to perform the functions of life; as we ſee in the fear of Balthaſar King of Babel. By this it appeareth, that Fear is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the Mind, through an opinion of ſome imminent evil, threatening the deſtruction, or great annoyance of our Nature, which to ſhun it doth contract and deject itſelf.

Now becauſe, not in this place only, but otherwhere often, we hear it repeated, *Fear not*; it is by ſome made a queſtion, *Whether a Man may fear deſtruction or vexation without ſinning?* Firſt, the reproof wherewith Chriſt checketh his Diſciples more than once, *O Men of little faith, wherefore are ye afraid?* ſecondly, the puniſhment threatened in Rev. xxi. viz. the lake, and fire, and brimſtone, not only to Murtherers, unclean Perſons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Liars, but alſo to the Fearful and Faint-hearted: this ſeemeth to argue, that Fearfulneſs cannot but be ſin. On the contrary ſide we ſee, that he which never felt motion unto ſin, had of this affection more than a ſlight feeling. How clear is the evidence of the Spirit, that *in the days of his* Heb. v. 7. *fleſh he offered up prayers and ſupplications, with ſtrong cries and tears, unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was alſo heard in that which he feared?* Whereupon it followeth, that Fear in itſelf is a thing not ſinful. For, is not Fear a thing natural, and for Men's preſervation neceſſary, implanted in us by the provident and moſt gracious Giver of all good things, to the end that we might not run headlong upon thoſe miſchiefs, wherewith we are not able to encounter, but uſe the remedy of ſhunning thoſe evils which we have not ability to withſtand? Let that

People therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their Prince's days, the Father or Mother which rejoiceth to ſee the Offspring of their fleſh grow like green and pleaſant plants, let thoſe Children that would have their Parents, thoſe Men that would gladly have their Friends and Brethren's days prolonged on earth (as there is no natural-hearted Man but gladly would), let them bleſs the Father of Lights, as in other things, ſo even in this, that he hath given Man a fearful heart, and ſettled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſervation againſt ſo many ways of death. Fear then in itſelf being mere nature, cannot in itſelf be ſin, which ſin is not nature, but thereof an acceſſary deprivation.

But in the matter of Fear we may ſin, and do, two ways. If any Man's danger be great, theirs is greateſt that have put the fear of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more fearful than that Babylonian Strumpet's, that ſitteth upon the top of ſeven hills glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queen, &c.* How much better and happier are they, whoſe eſtate hath been always as his, who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelf, *Lord, from my youth have I born thy yoke?* They which ſit at continual eaſe, and are ſettled in the lees of their ſecurity, look upon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deeds: *Put them in fear, O God,* ſaith the Prophet, *that ſo they may know themſelves to be but Men*; worms of earth, duſt and aſhes, frail, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake off ſecurity therefore, and to breed Fear in the hearts of mortal Men, ſo many admonitions are uſed concerning the power of evils which beſet them, ſo many threatenings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatened, and thoſe ſo lively, to the end they may leave behind them a deep impreſſion of ſuch as have force to keep the heart continually waking. All which do ſhew, that we are to ſtand in fear of nothing more than the extremity of not fearing.

Rev. xviii. 7.

When

When Fear hath delivered us from that pit, wherein they are ſunk that have put far from them the evil day, that have made a league with Death, and have ſaid, *Tuſh, we ſhall feel no harm*; it ſtandeth us upon to take heed it caſt us not into that, wherein Souls deſtitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoid as much as may be both extremities, that we may know, as a ſhip-maſter by his card, how far we are wide, either on the one ſide, or on the other, we muſt note, that in a Chriſtian Man there is, firſt, Nature: ſecondly, Corruption perverting Nature: thirdly, Grace correcting and amending Corruption. In Fear all theſe have their ſeveral operations: Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſervation, and avoidance of things dreadful; for which cauſe our Saviour himſelf prayeth, and that often, *Father, if it be poſſible.* In which caſes, corrupt Nature's ſuggeſtions are, for the ſafety of temporal life not to ſtick at things excluding from eternal; wherein how far even the beſt may be led, the chiefeſt Apoſtle's frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations as, on the contrary ſide, Grace and Faith miniſtereth, ſuch as that of Job, *Though God kill me*; that of Paul, *Scio cui credidi, I know him on whom I rely*; ſmall evils would ſoon be able to overthrow even the beſt of us. *A wiſe Man*, ſaith Solomon, *doth ſee a plague coming, and hideth himſelf.* It is Nature which teacheth a wiſe Man in fear to hide himſelf, but Grace and Faith doth teach him where. Fools care not to hide their heads: but where ſhall a wiſe Man hide himſelf when he feareth a plague coming? where ſhould the frighted Child hide his head, but in the boſom of his loving Father? where a Chriſtian, but under the ſhadow of the wings of Chriſt his Saviour? *Come my People*, ſaith God in the Prophet, *enter into thy chamber, hide thyſelf, &c.* But becauſe we are in danger, like chaſed birds, like doves, that ſeek and cannot ſee the reſting holes Iſai. xxvi. 20.

that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his Disciples these encouragements beforehand, that Fear might never so amaze them, but that always they might remember, that whatsoever evils at any time did beset them, to him they should still repair for comfort, counsel, and succour. For their assurance whereof, his *Peace he gave them, his Peace he left unto them, not such Peace as the World offereth*, by whom its name is never so much pretended, as when deepest treachery is meant; but *Peace which passeth all understanding*, Peace that bringeth with it all happiness, Peace that continueth for ever and ever with them that have it.

This Peace God the Father grant, for his Son's sake; unto whom, with the Holy Ghost, three Persons, one Eternal and Everlasting God, be all Honour, and Glory, and Praise, now and for ever. Amen.

A

LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE SERMON

OF THE

CERTAINTY AND PERPETUITY

OF

FAITH IN THE ELECT:

ESPECIALLY OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK'S FAITH.

HABAK. i. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this cogitation into his mind, The Law doth fail, *did thereby ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever?*

WE have ſeen in the opening of this clauſe, which concerneth the weakneſs of the Prophet's Faith, firſt, what things they are, whereunto the Faith of ſound Believers doth aſſent: ſecondly, wherefore all Men aſſent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that do, do it many times with ſmall aſſurance. Now, becauſe nothing can be ſo truly ſpoken, but through miſunderſtanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be poſſible, all miſcon-

miſconſtruction in this cauſe, where a ſmall error cannot riſe but with great danger; it is perhaps needful, ere we come to the fourth point, that ſomething be added to that which had been already ſpoken concerning the third.

That mere natural Men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not marvel, becauſe they are ſpiritually to be diſcerned: but they in whoſe hearts the light of Grace doth ſhine, they that are taught of God, why are they ſo weak in Faith? Why is their aſſenting to the Law ſo ſcrupulous? ſo much mingled with fear and wavering? It ſeemeth ſtrange that ever they ſhould imagine the Law to fail. It cannot ſeem ſtrange if we weigh the reaſon. If the things which we believe be conſidered in themſelves, it may truly be ſaid that Faith is more certain than any Science. That which we know either by ſenſe, or by infallible demonſtration, is not ſo certain as the principles, articles and concluſions of Chriſtian Faith. Concerning which we muſt note, that there is a certainty of evidence, and a certainty of adherence. Certainty of evidence we call that, when the mind doth aſſent to this or that, not becauſe it is true in itſelf, but becauſe the truth is clear, becauſe it is manifeſt unto us. Of things in themſelves moſt certain, except they be alſo moſt evident, our perſuaſion is not ſo aſſured as it is of things more evident, although in themſelves they be leſs certain. It is as ſure, if not ſurer, that there be Spirits, as that there be Men; but we be more aſſured of theſe than of them, becauſe theſe are more evident. The truth of ſome things are ſo evident, that no Man which heareth them can doubt of them: as when we hear that a part of any thing is leſs than the whole, the Mind is conſtrained to ſay, this is true. If it were ſo in matters of Faith, then, as all Men have equal certainty of this, ſo no Believer ſhould be more ſcrupulous and doubtful than another. But we find the contrary. The Angels

and

and Spirits of the Righteous in Heaven have certainty moſt evident of things ſpiritual: but this they have by the light of Glory. That which we ſee by the light of Grace, though it be indeed more certain; yet it is not to us ſo evidently certain, as that which Senſe or the light of Nature will not ſuffer a Man to doubt of. Proofs are vain and frivolous, except they be more certain than is the thing proved. And do we not ſee how the Spirit every where in the Scripture proving matters of Faith, laboureth to confirm us in the things which we believe, by things whereof we have ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have leſs certainty of evidence concerning things believed, than concerning ſenſible or naturally perceived. Of theſe who doth doubt at any time? Of them at ſometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I ſhould dwell too long upon a matter ſufficiently known by every faithful Man that doth know himſelf.

The other, which we call the certainty of adherence, is, when the heart doth cleave and ſtick unto that which it doth believe. This certainty is greater in us than the other. The reaſon is this, the Faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the Promiſes of God, not only as true, but alſo as good; and therefore even then, when the evidence which he hath of the truth is ſo ſmall, that it grieveth him to feel his weakneſs in aſſenting thereto, yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearfully believe, that his ſpirit having once truly taſted the heavenly ſweetneſs thereof, all the World is not able quite and clean to remove him from it: but he ſtriveth with himſelf to hope againſt all reaſon of believing, being ſettled with Job upon this immovable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not give over truſting in him.*

For

For why? This leſſon remaineth for ever imprinted
Pſal.xxxvii. in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God.*

Now the minds of all Men being ſo darkened as they are with the foggy damp of original corruption, it cannot be that any Man's heart living ſhould be either ſo enlightened in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the love of that wherein his ſalvation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth lett why that Man ſhould not be juſtified by his own inherent righteouſneſs? For righteouſneſs inherent, being perfect, will juſtify. And perfect Faith is a part of perfect righteouſneſs inherent; yea, a principal part, the root and the mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the fruit of every tree be ſuch as the root is, Faith being perfect, as it is if it be not at all mingled with diſtruſt and fear, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian Virtues from the like perfections? And then what need we the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt? His garment is ſuperfluous: we may be honourably clothed with our own robes, if it be thus. But let them beware, who challenge to themſelves a ſtrength which they have not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakneſs which indeed they have.

Some ſhew, although no ſoundneſs of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certainty touching matters of our Faith; as, firſt, that Abraham did believe, and doubted not: ſecondly, that the Spirit, which God hath given us to no other end, but only to aſſure us that we are the Sons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father; to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things believed evident unto our minds, is much mightier in operation than the common light of Nature, whereby we diſcern ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſure of that we believe, than of that we ſee; we muſt needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus, than we are of the light of the ſun when

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it ſhineth upon our faces. To that of Abraham, *He did not doubt*; I anſwer, that this negation doth not exclude all fear, all doubting, but only that which cannot ſtand with true Faith. It freeth Abraham from doubting through Infidelity, not from doubting through infirmity; from the doubting of Unbelievers, not of weak Believers; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden plenty in the midſt of extreme dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windows in Heaven, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſs?* But that Abraham was not void of all doubtings, what need we any other proof, than the plain evidence of his own words? The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectual, if God did work like a natural agent, as the fire doth enflame, and the ſun enlighten, according to the uttermoſt ability which they have to bring forth their effects: but the incomprehenſible wiſdom of God doth limit the effects of his power to ſuch a meaſure as it ſeemeth beſt to himſelf. Wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their ſalvation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee; even ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for us, that feeling ſtill our own infirmities, we may no longer breathe than pray, *Adjuva Domine, Help, Lord, our incredulity.* Of the third queſtion, this I hope will ſuffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already ſpoken. The fourth queſtion reſteth, and ſo an end of this point. Gen. xvii. 17.

That which cometh laſt of all in this firſt branch to be conſidered concerning the weakneſs of the Prophet's Faith is, *Whether he did by this very thought,* The Law doth fail, *quench the Spirit, fall from Faith, and ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever, or no?* The queſtion is of moment; the repoſe and tranquillity of infinite Souls doth depend upon it. The Prophet's caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoever we caſt for him,

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the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh Grace, why the like thoughts in us ſhould not take the like effects, there is no cauſe. Foraſmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, dear and precious, which we have in hand, it behoveth us with ſo much the greater charineſs to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build, that if our building be pearl, our foundation be not ſtubble; if the doctrine we teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſave, but deceive both ourſelves and others. In this we know we are not deceived, neither can we deceive you, when we teach that the Faith whereby ye are ſanctified cannot fail; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo, let the difference be ſhewed between the condition of Unbelievers and his, in this or in the like imbecility and weakneſs. There was in Habakkuk that which St. John doth call the *Seed of God*, meaning thereby the firſt Grace which God poureth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt; which having received, if becauſe it is an adverſary to ſin, we do therefore think we ſin not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtful and doubtful apprehending of that which we ought ſteadfaſtly to believe, ſurely we do but deceive ourſelves. Yet they which are of God do not ſin either in this, or in any thing, any ſuch ſin as doth quite extinguiſh Grace, clean cut them off from Chriſt Jeſus; becauſe the ſeed of God abideth in them, and doth ſhield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their Faith, when it is at ſtrongeſt, is but weak; yet even then, when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that utterly it never faileth, it never periſheth altogether, no not in them who think it extinguiſhed in themſelves. There are for whoſe ſakes I dare not deal ſlightly in this cauſe, ſparing that labour which muſt be beſtowed to make it plain. Men in like agonies unto this of the Prophet Habakkuk's are, through the extremity of grief,

many

many times in judgment ſo confounded, that they find not themſelves in themſelves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and enquiry. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtill they aſk, where? Still they lament as for a thing which is *paſt finding*: they mourn as Rachel, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not which indeed is; and as if that, which is not, were; as if they did not believe when they do; and, as if they did deſpair when they do not. Which in ſome I grant, is but a melancholy paſſion, proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cauſe whereof is in the body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this mood, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions: one, that judging by compariſon either with other Men, or with themſelves at ſome other time more ſtrong, they think imperfection to be a plain deprivation, weakneſs to be utter want of Faith. Another cauſe is, they often miſtake one thing for another. St. Paul wiſhing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this ſort; *The God of hope fill you with all joy of believing*. Hence an error groweth, when Men in heavineſs of ſpirit ſuppoſe they lack Faith, becauſe they find not the ſugared joy and delight which indeed doth accompany Faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be removed. The light would never be ſo acceptable, were it not for that uſual intercourſe of darkneſs. Too much honey doth turn to gall, and too much joy, even ſpiritual, would make us wantons. Happier a great deal is that Man's caſe, whoſe ſoul by inward deſolation is humbled, than he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpiritual delight lifted up and exalted above meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to go down into the pit with him, who beholding darkneſs, and bewailing the loſs of inward joy and conſolation, crieth from the bottom of the

loweſt

loweſt hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* than continually to walk arm in arm with Angels, to ſit as it were in Abraham's boſom, and to have no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thank my God it is not with me as it is with other men.* No, God will have them that ſhall walk in light, to feel now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of death. A grieved ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſs mind. A third occaſion of Men's misjudging themſelves, as if they were faithleſs when they are not, is, they faſten their cogitations upon the diſtruſtful ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelves, they gather thereby, ſurely unbelief hath full dominion, it hath taken plenary poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithful, it could not be thus; not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lie buried and overwhelmed with the contrary: when notwithſtanding, as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; ſo there is no doubt but that our Faith may have, and hath her private operations ſecret to us, yet known to him by whom they are. Tell this to a Man that hath a mind deceived by too hard an opinion of himſelf, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his anſwer ready; Will you make me think otherwiſe than I find, than I feel in myſelf? I have thoroughly conſidered, and exquiſitely ſifted all the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is; never ſeek to perſuade me againſt my knowledge; I do not, I know I do not believe. Well, to favour them a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine, be it that they be faithleſs and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They are. Do they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking which they have of thoſe things that are believed? No Man can love things which in his own opinion are not. And if they think thoſe

things

things to be, which they ſhew that they love when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to believe they prove themſelves true Believers. For without Faith no Man thinketh that things believed are. Which argument all the ſubtilty of infernal powers will never be able to diſſolve. The Faith therefore of true Believers, though it hath many and grievous downfals, yet doth it ſtill continue invincible; it conquereth and recovereth itſelf in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubject are not able to prevail againſt it. The Prophet Habakkuk remained faithful in weakneſs, though weak in Faith. It is true, ſuch is our weak and wavering nature, we have no ſooner received Grace, but we are ready to fall from it. We have no ſooner given our aſſent to the Law that it cannot fail, but the next conceit which we are ready to embrace is, that it may, and that it doth fail. Though we find in ourſelves a moſt willing heart to cleave unſeparably unto God, even ſo far as to think unfeignedly with Peter, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into priſon and to death*; yet how ſoon and how eaſily upon how ſmall occaſions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone, and left unto ourſelves? The Galatians today, for their ſakes which teach them the truth of Chriſt, are content, if need were, to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the Angel of the Church of Epheſus, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly ſlaked? The higher we flow, the nearer we are unto an ebb, if Men be reſpected as mere Men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly ſupport of the Spirit. Again, the deſire of our ghoſtly enemy is ſo incredible, and his means ſo forcible to overthrow our Faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed and made hand-faſt unto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am jealous over you with a godly jealouſy, for I have prepared you to one*

Husband, to present you a pure Virgin unto Christ: but I fear, lest as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ. The simplicity of Faith which is in Christ taketh the naked promise of God, his bare word, and on that it resteth. This simplicity the Serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promise of God and those things which sense or experience, or some other fore-conceived persuasion, hath imprinted. The word of the promise of God unto his People is, *I will not leave thee nor forsake thee:* upon this the simplicity of Faith resteth, and is not afraid of famine. But mark how the subtilty of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation whose spirits were not faithful unto God. They beheld the desolate state of the desert in which they were, and by the wisdom of their sense concluded the promise of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a table in the wilderness?* The word of the promise to Sarah was, *Thou shalt bear a Son.* Faith is simple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this simplicity of Faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument drawn from common experience to the contrary: *A woman that is old; Sarah now to be acquainted with forgotten passions again of youth!* The word of the promise of God by Moses and the Prophets made the Saviour of the World so apparent unto Philip, that his simplicity could conceive no other Messias than Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Joseph. But to stay Nathanael, lest being invited to come and see, he should also believe, and so be saved, the subtilty of Satan casteth a mist before his eyes, putteth in his head against this the common conceived persuasion of all Men concerning Nazareth, *Is it possible that any good thing should come from thence?* This stratagem he doth use with so great dexterity, that the minds of all Men are so strangely

bewitched

bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them for the time of all perceivance of that which ſhould relieve them and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The People of Iſrael could not be ignorant that he which led them through the ſea, was able to feed them in the deſert: but this was obliterated, and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their food, they remember not his hand in the day that he delivered them from the hand of the oppreſſor. Sarah was not then to learn, that *with God all things were poſſible*. Had Nathanael never noted how *God doth chooſe the baſe things of this World, to diſgrace them that are moſt honourably eſteemed?* The Prophet Habakkuk knew that the promiſes of grace, protection, and favour which God in the Law doth make unto his People, do not grant them any ſuch immunity as can free and exempt them from all chaſtiſements: he knew that, as God ſaid, *I will continue for ever my mercy towards them*; ſo he likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſſions I will puniſh with a rod*: he knew that it could not ſtand with any reaſon we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our own puniſhments, and preſcribe unto God how great, or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, and altogether ignorant what is beſt for us; that we ſue for many things very unwiſely againſt ourſelves, thinking we *aſk fiſh*, when indeed we crave *a ſerpent*: he knew that when the thing we aſk is good, and yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly; all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God had ſevered for his own People, and ſeeing it abandoned unto Heathen Nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havock of it at their pleaſure; beholding the Lord's own royal ſeat made an heap of ſtones, his Temple defiled, the

carcaſes of his Servants caſt out to the fowls of the air to devour, and the fleſh of his meek ones for the beaſts of the field to feed upon; being conſcious to himſelf how long and how earneſtly he had cried, *Succour us, O God of our welfare, for the glory of thine own name*; and feeling that their ſore was ſtill increaſed, the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which Faith upon promiſe of the Law did look for, made ſo deep an impreſſion, and ſo ſtrong, that he diſputeth not the matter, but without any further enquiry or ſearch inferreth, as we ſee, *The Law doth fail.*

Of us who is here which cannot very ſoberly adviſe his Brother? Sir, you muſt learn to ſtrengthen your Faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of God's great goodneſs towards you; *Per ea quæ agnoſcas præſtita, diſcas ſperare promiſſa*; By thoſe things which you have known performed, learn to hope for thoſe things which are promiſed. Do you acknowledge to have received much? Let that make you certain to receive more: *Habenti dabitur, To him that hath, more ſhall be given.* When you doubt what you ſhall have, ſearch what you have had at God's hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath beſtowed are bills obligatory and ſufficient ſureties, that he will beſtow further. His preſent mercy is ſtill a warrant of his future love, becauſe *whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, clear, undoubted ſigns of God's reconciled love towards us as there are years, yea days, yea hours paſt over our heads; all theſe ſet together have no ſuch force to confirm our Faith as the loſs, and ſometimes the only fear of loſing a little tranſitory goods, credit, honour, or favour of Men; a ſmall calamity, a matter of nothing, to breed a conceit, and ſuch a conceit as is not eaſily again removed, that we are clean croſſed out of God's book, that he regards us not, that he looketh upon others, but

paſſeth

paſſeth by us like a ſtranger, to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with ourſelves, Their tables are furniſhed day by day; earth and aſhes are our bread: they ſing to the lute, and they ſee their Children dance before them; our hearts are heavy in our bodies as lead, our ſighs beat as thick as a ſwift pulſe, our tears do waſh the bed whereon we lie: the ſun ſhineth fair upon their foreheads; we are hanged up like bottles in the ſmoak, caſt into corners like the ſherds of a broken pot: tell not us of the promiſes of God's favour; tell ſuch as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others. The Lord be merciful to our weakneſs, but thus it is. Well, let the frailty of our Nature, the ſubtilty of Satan, the force of our deceivable imaginations be, as we cannot deny but they are, things that threaten every moment the utter ſubverſion of our Faith; Faith notwithſtanding is not hazarded by theſe things; that which one ſometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego ſic exiſtimabam, Patres Conſcripti, uti patrem ſæpe meum prædicantem audivcram, qui veſtram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem ſuſcipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxime tutos eſſe:* as I have often heard my Father acknowledge, ſo I myſelf did ever think, that the Friends and Favourers of this State charged themſelves with great labour, but no Man's condition ſo ſafe as theirs; the ſame we may ſay a great deal more juſtly in this caſe: our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Maſter hath full often ſpoken, by long experience we have found it true, as many as have entered their names in the myſtical book of Life, *eos maximum laborem ſuſcipere*, they have taken upon them a labourſome, a toilſome, a painful profeſſion, *ſed cunium maxime tutos eſſe*, but no Man's ſecurity like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat*; here is our toil: *But I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not*; this is

our ſafety. No Man's condition ſo ſure as ours: the prayer of Chriſt is more than ſufficient both to ſtrengthen us, be we never ſo weak; and to overthrow all adverſary power, be it never ſo ſtrong and potent. His prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain, who think that their watching can preſerve the city, which God himſelf is not willing to keep. And are not theirs as vain, who think that God will keep the city, for which they themſelves are not careful to watch? The Huſbandman may not therefore burn his plough, nor the Merchant forſake his trade, becauſe God hath promiſed, *I will not forſake thee.* And do the promiſes of God concerning our ſtability, think you, make it a matter indifferent for us, to uſe or not to uſe the means whereby to attend, or not to attend to reading? to pray, or not to pray, that we *fall not into temptations?* Surely, if we look to ſtand in the Faith of the Sons of God, we muſt hourly, continually be providing and ſetting ourſelves to ſtrive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father, keep them in thy name*, that we ſhould be careleſs to keep ourſelves. To our own ſafety, our own ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for ever and ever be that mother's child, whoſe Faith hath made him the Child of God. The earth may ſhake, the pillars of the World may tremble under us; the countenance of the Heaven may be appalled, the Sun may loſe his light, the Moon her beauty, the Stars their glory; but concerning the Man that truſted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itſelf unable as much as to ſinge a hair of his head; if lions, beaſts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being ſet to devour, have as it were religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the faithful Man; what is there in the World that ſhall change his heart, overthrow his Faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation between me

and

and my God? *ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? No; I am perſuaded that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor ſword, nor Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall ever* prevail ſo far over me. *I know in whom I have believed*; I am not ignorant whoſe precious blood hath been ſhed for me; I have a Shepherd full of kindneſs, full of care, and full of power; unto him I commit myſelf; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence in the tables of my heart, *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy Faith fail not:* Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a jewel, unto the end; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I ſhall keep it.

To the Worſhipful Mr. GEORGE SUMMASTER,
Principal of Broad-Gates Hall, *in* Oxford,
HENRY JACKSON *wiſheth all happineſs.*

SIR,

YOUR kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made me venture to ſhew the World theſe godly Sermons under your name. In which, as every point is worth obſervation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to be noted: the firſt, that as the Spirit of Prophecy is from God himſelf, who doth inwardly beat and enlighten the hearts and minds of his holy Penmen (which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelves with the contentions of Scot and Thomas, Whether God only, or his miniſtering Spirits, do infuſe into Men's minds Prophetical Revelations per ſpecies intelligibiles), *ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father St. Auguſtine religiouſly obſerveth, that all thoſe who underſtand the ſacred Writers, will alſo perceive, that they ought not to uſe other words than they did, in expreſſing thoſe heavenly Myſteries which their hearts conceived, as the bleſſed Virgin did our Saviour, by the Holy Ghoſt. The greater is Caſtellio his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeak otherwiſe than they have already. Much like to that impious King of Spain, Alphonſus the Tenth, who found fault with God's works.* Si, *inquit*, Creationi affuiſſem, mundum melius ordinaſſem; *If he had been with God at the creation of the World, the World had gone better than now it doth. As this Man found fault with God's works, ſo did the other with God's words; but, becauſe we have a* moſt ſure word of the Prophets, *to which we muſt take heed, I will let his words paſs with the wind, having elſewhere ſpoken to you more largely*

Lib. iv. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.

Rob. Tolet. l. iv. c. 5.

2 Pet. i. Præf. in Orat. D. Rainold.

largely of his errors, whom notwithstanding, for his other excellent parts, I much respect.

You shall moreover from hence understand, how Christianity consists not in formal and seeming purity, (under which who knows not notorious villany to mask?) but in the heart-root. Whence the Author truly teacheth, that Mockers, which use Religion as a cloak, to put off and on, as the weather serveth, are worse than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew, how justly this kind of Men hath been reproved by that renowned Martyr of Jesus Christ, Bishop Latimer, both because it will be apposite to this purpose, and also free that Christian Worthy from the slanderous reproaches of him, who was, if ever any, a Mocker of God, Religion, and all good Men. But first I must desire you, and in you all Readers, not to think light of that excellent Man for using this and the like witty similitudes in his Sermons. For whosoever will call to mind with what riff-raff God's People were fed in those days, when their Priests, whose lips should have preserved knowledge, *preached nothing else but dreams and false miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that sottish Legend, coined and amplified by a drowsy head between sleeping and waking — he that will consider this, and also how the People were delighted with such toys (God sending them strong delusions that they should believe lies), and how hard it would have been for any Man, wholly, and upon the sudden, to draw their minds to another bent, will easily perceive, both how necessary it was to shew symbolical discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applied by the religious Father, to the end he might lead their understanding so far, till it were so convinced, informed, and settled, that it might forget the means and way by which it was led, and think only of that it had acquired. For in all such mystical speeches who knows not that their end for which they are used is only to be thought upon?*

Parsons in 3. convers.

Mal. ii. 7. Canus locor. lib. xi. c. 6. Vives, lib. ii. de corrupt. art. Hard. lib. iv.

This then being first considered, let us hear the story, as it is related by Mr. Fox: "Mr. Latimer, (saith "he) in his Sermon gave the People certain cards out "of

Pag. 1903. Edit. 1570.

" *of the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Chapters of Matthew.*
" *For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the*
" *heart, as the principal thing that they ſhould ſerve*
" *God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocri-*
" *tical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the ne-*
" *ceſſary furtherance of God's holy Word and Sacra-*
" *ments. By this he exhorted all Men to ſerve the*
" *Lord with inward heart, and true affection, and not*
" *with outward Ceremonies; adding moreover to the*
" *praiſe of that triumph, that though it were never ſo*
" *ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt coat-card beſide*
" *in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs,*
" *&c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be wor-*
" *ſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of the heart, and*
" *verity, wherein conſiſteth the true Chriſtian Religion,*
" *&c.*" *Thus Mr. Fox.*

By which it appears, that the holy Man's intention was to lift up the People's hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at cards, and taught them how to play at triumph, and played (himſelf) at cards in the pulpit, as that baſe companion * *Parſons reports the matter in his wonted ſcurrilous vein of railing, whence he calleth it a Chriſtmas Sermon. Now he that will* Sect. 55. *think ill of ſuch alluſions, may, out of the abundance of his folly, jeſt at Demoſthenes for his ſtory of the ſheep,* Plut. in Demoſthene. *wolves, and dogs: and Menenius, for his fiction of the* Liv. Dec. 1. l. ii. an. U. C. 60. *belly. But,* hinc illæ lachrymæ, *the good Biſhop meant that the Romiſh Religion came not from the heart, but conſiſted in outward Ceremonies: which ſorely grieved Parſons, who never had the leaſt warmth or ſpark of honeſty. Whether Biſhop Latimer compared the Biſhops to the knave of clubs, as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure Parſons, of all others, deſerved thoſe colours; and ſo I leave him. We ſee then, what inward purity is required of all Chriſtians, which if they have, then in prayer, and all other Chriſtian duties,*

* In the third part of the three Converſions of England: in the examination of Fox's Saints, c. 14. ſect. 53, 54. p. 215.

they

1 Tim. ii. 8. Annal. tom. i. An. 57. n. 109, 110, et tom. ii. An. 132. Num.

they ſhall lift up pure hands, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, not as Baronius would have it, waſhed from ſins with holy water; but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of ſin, as the Greek word ὁσίας does ſignify.

*You may ſee alſo here refuted thoſe Calumnies of the Papiſts, that we abandon all religious Rites and godly Duties; as alſo the confirmation of our doctrine touching certainty of Faith (and ſo of Salvation) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that faction, that they have told the World,** St. Paul himſelf was uncertain of his own Salvation. *What then ſhall we ſay, but pronounce a woe to the moſt ſtrict obſervers of St. Francis' rules, and his canonical diſcipline (though they make him even † equal with Chriſt) and the moſt meritorious Monk that ever was regiſtered in their Kalendar of Saints? But we, for our comfort, are otherwiſe taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to build ourſelves*

2 Cor. v. 1. *in our moſt holy faith, that ſo,* when our earthly houſe of this Tabernacle ſhall be deſtroyed, we may have a building given of God, a houſe not made with hands, but eternal in the Heavens.

This is that which is moſt piouſly and feelingly taught in theſe few leaves, ſo that you ſhall read nothing here, but what I perſuade myſelf you have long practiſed in the conſtant courſe of your life. It remaineth only that you accept of theſe labours tendered to you by him, who wiſheth you the long joys of this World, and the eternal of that which is to come.

Oxon, *from Corpus Chriſti College,*
this 13*th of January,* 1613.

* S. Paulus de ſua ſalute incertus, Kicheom Jeſuit. lib. ii. c. 12. Idolat. Huguen. p. 119. in marg. edit. Lat. Mogunt. 113. interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Jeſuita.

† Witneſs the verſes of Horatius, a Jeſuit, recited by Poſſev. Biblioth. Select. part 2. l. xvii. c. 19.

Exue Franciſcum tunica laceroque cuculio:
Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus erit.
Franciſci exuviis (ſi qua licet) indue Chriſtum:
Jam Franciſcus erit, qui modo Chriſtus erat.

The like hath Bencius, another Jeſuit.

TWO SERMONS

UPON PART OF

SAINT JUDE'S EPISTLE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

Epiſt. JUDE, Verſe 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:
How that they told you, that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.
Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, having not the Spirit.
But ye, beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.
And keep yourſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

THE occaſion whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epiſtle was written, is opened in the front and entry of the ſame. There were then, as there are now, many evil and wickedly diſpoſed

diſpoſed Perſons not of the Myſtical Body, yet within the viſible bounds of the Church, *Men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly Men, which turned the Grace of our God into wantonneſs, and denied the Lord Jeſus.* For this cauſe the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of Jude, *the Servant of Jeſus and Brother of James*, to exhort them that are called, and ſanctified of God the Father, that they would earneſtly *contend to maintain the Faith, which was once delivered to the Saints.* Which Faith, becauſe we cannot maintain, except we know perfectly, firſt, againſt whom; ſecondly, in what ſort it muſt be maintained; therefore in the former three verſes of that parcel of Scripture which I have read, the Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt are plainly deſcribed; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jeſus, have a ſweet leſſon given them how to ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh themſelves in the Faith. Let us firſt therefore examine the deſcription of theſe Reprobates concerning Faith; and afterwards come to the exhortation, wherein Chriſtians are taught how to reſt their hearts on God's eternal and everlaſting truth. The deſcription of theſe godleſs perſons is twofold, general and ſpecial. The general doth point them out, and ſhew what manner of Men they ſhould be. The particular pointeth at them, and ſaith plainly, theſe are they. In the general deſcription we have to conſider of theſe things; firſt, when they were deſcribed; *They were told of before:* ſecondly, the Men by whom they were deſcribed; *They were ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* thirdly, the days when they ſhould be manifeſt unto the World, they told you, *they ſhould be in the laſt time.* Fourthly, their diſpoſition and whole demeanour, *Mockers, and walkers after their own ungodly luſts.*

2. In the third to the Philippians, the Apoſtle deſcribeth certain; *They are Men* (ſaith he) *of whom I have told you often, and now with tears I tell you of them, their god is their belly, their glory and rejoicing is in their own ſhame, they mind earthly things.*

Theſe

Theſe were Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt, Enemies whom he ſaw, and his eyes guſhed out with tears to behold them. But we are taught in this place, how the Apoſtle ſpake alſo of Enemies, whom as yet they had not ſeen, deſcribed a family of Men as yet unheard of, a generation reſerved for the end of the World, and for the laſt time; they had not only declared what they heard and ſaw in the days wherein they lived, but they have propheſied alſo of Men in time to come. And *you do well* (ſaith St. Peter) *in that you take heed to the words of Prophecy, ſo that ye firſt know this, that no Prophecy in the Scripture cometh of any Man's own reſolution.* No Prophecy in Scripture cometh of any Man's own reſolution; for all Prophecy which is in Scripture, came by the ſecret inſpiration of God. But there are Prophecies which are no Scripture; yea, there are Prophecies againſt the Scripture: my Brethren, beware of ſuch Prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were ſpoken of before; but ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Take heed to Prophecies, but to Prophecies, which are in Scripture; for both the manner and matter of thoſe Prophecies do ſhew plainly that they are of God.

3. Touching the manner how Men by the Spirit of Prophecy in holy Scripture, have ſpoken and written of things to come, we muſt underſtand, that as the knowledge of that they ſpake, ſo likewiſe the utterance of that they knew, came not by theſe uſual and ordinary means whereby we are brought to underſtand the myſteries of our Salvation, and are wont to inſtruct others in the ſame. For whatſoever we know, we have it by the hands and miniſtry of Men, which lead us along like children from a letter to a ſyllable, from a ſyllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a ſentence, from a ſentence to a ſide, and ſo turn over. But God himſelf was their Inſtructor, he himſelf taught them, partly

Of the Spirit of Prophecy received from God himſelf.

partly by dreams and viſions in the night, partly by revelations in the day, taking them aſide from amongſt their Brethren, and talking with them as a Man would talk with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the ſecret and hidden counſels of God, they ſaw things which themſelves were not able to utter, they beheld that whereat Men and Angels are aſtoniſhed, they underſtood in the beginning, what ſhould come to paſs in the laſt days.

Of the Prophet's manner of ſpeech.

4. God, which lightened thus the eyes of their underſtanding, giving them knowledge by unuſual and extraordinary means, did alſo miraculouſly himſelf frame and faſhion their words and writings, inſomuch that a greater difference there ſeemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their ſpeech and others. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and throughly underſtand it, as we think, within ourſelves, ere we can utter it in ſuch ſort, that our brethren may receive inſtruction or comfort at our mouths, how great, how long, how earneſt meditation are we forced to uſe? And after much travel and much pains, when we open our lips to ſpeak of the wonderful works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouths, yea many times we diſgrace the dreadful myſteries of our Faith, and grieve the ſpirit of our Hearers by words unſavoury, and unſeemly ſpeeches:

Job xv. 2, 3. *Shall a wiſe Man fill his belly with the eaſtern wind?* ſaith Eliphaz. *Shall a wiſe Man diſpute with words not comely? or with talk that is not profitable?* Yet behold, even they that are wiſeſt amongſt us living, compared with the Prophets, ſeem no otherwiſe to talk of God, than as if the children which are carried in arms, ſhould ſpeak of the greateſt matters of ſtate. They whoſe words do moſt ſhew forth their wiſe underſtanding, and whoſe lips do utter the pureſt knowledge, ſo long as they underſtand and ſpeak as Men, are they not fain ſundry ways to excuſe themſelves?

themſelves? Sometimes acknowledging with the Wiſe Man, *Hardly can we diſcern the things that are on Earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us. Who can then ſeek out the things that are in Heaven?* Sometimes confeſſing with Job the righteous, in treating of things too wonderful for us, we have ſpoken we wiſt not what. Sometimes ending their talk, as do the hiſtory of the Maccabees; *if we have done well, and as the cauſe required, it is that we deſire; if we have ſpoken ſlenderly and barely, we have done what we could.* But *God hath made my mouth like a ſword*, ſaith Iſaiah: and *we have received*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *not the Spirit of the World, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us of God; which things alſo we ſpeak, not in words which Man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghoſt doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets mean by thoſe Books written full within and without; which Books were ſo often delivered them to eat, not becauſe God fed them with ink and paper, but to teach us, that ſo oft as he employed them in this heavenly work, they neither ſpake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered ſyllable by ſyllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwiſe than the harp or the lute doth give a ſound according to the diſcretion of his hands that holdeth and ſtriketh it with ſkill. The difference is only this: an inſtrument, whether it be a pipe or harp, maketh a diſtinction in the times and ſounds, which diſtinction is well perceived of the Hearer, the inſtrument itſelf underſtandeth not what is piped or harped. The Prophets and Holy Men of God, not ſo: *I opened my mouth*, ſaith Ezekiel, and *God reached me a ſcroll, ſaying, Son of Man, cauſe thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I give thee; I ate it, and it was ſweet in my mouth as honey*, ſaith the Prophet; yea, ſweeter, I am perſuaded, than either honey, or the honey-comb. For herein they were not like harps or lutes, but

Wiſd. ix. 16.

Eſay. lxix. 2.

Ezekiel iii.

they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their own words. When they ſpake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they propheſied of mourning, lamentations, and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterneſs and indignation of ſpirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong upon them.

5. On this manner were all the Prophecies of Holy Scripture. Which Prophecies although they contain nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction; yet as one ſtar differeth from another in glory, ſo every word of Prophecy hath a treaſure of matter in it: but all matters are not of like importance, as all treaſures are not of equal price; the chief and principal matter of Prophecy is the promiſe of righteouſneſs, peace, holineſs, glory, victory, immortality, unto *every ſoul which believeth that Jeſus is Chriſt, of the Jew firſt, and of the Gentile.* Now becauſe the doctrine of Salvation to be looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a Man forſaken of God; in him who was numbered, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in him whom Men did ſee buffeted on the face, ſcoffed at by the ſoldiers, ſcourged by tormentors, hanged on the croſs, pierced to the heart; in him whom the eyes of many witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his ſoul enforced him to roar, as if his heart had rent in ſunder, *O my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* I ſay, becauſe the doctrine of Salvation by him is a thing improbable to a natural Man, that whether we preach to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our Faith as madneſs, the other as blaſphemy; therefore to eſtabliſh and confirm the certainty of this ſaving truth in the hearts of Men, the Lord, together with their preachings whom he ſent immediately from himſelf to reveal theſe things unto the world, mingled Prophecies of things, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which were to come in every age from time to time, till the very

very laſt of the later days, that by thoſe things, wherein we ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, we might have ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeen, becauſe they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third, perceive we not plainly, that God doth nothing elſe but lead us along by the hand till he have ſettled us upon the rock of an aſſured hope, that not one jot or tittle of his word ſhall paſs, till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vain that theſe godleſs wicked ones *were ſpoken of before*.

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if Men, or Angels from Heaven gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoever deſpiſeth, *deſpiſeth not them but me*, ſaith Chriſt. If any Man therefore doth love the Lord Jeſus (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jeſus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles, whom many have deſpiſed even for the baſeneſs and ſimpleneſs of their perſons. For it is the property of fleſhly and carnal Men to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words and deeds of every Man, according to that he wanteth or hath without. *If a Man of gorgeous apparel come amongſt us*, although he be a thief or a murtherer (for there are thieves and murtherers in gorgeous apparel) be his heart whatſoever, if his coat be of purple or velvet, or tiſſue, every one riſeth up, and all the reverend ſolemnities we can uſe are too little. But the Man that ſerveth God is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt us for his poverty. Herod ſpeaketh in judgment, and the People cry out, *The voice of God, and not of Man*: Paul preacheth Chriſt, they term him a triſler. Hearken beloved, *hath not God choſen the poor of this World, that they ſhould be rich in Faith?* Hath he not choſen the refuſe of the World to be

A natural Man perceiveth not heavenly things.

James ii.

Acts xii.

Acts xvii.

Heirs of his Kingdom, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? Hath he not choſen the off-ſcourings of Men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Men unlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with underſtanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in ſhew, yet in ſpirit how ſtrong? how wonderful? *I would fain learn the myſtery of the eternal generation of the Son of God*, ſaith Hillary. Whom ſhall I ſeek? Shall I get me to the Schools of the Grecians? Why, I have read, *Ubi Sapiens? ubi Scriba? ubi Conquiſitor hujus ſæculi?* Theſe Wiſe men in the World muſt needs be dumb in this, becauſe they have rejected the Wiſdom of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law to become my Teachers? How can they know this, ſith they are offended at the croſs of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unſearchable myſtery of the Son of God; of which myſtery notwithſtanding I ſhould have been ignorant, but that a poor Fiſherman, unknown, unlearned, new come from his boat, with his clothes wringing-wet, hath opened his mouth, and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poor ſilly creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

7. Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles; whoſe words if the Children of this World do not regard, is it any marvel? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus; not of their Lord, but of ours. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certain place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A Man ſworn to the World is not capable of that Faith which the Apoſtles do teach. What mean the Children of this World then to tread in the courts of our God? What ſhould your bodies do at Bethel, whoſe hearts are at Bethaven? The God of this World, whom ye ſerve, hath provided Apoſtles and Teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wizards*, *Soothſayers*, *Aſtrologers*,

We muſt not halt between two opinions.

Aſtrologers, and ſuch like; hear them. Tell not us that ye will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will ſacrifice to Aſhtaroth or Melcom; that ye will read our Scriptures, if we will liſten to your Traditions; that if ye may have a Maſs by permiſſion, we ſhall have a Communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus, if your Lord and Maſter may have his Ordinances obſerved, and his Statutes kept. Solomon took it (as he well might) for an evident proof, that ſhe did not bear a motherly affection to her child, which yielded to have it cut in divers parts. He cannot love the Lord Jeſus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to his Apoſtles, and another to falſe Apoſtles; which can brook to ſee a mingle-mangle of Religion and Superſtition, Miniſters and Maſſing-Prieſts, Light and Darkneſs, Truth and Error, Traditions, and Scriptures. No, we have no Lord but Jeſus; no Doctrine but the Goſpel; no Teachers but his Apoſtles. Were it reaſon to require at the hand of an Engliſh ſubject obedience to the Laws and Edicts of the Spaniards? I do marvel, that any Man bearing the name of a Servant of the Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, will go about to draw us from our allegiance. We are his ſworn ſubjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by his Apoſtles. They have told us, that *in the laſt days there ſhall be Mockers*, therefore we believe it; *Credimus quia legimus*, we are ſo perſuaded, becauſe we read it muſt be ſo. If we did not read it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec noſſe decemus*, ſaith Hillary; Thoſe things that are not written in the book of the Law, we ought not ſo much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

8. The third thing to be conſidered in the deſcription of theſe Men, of whom we ſpeak, is the time wherein Mockers in the laſt time.

wherein they ſhould be manifeſted to the World. They told you *there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time.* Noah at the commandment of God built an ark, and there were in it beaſts of all ſorts, clean and unclean. A Huſbandman planted a vineyard, and looked for grapes, but when they came to be gathered, behold, together with grapes there are found alſo wild grapes. A rich Man prepareth a great ſupper, and biddeth many; but when he ſitteth him down, he findeth amongſt his friends here and there a Man whom he knoweth not. This hath been the ſtate of the Church ſithence the beginning. God always hath mingled his Saints with faithleſs and godleſs perſons, as it were the clean with the unclean, grapes with ſour grapes, his Friends and Children with Aliens and Strangers. Marvel not then, if in the laſt days alſo ye ſee the Men with whom you live and walk arm in arm laugh at your Religion, and blaſpheme that glorious Name whereof you are called. Thus it was in the days of the Patriarchs and Prophets; and are we better than our Fathers? Albeit we ſuppoſe that the bleſſed Apoſtles, in foreſhewing what manner of Men were ſet out for the laſt days, meant to note a calamity ſpecial and peculiar to the ages and generations which were to come. As if he ſhould have ſaid, as God hath appointed a time of ſeed for the ſower, and a time of harveſt for him that reapeth; as he hath given unto every herb and every tree his own fruit, and his own ſeaſon, not the ſeaſon nor the fruit of another (for no Man looketh to gather figs in the winter, becauſe the ſummer is the ſeaſon for them; nor grapes of thiſtles, becauſe grapes are the fruit of the vine): ſo the ſame God hath appointed ſundry for every generation of Men, other Men for other times, and for the laſt times the worſt Men, as may appear by their properties, which is the fourth point to be conſidered of in this deſcription.

Mockers. 9. They told you that there ſhould be Mockers: he

he meaneth Men that ſhall uſe Religion as a cloak, to put off and on as the weather ſerveth; ſuch as ſhall, with Herod, hear the preaching of John Baptiſt to-day, and to-morrow condeſcend to have him beheaded; or with the other Herod ſay, They will worſhip Chriſt, when they purpoſe a maſſacre in their hearts; kiſs Chriſt with Judas, and betray Chriſt with Judas: theſe are Mockers. For Iſhmael the Son of Hagar laughed at Iſaac, which was Heir of the Promiſe; ſo ſhall theſe Men laugh at you as the maddeſt People under the ſun, if ye be like Moſes, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of Sin for a ſeaſon; and why? God hath not given them eyes to ſee, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promiſes of ſalvation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleaſure, even as Iſhmael took no pleaſure in that promiſe wherein God had ſaid unto Abraham, *In Iſaac ſhall thy Seed be called*; becauſe the promiſe concerned not him, but Iſaac. They are termed for their impiety towards God, Mockers; and for the impurity of their life and converſation, *Walkers after their own ungodly luſts*. Saint Peter, in his ſecond Epiſtle and third chapter, ſoundeth the very depth of their impiety; ſhewing firſt, how they ſhall not ſhame at the length to profeſs themſelves profane and irreligious, by flat denying the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and deriding the ſweet and comfortable promiſes of his appearing. Secondly, that they ſhall not be only deriders of all Religion, but alſo diſputers againſt God, uſing Truth to ſubvert the Truth; yea, Scriptures themſelves, to diſprove Scriptures. Being in this ſort Mockers, they muſt needs be alſo followers of their own ungodly luſts. Being Atheiſts in perſuaſion, can they chooſe but be beaſts in converſation? For why remove they quite from them the fear of God? Why take they ſuch pains to abandon and put out from their hearts all ſenſe, all taſte, all

feeling of Religion? But only to this end and purpoſe, that they may without inward remorſe and grudging of conſcience give over themſelves to all uncleanneſs. Surely the ſtate of theſe Men is more lamentable than is the condition of Pagans and Turks. For at the bare beholding of Heaven and Earth the Infidel's heart by and by doth give him, that there is an Eternal, Infinite, Immortal, and Ever-living God, whoſe hands have faſhioned and framed the World; he knoweth that every houſe is builded of ſome Man, though he ſee not the Man which built the Houſe; and he conſidereth that it muſt be God which hath built and created all things, although, becauſe the number of his days be few, he could not ſee when God diſpoſed his works of old; when he cauſed the light of his clouds firſt to ſhine, when he laid the corner-ſtone of the earth, and ſwaddled it with bands of water and darkneſs, when he cauſed the morning ſtar to know his place, and made bars and doors to ſhut up the ſea within his houſe, ſaying, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further.* He hath no eye-witneſs of theſe things; yet the light of natural Reaſon hath put this wiſdom in his reins, and hath given his heart thus much underſtanding. Bring a Pagan to the ſchools of the Prophets of God; propheſy to an Infidel, rebuke him, lay the judgments of God before him, make the ſecret ſins of his heart manifeſt, and he ſhall fall down and worſhip God. They that crucified the Lord of Glory, were not ſo far paſt recovery, but that the preaching of the Apoſtles was able to move their heart, and to bring them to this, *Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do?* Agrippa, that ſate in judgment againſt Paul for preaching, yielded notwithſtanding thus far unto him; *Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to become a Chriſtian.* Although the Jews for want of knowledge have not ſubmitted themſelves to the righteouſneſs of God; yet I bear them record, ſaith the Apoſtle, *That they have a zeal.* The Athenians,

Mockers worſe than Pagans and Infidels.

nians, a people having neither zeal, nor knowledge, yet of them alſo the ſame Apoſtle beareth witneſs, *Ye Men of Athens, I perceive ye are* δεισιδαιμονέστεροι, *ſome way religious*; but Mockers, walking after their own ungodly luſts, they have ſmothered every ſpark of that heavenly light, they have trifled away their very natural underſtanding. O Lord, thy mercy is over all thy works, thou ſaveſt Man and Beaſt! yet a happy caſe it had been for theſe Men, if they had never been born: and ſo I leave them. Rom. x.

10. Saint Jude having his mind exerciſed in the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt concerning things to come in the laſt time, became a Man of wiſe and ſtaid judgment. Grieved he was to ſee the departure ſo many, and their falling away from the Faith which before they did profeſs; grieved, but not diſmayed. With the ſimpler and weaker ſort it was otherwiſe: their countenance began by and by to change, they were half in doubt they had deceived themſelves in giving credit to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. St. Jude, to comfort and refreſh theſe ſilly Babes, taketh them up in his arms, and ſheweth them the Men at whom they were offended. Look upon them that forſake this bleſſed profeſſion wherein you ſtand: they are now before your eyes, view them, mark them; are they not carnal? are they not like to noiſome carrion caſt out upon the earth? is there that Spirit in them, which crieth, *Abba, Father*, in your boſoms? Why ſhould any Man be diſcomforted? Have you not heard that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time? Theſe verily are they that now do ſeparate themſelves. Judas vir ſapiens et certi judicii.

11. For your better underſtanding what this ſevering and ſeparating of themſelves doth mean, we muſt know that the multitude of them which truly believe (howſoever they be diſperſed far and wide each from other) is all one Body, whereof the Head is Chriſt; one Building, whereof he is Corner-ſtone, in whom they, as the members of the Body, being

being knit, and as the ſtones of the Building, being coupled, grow up to a Man of perfect ſtature, and riſe to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Chriſt to us, is his mere mercy and love towards us. That which tieth us to him, is our faith in the promiſed Salvation revealed in the word of Truth. That which uniteth and joineth us amongſt ourſelves in ſuch ſort that we are now as if we had but one heart and one ſoul, is our love. Who be inwardly in heart the lively members of this body, and the poliſhed ſtones of this building, coupled and joined to Chriſt, as fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, by the mutual bond of his unſpeakable love towards them, and their unfeigned faith in him, thus linked and faſtened each to other, by a ſpiritual, ſincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of ſimulation; who be Jews within, and what their names be; none can tell, ſave he whoſe eyes do behold the ſecret diſpoſitions of all Men's hearts. We, whoſe eyes are too dim to behold the inward Man, muſt leave the ſecret judgment of every Servant to his own Lord, accounting and uſing all Men as Brethren, both near and dear unto us, ſuppoſing Chriſt to love them tenderly, ſo as they keep the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and join in the outward communion of Saints. Whereof the one doth warrantize unto us their Faith, the other their Love, till they fall away, and forſake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no injury to term them as they are. When they ſeparate themſelves, they are αὐτοκαταχρίτοι, not judged by us, but by their own doings. Men do ſeparate themſelves either by Hereſy, Schiſm, or Apoſtacy. If they loſe the bond of Faith, which then they are juſtly ſuppoſed to do when they frowardly oppugn any principal point of Chriſtian doctrine, this is to ſeparate themſelves by Hereſy. If they break the bond of Unity, whereby the body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forſake all external communion

Threefold Separation. 1. Hereſy.

communion with Saints in holy exercises, purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselves by Schism. If they willingly cast off, 2. Schism.
and utterly forsake both profession of Christ and communion with Christians, taking their leave of all Religion, this is to separate themselves by plain Apostacy. And St: Jude, to express the manner of 3. Apostacy.
their departure which by Apostacy fell away from the Faith of Christ, saith, *They separated themselves*; noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weakness in themselves; it was not fear of persecution to come upon them, whereat their hearts did fail; it was not grief of torments, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them: no, they voluntarily did separate themselves with a fully settled, and altogether determined purpose, never to name the Lord Jesus any more, nor to have any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsel, and all their strength, to raze out their memorial from amongst them.

12. Now, because that by such examples, not only the hearts of Infidels were hardened against the Truth, but the minds of weak Brethren also much troubled, the Holy Ghost hath given sentence of these backsliders, that they were carnal Men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Jesus, lest any Man having an over-weening of their persons should be overmuch amazed and offended at their fall. For simple Men, not able to discern their spirits, were brought by their Apostacy thus to reason with themselves: If Christ be the Son of the living God, if he have the words of eternal life, if he be able to bring Salvation to all Men that come unto him, what meaneth this Apostacy and unconstrained departure? Why do his Servants so willingly forsake him? Babes, be not deceived, his Servants forsake him not. They that separate themselves were amongst his Servants, but if they had been of his Servants,

they

Infallible evidence in the Faithful, that they are God's Children.

they had not ſeparated themſelves. *They were amongſt us, not of us,* ſaith Saint John; and Saint Jude proveth it, becauſe they were carnal, and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of wheat by chaff, which the wind hath ſcattered from amongſt it? Have the children no bread, becauſe the dogs have not taſted it? Are Chriſtians deceived of that Salvation they look for, becauſe they were denied the joys of the life to come which were no Chriſtians? What if they ſeemed to be pillars and principal upholders of our Faith? What is that to us, which know that Angels have fallen from Heaven? Although if theſe Men had been of us indeed (oh the bleſſedneſs of a Chriſtian Man's eſtate!), they had ſtood ſurer than the Angels that had never departed from their place: whereas now we marvel not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away; becauſe they were not of us, ſith they are fleſhly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the houſe for ever; they are bond-men and bond-women which are caſt out.

13. It behoveth you therefore greatly every Man to examine his own eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, Children or no Children. I have told you already, that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as Gods in judgment upon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us, ſo to determine of this Man, he is ſincere, or of that Man, he is an hypocrite; except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and known that they are. For who art thou that takeſt upon thee to judge another before the time? Judge thyſelf. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous ſentence upon ourſelves. We cannot examine the hearts of other Men, we may our own. That we have paſſed from death to life, we know it, ſaith St. John, becauſe we love the Brethren: *And know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except you be Reprobates?*

bates? I truſt, Beloved, we know that we are not Reprobates, becauſe our ſpirit doth bear us record, that the Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is in us.

14. It is as eaſy a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whoſe ye are, as for the eyes of your body to judge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? *Ye which were* Coloſſ. i. *in times paſt Strangers and Enemies, becauſe your minds were ſet on evil works, Chriſt hath now reconciled in the body of his fleſh, through death, to make you holy, and unblameable, and without fault in his ſight; if you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel:* and in the third to the Coloſſians, *Ye know, that of the Lord ye ſhall receive the reward of that inheritance; for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* If we can make this account with ourſelves, I was in times paſt dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the air, and after the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickened me in Chriſt. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the child that is newly weaned. I loved pleaſures more than God, I followed greedily the joys of this preſent World; I eſteemed him that erected a ſtage or theatre, more than Solomon, which built a Temple to the Lord; the harp, viol, timbrel, and pipe, men-ſingers and women-ſingers were at my feaſt; it was my felicity to ſee my children dance before me; I ſaid of every kind of vanity, O how ſweet art thou in my ſoul! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now *I take as great delight in the way of thy teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all riches*; now I find more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, than the worldly-minded Man, when *his wheat and oil do much abound:* now I taſte nothing ſweet but the *bread which came down*

down from Heaven, to give life unto the World; now mine eyes ſee nothing but Jeſus riſing from the dead; now my ears refuſe all kind of melody, to hear the ſong of them that have gotten victory of the Beaſt, and of his image, and of his mark, and of the number of his name, that ſtand on the ſea of glaſs, *having the harps of God, and ſinging the ſong of Moſes the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, O King of Saints.* Surely, if the Spirit have been thus effectual in the ſecret work of our Regeneration unto newneſs of life; if we endeavour thus to frame ourſelves anew; then we may ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the Hebrews, *We are not of them which withdraw ourſelves to perdition, but which follow faith to the conſervation of the ſoul.* For they which fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelves unto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnal, they have not God's holy Spirit. But unto you, *becauſe ye are Sons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts,* to the end ye might know that Chriſt hath built you upon a rock unmoveable; that he hath regiſtered your names in the book of life; that he hath bound himſelf in a ſure and everlaſting covenant to be your God, and the God of your Children after you; that he hath ſuffered as much, groaned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for Peter, *O Father, keep them in thy name; O righteous Father, the World hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and theſe have known that thou haſt ſent me. I have declared thy name unto them, and will declare it, that the love wherewith thou haſt loved them, may be in me, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy give us hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of Faith unto the end!

The Papiſts falſely accuſe us of Hereſy and Apoſtacy.

15. Here I muſt advertiſe all Men that have the teſtimony of God's holy fear within their breaſts to conſider

conſider how unkindly and injurioufly our own Countrymen and Brethren have dealt with us by the ſpace of twenty-four years, from time to time, as if we were the Men of whom St. Jude here ſpeaketh, never ceaſing to charge us, ſome with Schiſm, ſome with Hereſy, ſome with plain and manifeſt Apoſtacy, as if we had clean ſeparated ourſelves from Chriſt, utterly forſaken God, quite abjured Heaven, and trampled all Truth and Religion under our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelf ſhall plead our cauſe in that day, when they ſhall anſwer us for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for Schiſm and Hereſy, we have often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable anſwers. For in the way which they call Hereſy, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. That which they call Schiſm, we know to be our reaſonable ſervice unto God, and obedience to his voice, which crieth ſhrill in our ears, *Go out of Babylon, my People, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* And therefore when they riſe up againſt us, having no quarrel but this, we need not ſeek any farther for our apology, than the words of Abiah to Jeroboam and his army, O *Jeroboam and Iſrael, hear you me: ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath given the kingdom over Iſrael to David for ever, even to him, and to his Sons, by a covenant of ſalt?* that is to ſay, an everlaſting covenant. Jeſuits and Papiſts, hear ye me: ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made him the only head over his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an huſbandman in the midſt of his vineyard, manuring it with the ſweat of his own brows, not letting it forth to others? For, as it is in the Canticles, *Solomon had a vineyard in Baalhamon, he gave the vineyard unto keepers, every one bringing for the fruit thereof a thouſand pieces of ſilver*; but my vineyard,

Acts xxv.

Apoc. xviii.

2 Chron. xiii.

Cant. viii. 11.

yard, which is mine, is before me, ſaith Chriſt. It is true, this is meant of the myſtical Head ſet over the Body, which is not ſeen. But as he hath reſerved the myſtical adminiſtration of the Church inviſible unto himſelf; ſo he hath committed the myſtical government of congregations viſible to the Sons of David by the ſame covenant; whoſe Sons they are in the governing of the Flock of Chriſt, whomſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet over them, to go before them, and to lead them in ſeveral paſtures, one in this Congregation, another in that; as it is written, *Take heed unto yourſelves, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Neither will ever any Pope or Papiſt under the cope of Heaven be able to prove the Romiſh Biſhop's uſurped Supremacy over all Churches by any one word of the covenant of ſalt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our ſtreets do now laugh them to ſcorn, when they force, *Thou art Peter*, to this purpoſe. The Pope hath no more reaſon to draw the charter of his univerſal authority from hence, than the Brethren had to gather by the words of Chriſt in the laſt of St. John, that the Diſciple which Jeſus loved ſhould not die. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* ſaith Chriſt. Straightways a report was raiſed amongſt the Brethren, that this Diſciple ſhould not die. *Yet Jeſus ſaid not unto him, He ſhall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Chriſt hath ſaid in the ſixteenth of St. Matthew's Goſpel to Simon the ſon of Jonas, *I ſay to thee, Thou art Peter.* Hence an opinion is held in the World, that the Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches. Yet Jeſus ſaid not, The Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches; but *Tu es Petrus*, Thou art Peter. Howbeit, as Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, the ſervant of Solomon, roſe up and rebelled againſt his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vain Men and wicked,

Acts xx.

The Pope's uſurped Supremacy.

which

which made themſelves ſtrong againſt Roboam, the ſon of Solomon, becauſe Roboam was but a child and tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt them; ſo the Son of Perdition and Man of Sin (being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which forbad his Diſciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They bear rule that are called gracious, it ſhall not be ſo with you*) hath riſen up and rebelled againſt his Lord; and to ſtrengthen his arm, he hath crept into the houſes almoſt of all the nobleſt families round about him, and taken their children from the cradle to be his Cardinals; he hath fawned upon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by ſpiritual cozenage hath made them ſell their lawful authority and juriſdiction for titles of *Catholicus*, *Chriſtianiſſimus*, *Defenſor Fidei*, and ſuch like; he hath proclaimed ſale of pardons to inveigle the ignorant; built ſeminaries to allure young Men deſirous of learning; erected ſtews to gather the diſſolute unto him. This is the Rock whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the Man is grown huge and ſtrong, like the cedars which are not ſhaken with the wind, becauſe Princes have been as children, over-tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt.

Conc. delect. Card. Laud. Surius Com. de reb. geſt. a Pio V. Franciſc. Sanſovin. de gubern. Rerum pub l. xi. Cap. de Jud. Marcſcal. et Sold.

Hereby it is come to paſs, as you ſee this day, that the Man of Sin doth war againſt us, not by Men of a language which we cannot underſtand, but he cometh as Jeroboam againſt Judah, and bringeth the fruit of our own bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the child may be made the mother's grave; and hath cauſed no ſmall number of our Brethren to forſake their native country, and with all diſloyalty to caſt off the yoke of their allegiance to our dread Sovereign, whom God in mercy hath ſet over them; for whoſe ſafeguard, if they carried not the hearts of tigers in the boſoms of Men, they would think the deareſt blood in their bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith Abiah to Jeroboam, Ye think ye be able to reſiſt the kingdom of the Lord, which is in the

hands of the Sons of David. Ye be a great multitude, the golden calves are with you, which Jeroboam made you for gods: have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the Sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the People of Nations? whoſoever cometh with a young bullock, and ſeven rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the compariſon, and here uncover the cup of thoſe deadly and ugly abominations, wherewith this Jeroboam, of whom we ſpeak, hath made the Earth ſo drunk that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly hearts would loath to ſee them. For my own part, I delight not to rake in ſuch filth, I had rather take a garment upon my ſhoulders, and go with my face from them to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Put it, O Lord, in their hearts, to ſeek white raiment, and to cover themſelves, that their filthy nakedneſs may no longer appear. For, beloved in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to Heaven in our chambers ſecretly, and openly in our churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them alſo: though the Pope hath given out as a judge in a ſolemn declaratory ſentence of Excommunication againſt this Land, that our gracious Lady hath quite aboliſhed Prayer within her Realm: and his Scholars, whom he hath taken from the midſt of us, have in their publiſhed writings charged us, not only not to have any holy aſſemblies unto the Lord for prayer, but to hold a common ſchool of ſin and flattery; to hold ſacrilege to be God's ſervice; unfaithfulneſs and breach of promiſe to God, to give it to a ſtrumpet, to be a virtue; to abandon faſting; to abhor confeſſion; to miſlike with penance; to like well of uſury; to charge none with reſtitution, to find no good before God in ſingle life, nor in no well-working; that all

all Men, as they fall to us, are much worſe, and more than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word or ſyllable unto that which Mr. Briſtow, a Man both born and ſworn amongſt us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the conſcience of every ſoul, that hath been truly converted by us, whether his heart were never raiſed up to God by our preaching; whether the words of our exhortation never wrung any tear of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his ſoul never reaped any joy and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Jeſus by our ſacraments, and prayers, and pſalms, and thankſgiving; whether he were never bettered, but always worſe by us.

O merciful God! If Heaven and Earth in this caſe do not witneſs with us, and againſt them, let us be razed out from the land of the living! Let the Earth on which we ſtand, ſwallow us quick, as it hath done Corah, Dathan, and Abiram! But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him: if our Prieſts, the ſons of Aaron, miniſter unto the Lord, and the Levites in their office: if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the burnt-offerings, and ſweet incenſe of prayers, and thankſgiving; if the bread be ſet in order upon the pure table, and the candleſtick of gold, with the lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt us God's bleſſed ſacraments be duly adminiſtered, his holy word ſincerely and daily preached; if we keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forſaken him; then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a captain, his Prieſts with ſounding trumpets muſt cry alarm againſt you; *O ye Children of Iſrael, fight not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper.* 2 Chron. xiii. 10. Ver. 12.

THE

SECOND SERMON.

Epiſt. JUDE, Ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.
How that they told you, that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.
Theſe are makers of Sects, ſenſhly, having not the Spirit.
But ye, beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.
And keep yourſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

HAVING otherwhere ſpoken of the words of St. Jude, going next before, concerning Mockers which ſhould come in the laſt time, and Backſliders which even then ſhould fall away from the Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; I am now by the aid of Almighty God, and through the aſſiſtance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of exhortation which I have read.

2. Wherein firſt of all, whoſoever hath an eye to ſee let him open it, and he ſhall well perceive how careful the Lord is for his Children, how deſirous to ſee them profit and grow up to a manly ſtature in Chriſt, how loath to have them any way miſled, either by the examples of the wicked, or by intice-ments of the World, and by provocation of the fleſh, or by any other means forcible to deceive them, and likely to eſtrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we ſink or ſwim. No, he hath written our names in the palm of his hand, in the ſignet upon his finger are we graven; in ſentences not only of mercy, but of judgment alſo we are remembered, he never denounceth judgments againſt the wicked, but he maketh ſome *proviſo* for his Children, as it were for ſome certain privileged perſons; *Touch not mine Anointed, do my Prophets no harm: Hurt not the earth, nor the ſea, nor the trees, till we have ſealed the Ser-vants of God in their foreheads.* He never ſpeaketh of godleſs Men, but he adjoineth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moved to reſt and ſettle our hearts on him. In the ſecond to Timothy, the third chapter, *Evil Men* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and deceivers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou haſt learned.* And in the firſt to Timothy, the ſixth chapter, *Some Men luſting after money, have erred from the Faith, and pierced them-ſelves through with many ſorrows: But thou, O Man of God, fly theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs.* In the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the ſecond chapter, *They have not received the love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved; God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they may believe lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, Brethren, beloved of the Lord, becauſe God hath from the beginning choſen you to ſalvation, through Sanctification of the Spirit, and Faith in the Truth.*

And

And in this Epiſtle of St. Jude, *There ſhall come Mockers in the laſt times, walking after their own ungodly luſts. But, Beloved, edify ye yourſelves in your moſt holy Faith.*

3. Theſe ſweet exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouths of the Prophets and Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, are evident tokens that God ſitteth not in Heaven careleſs and unmindful of our eſtate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found unnatural, and do forget the fruit of her own womb; yet God's judgments ſhew plainly that he cannot forget the Man whoſe heart he hath framed and faſhioned anew in ſimplicity and truth to ſerve and fear him. For when the wickedneſs of Man was ſo great, and the Earth ſo filled with cruelties, that it could not ſtand with the righteouſneſs of God any longer to forbear, wrathful ſentences brake out from him, like wine from a veſſel that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (ſaith he) *can ſtruggle and ſtrive no longer; an end of all fleſh is come before me.* Yet then did Noah find grace in the eyes of the Lord: *I will eſtabliſh my covenant with thee,* (ſaith God) *thou ſhalt go into the ark, thou, and thy Sons, and thy Wife, and thy Sons' Wives with thee.* Gen. vi. 3. & 13. 8. & 18.

4. Do we not ſee what ſhift God doth make for Lot and for his Family, in the nineteenth of Geneſis, leſt the fiery deſtruction of the wicked ſhould overtake him? Over-night the Angels make enquiry what Sons and Daughters, or Sons in law, what wealth and ſubſtance he had. They charged him to carry out all, *Whatſoever thou haſt in the city, bring it out.* God ſeemed to ſtand in a kind of fear, leſt ſomething or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoof of any beaſt, nor a thread of any garment ſhould be ſinged with that fire. In the morning the Angels fail not to call him up, and to haſten him forward, *Ariſe, take thy Wife and thy Daughters which are here, that* Gen. xix. 12. Ver. 15.

they be not deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the city. The Angels having ſpoken again and again, Lot for all this lingereth out the time ſtill, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, his Wife, and his Daughters by the arms, (the Lord being merciful unto him) and to carry them forth, and ſet them without the city.*

Gen. xix. 16.

5. Was there ever any father thus careful to ſave his child from the flame? A Man would think, that now being ſpoken unto to eſcape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the plain, but to haſten to the mountain, and there to ſave himſelf, he ſhould do it gladly. Yet behold, now he is ſo far off from a chearful and willing heart to do whatſoever is commanded him for his own weal, that he beginneth to reaſon the matter, as if God had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the hill, when ſalvation was in the city. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee; behold thy ſervant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercy, which thou haſt ſhewed unto me in ſaving my life. I cannot eſcape in the mountain, leſt ſome evil take me, and I die. Here is a city hard by, a ſmall thing; O, let me eſcape thither, (is it not a ſmall thing?) and my ſoul ſhall live.* Well, God is contented to yield to any conditions: *Behold, I have received thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this city for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſte thee, ſave thee there; for I can do nothing till thou come thither.*

6. He could do nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſs of his ſtrength (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſs of his mercy, which would not ſuffer him to lift up his arm againſt that city, nor to pour out his wrath upon that place, where his righteous Servant had a fancy to remain, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercy and love of God! God is afraid to offend us, which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him, God can do nothing till he have ſaved us, which can find in our hearts rather to do any thing than to ſerve him. It

contenteth him not to exempt us, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of reprobates and godleſs Men; to ſave us as the apple of his own eye, when fire cometh down from Heaven to conſume the Inhabitants of the Earth; except every Prophet, and every Apoſtle, and every Servant whom he ſendeth forth do come loaden with theſe or the like exhortations, *O beloved, edify yourſelves in your moſt holy Faith; give yourſelves to prayer in the Spirit; keep yourſelves in the love of God; look for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.*

7. *Edify yourſelves.* The ſpeech is borrowed from material builders, and muſt be ſpiritually underſtood. It appears in the ſixth of St. John's Goſpel by the Jews, that their mouths did water too much for bodily food: *Our Fathers*, ſay they, *did eat Manna in the deſert, as it it written, he gave them bread from Heaven to eat; Lord, evermore give us of this bread.* Our Saviour, to turn their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwer, *I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me ſhall not hunger; and he that believeth in me ſhall never thirſt.*

8. An uſual practice it is of Satan to caſt heaps of worldly baggage in our way, that whilſt we deſire to heap up gold as duſt, we may be brought at the length to eſteem vilely that ſpiritual bliſs. Chriſt, Matt. vi. to correct this evil affection, putteth us in mind to lay up treaſure for ourſelves in Heaven. The Apoſtle, 1 Tim. miſliking the vanity of thoſe Women which attired chap. ii. themſelves more coſtly than beſeemeth the heavenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the fear of God, willeth them to clothe themſelves with ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty, and to put on the apparel of good works. *Taliter pigmentatæ, Deum habebitis amatorem*, ſaith Tertullian. Put on righteouſneſs as a garment; inſtead of civet, have faith which may cauſe a ſavour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beauty. Theſe are the ornaments,

ments, bracelets, and jewels which inflame the love of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire upon his ſpouſe. We ſee how he breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire: *How fair art thou, and how pleaſant art thou, O my Love, in theſe pleaſures!*

9. And perhaps St. Jude exhorteth us here not to build our houſes, but ourſelves, foreſeeing by the Spirit of the Almighty which was with him, that there ſhould be Men in the laſt days like to thoſe in the firſt, which ſhould encourage and ſtir up each other to make brick, and to burn it in the fire, to build houſes huge as cities, and towns as high as Heaven, thereby to get them a name upon earth; Men that ſhould turn out the Poor, and the Fatherleſs, and the Widow, to build places of reſt for dogs and ſwine in their rooms; Men that ſhould lay houſes of prayer even with the ground, and make them ſtables where God's people have worſhipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongſt Men; and a ſpecial ſickneſs of this age. What it ſhould mean I know not, except God hath ſet them on work to provide fuel againſt that day when the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſhew himſelf from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming fire. What good cometh unto the owners of theſe things, ſaith Solomon, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou buſieſt thyſelf about many things; one thing is neceſſary.* Ye are too buſy, my Brethren, with timber and brick; they have choſen the better part, they have taken a better courſe, that build themſelves. *Ye are the Temples of the living God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them; and they ſhall be my People, and I will be their God.*

10. Which of you will gladly remain or abide in a miſhapen, or a ruinous, or a broken houſe? and ſhall we ſuffer ſin and vanity to drop in at our eyes, and at our ears, and at every corner of our bodies, and of our ſouls, knowing that we are the Temples of

of the Holy Ghoſt? Which of you receiveth a gueſt whom he honoureth, or whom he loveth, and doth not ſweep his chamber againſt his coming? and ſhall we ſuffer the chambers of our hearts and conſciences to lie full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbage, knowing that Chriſt hath ſaid, *I and my Father will come and dwell with you?* Is it meet for your oxen to lie in parlors, and yourſelves to lodge in cribs? Or is it ſeemly for yourſelves to dwell in your ceiled houſes, and the Houſe of the Almighty to lie waſte, whoſe houſe ye are yourſelves? Do not our eyes behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their journeys? how ſuddenly they pop down into the pit? how God's judgments for their crimes come ſo ſwiftly upon them, that they have not the leiſure to cry, Alas! How their life is cut off like a thread in a moment? how they paſs like a ſhadow? how they open their mouths to ſpeak, and God taketh them even in the midſt of a vain or an idle word? And dare we for all this lie down, take our reſt, eat our meat ſecurely and careleſsly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruins? Bleſſed and praiſed for ever and ever be his Name, who perceiving of how ſenſeleſs and heavy metal we are made, hath inſtituted in his CHURCH a Spiritual Supper, and an Holy Communion to be celebrated often, that we might thereby be occaſioned often to examine theſe buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For ſith God doth not dwell in Temples which are unclean, ſith a ſhrine cannot be a ſanctuary unto him; and this Supper is received as a ſeal unto us, that we are his Houſe, and his Sanctuary; that his Chriſt is as truly united to me, and I to him, as my arm is united and knit unto my ſhoulder; that he dwelleth in me as verily as the elements of bread and wine abide within me; which perſuaſion, by receiving theſe dreadful myſteries, we profeſs ourſelves to have; a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocriſy, then wo worth us: therefore ere we put forth our

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

hands

hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and try our hearts whether God be in us of a truth or no: and if by Faith and Love unfeigned we be found the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, then to judge whether we have had ſuch regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in us hath no way been vexed, moleſted and grieved: or if it had, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulity, ſometimes by breach of charity, ſometimes by want of zeal, ſometimes by ſpots of life, even in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt us; (for who can ſay his heart is clean?) O then to fly unto God by unfeigned repentance, to fall down before him in the humility of our ſouls, begging of him whatſoever is needful to repair our decays, before we fall into that deſolation, whereof the Pro-
Lam. ii. 13. phet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the ſea; who can heal thee?*

11. Receiving the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort (you that are ſpiritual judge what I ſpeak), is not all other wine like the water of Marah, being compared to the cup which we bleſs? is not Manna like to gall, and our bread like to Manna? is there not a taſte, a taſte of Chriſt Jeſus in the heart of him that eateth? doth not he which drinketh behold plainly in this cup, that his ſoul is bathed in the blood of the Lamb? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if ye will taſte how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receive the King of Glory, *build yourſelves.*

12. *Young Men*, I ſpeak this to you, for ye are his Houſe, becauſe by Faith ye are conquerors over Satan, and have overcome that evil. *Fathers*, I ſpeak it alſo to you, ye are his Houſe, becauſe ye have known him, who is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeak it even to you alſo, ye are his Houſe, becauſe your Sins are forgiven you for his Name ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you, ye are alſo the Lord's building; and as St.

Peter

Peter ſpeaketh, *Heirs of the grace of life as well as we.* Though it be forbidden you to open your mouths in publick aſſemblies, yet ye muſt be inquiſitive in things concerning this building which is of God, with your Huſbands and Friends at home; not as Dalilah with Sampſon, but as Sarah with Abraham; whoſe daughters ye are, whilſt ye do well, and build yourſelves.

13. Having ſpoken thus far of the exhortation, whereby we are called upon to edify and build ourſelves; it remaineth now, that we conſider the things preſcribed, namely, wherein we muſt be built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo upon two points, the thing preſcribed, and the adjunct of the thing: and that is, our moſt pure and *holy Faith.*

14. The thing preſcribed is Faith. For, as in a chain which is made of many links, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a ladder of many ſtaves, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending to the higheſt will be removed: ſo, becauſe all the precepts and promiſes in the Law and in the Goſpel do hang upon this, *Believe*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that he glorifieth none, but whom he hath juſtified, nor juſtifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectual, and lively Faith in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore St. Jude exhorting us to *build ourſelves*, mentioneth here expreſsly only Faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified; for that Faith is the ground and the glory of all the welfare of this building.

15. *Ye are not Strangers and Foreigners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houſhold of God,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone, in whom all the Building being coupled together groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom ye alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, Ephes. ii. 19.

Spirit, if we believe; for it is written, *Whoſoever confeſſeth that Jeſus is the Son of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God.* The ſtrength of this habitation is great, it prevaileth againſt Satan, it conquereth Sin, it hath Death in deriſion; neither Principalities nor Powers can throw it down; it leadeth the World captive, and bringeth every enemy that riſeth up againſt it to confuſion and ſhame, and all
1 John v. 4. by Faith; for *this is the victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Who is it that overcometh the World, but he which believeth that Jeſus is the Son of God?*

16. The ſtrength of every building which is of God, ſtandeth not in any Man's arms or legs; it is only in our Faith, as the valour of Sampſon lay only in his hair. This is the reaſon why we are ſo earneſtly called upon to *ediſy ourſelves in Faith*. Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we believe the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in itſelf, as of itſelf, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like ſtones, which abide in building for ever, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthineſs of our believing, it is the virtue of him in whom we believe, by which we ſtand ſure, as Houſes that are builded upon a rock. He is a wiſe Man which hath builded his houſe upon a rock; for he hath choſen a good foundation, and no doubt his houſe will ſtand; but
Matth. vii. how ſhall it ſtand? Verily, by the ſtrength of the rock which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our Fathers, whom God delivered out of the land of Egypt, were a People that had no peers amongſt the Nations of the Earth, becauſe they were built by Faith upon the rock, which Rock is Chriſt. *And the rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the firſt to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter) *did follow them*. Whereby we learn not only this, that being built by Faith on Chriſt as on a rock, and grafted into him as into an olive, we receive all our ſtrength and fatneſs from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſs of ours ought to be no cauſe, why we ſhould be high-minded, and not

not work out our ſalvation with a reverend trembling, and holy fear. For if thou boaſteſt thyſelf of thy Faith, know this, that Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that Iſrael followed not the rock, but the rock followed Iſrael; and that thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee. So that every heart muſt thus think, and every tongue muſt thus ſpeak, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us*, nor unto any thing which is within us, but unto thy Name only, only to thy Name belongeth all the praiſe of all the treaſures and riches of every Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our Faith. Rom. xi.

17. But this muſt not make us careleſs to edify ourſelves in Faith. It is the Lord that delivereth Men's ſouls from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercy. It is God that hath given us eternal life, but no otherwiſe than thus, if we believe in the name of the Son of God; for he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon Sampſon, and made him ſtrong to tear a lion, as a Man would rend a kid; but his ſtrength forſook him, and he became like other Men, when the razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the Faithful *have ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs, obtained the promiſes, ſtopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword:* but take away their Faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like unto other Men? 1 John v.

18. If ye deſire yet further to know how neceſſary and needful it is that we edify and build up ourſelves in Faith, mark the words of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Without Faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* If I offer to God all the ſheep and oxen that are in the World; if all the temples that were builded ſince the days of Adam till this hour, were of my foundation; if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and wear out my tongue with preaching; if

if I ſacrifice my body and ſoul unto him, *and have no Faith*, all this availeth nothing. *Without Faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Saviour therefore being aſked in the ſixth of St. John's Goſpel, *What ſhall we do that we might work the works of God?* maketh anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath ſent.*

No pleaſing of God without Faith.

19. That no work of ours, no building of ourſelves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in Faith, what need we to ſeek about for long proof? Look upon Iſrael, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the Faithful, and the glory of Cherubim, and the Covenants of mercy, and the Law of Moſes, and the ſervice of God, and the Promiſes of Chriſt, were made impropriate, who not only were the Offspring of Abraham, Father unto all them which do believe, but Chriſt their offspring, which is God to be bleſſed for evermore.

20. Conſider this People, and learn what it is to *build yourſelves in Faith.* They were the Lord's vine: *He brought it out of Egypt, he threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted; he made room for it, and cauſed it to take root, till it had filled the earth; the mountains were covered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly cedars, ſhe ſtreiched out her branches to the ſea, and her boughs unto the river.* But, when God having ſent both his Servants and his Son to viſit this vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor received the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of Glory which came unto them; then began the curſe of God to come upon them, even the curſe whereof the Prophet David hath ſpoken, ſaying, *Let their table be made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling-block, even for a recompence unto them: Let their eyes be darkened, that they do not ſee, bow down their backs for ever,* keep them down. And ſithence the hour that the meaſure of their

Pſal. lxix. Rom. xi.

their infidelity was firſt made up they have been ſpoiled with wars, eaten up with plagues, ſpent with hunger and famine, they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are under the ſun. Ephraim, which before was a terror unto Nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelity ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out to be trampled under Men's feet. In the midſt of theſe deſolations they cry, *Return, we beſeech thee, O God of Hoſts, look down from Heaven, behold and viſit this vine:* But their very prayers are turned into ſin, and their cries are no better than the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *by their unbelief they are broken off, and thou doſt ſtand by thy Faith. Behold therefore the bountifulneſs, and ſeverity of God; towards them ſeverity, becauſe they have fallen, bountifulneſs towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſs, or elſe thou ſhalt be cut off.* If they forſake their unbelief and be grafted in again, and we at any time for the hardneſs of our hearts be broken off, it will be ſuch a judgment as will amaze all the Powers and Principalities which are above. Who hath ſearched the counſel of God concerning this ſecret? And who doth not ſee, that infidelity doth threaten *Lo-ammi* unto the Gentiles, as as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* upon the Jews? It may be that theſe words ſeem dark unto you: but the words of the Apoſtle, in the eleventh to the Romans, are plain enough, *If God hath not ſpared the natural branches, take heed,* take heed *leſt he ſpare not thee:* build thyſelf in Faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edify ourſelves. Now conſider the conditions and properties which are in this place annexed unto Faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edify yourſelves in your Faith.*

Pſal. lxxx. 14.

Rom. xi. 20.

Verſe 22.

Hoſea i. 9. not my people. Verſe 6. not obtaining mercy.

21. A ſtrange, and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the Man of Sin hath bewitched the World; a forcibleſpirit of error it muſt needs be, which hath

brought Men to ſuch a ſenſeleſs and unreaſonable perſuaſion as this is, not only that Men clothed with mortality and ſin, as we ourſelves are, can do God ſo much ſervice, as ſhall be able to make a full and perfect ſatisfaction before the tribunal ſeat of God for our own ſins, yea, a great deal more than is ſufficient for themſelves; but alſo, that a Man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the overplus of other Men's merits, purchaſe the fruits of other Men's labours, and build his ſoul by another Man's Faith. Is not this Man drowned in the gall of bitterneſs? is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can he have any part or fellowſhip with Peter, and with the Succeſſors of Peter, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious Temples of the Holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it, becauſe he judgeth that the gift of God may be ſold for money.

22. But, beloved in the Lord, deceive not yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye yourſelves to be deceived: Ye can receive no more eaſe nor comfort for your ſouls by another Man's Faith, than warmth for your bodies by another Man's clothes, or ſuſtenance by the bread which another Man doth eat. The Juſt ſhall live by his own Faith. *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr, content himſelf that he hath cleanſed himſelf of his own ſins*, ſaith Tertullian: no Saint or Martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins. But if ſo be a Saint or a Martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins, it is ſufficient that he can do it for himſelf. Did ever any Man by his death deliver another Man from death, except only the Son of God? He indeed was able to ſafe-conduct a Thief from the croſs to Paradiſe: for to this end he came, that being himſelf pure from ſin, he might obey for ſinners. Thou which thinkeſt to do the like, and ſuppoſeſt that thou canſt juſtify another by thy righteouſneſs, if thou be without ſin, then lay down thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou be a ſinner, even as I am a ſinner,

ſinner, how can the oil of thy lamp be ſufficient both for thee and for me? Virgins that are wiſe, get ye oil, while ye have day, into your own lamps: for out of all peradventure, others, though they would, can neither give nor ſell. Edify yourſelves in your own moſt holy Faith. And let this be obſerved for the firſt property of that wherein we ought to edify ourſelves.

23. Our Faith being ſuch, is that indeed which St. Jude doth here term Faith; namely, a thing moſt holy. The reaſon is this, we are juſtified by Faith: for Abraham believed, and this was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs. Being juſtified, all our iniquities are covered; God beholdeth us in the righteouſneſs which is imputed, and not in the ſins which we have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of ſin, both original and actual; whoſoever denieth it is a double ſinner, for he is both a ſinner and a liar. To deny ſin is moſt plainly and clearly to prove it, becauſe he that ſaith, he hath no ſin, lieth, and by lying proveth that he hath ſin.

25. But imputation of righteouſneſs hath covered the ſins of every ſoul which believeth; God by pardoning our ſin hath taken it away: ſo that now, although our tranſgreſſions be multiplied above the hairs of our head, yet being juſtified, we are as free and as clear as if there were no ſpot or ſtain of any uncleanneſs in us. For it is God that juſtifieth; *And who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's choſen?* ſaith the Apoſtle in Rom. viii.

26. Now ſin being taken away, we are made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt: for David ſpeaking of this righteouſneſs, ſaith, *Bleſſed is the Man whoſe iniquities are forgiven.* No Man is bleſſed but in the righteouſneſs of God: every Man whoſe ſin is taken away is bleſſed. Therefore every Man whoſe ſin is covered, is made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt. This righteouſneſs doth make us to appear moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt unblameable before him.

27. This then is the ſum of that which I ſay, Faith doth juſtify; Juſtification waſheth away ſin; ſin removed, we are clothed with the righteouſneſs which is of God; the righteouſneſs of God maketh us moſt holy. Every of theſe I have proved by the teſtimony of God's own mouth; therefore I conclude, that Faith is that which maketh us moſt holy, in conſideration whereof it is called in this place *our moſt holy Faith.*

28. To make a wicked and a ſinful Man moſt holy through his believing, is more than to create a World of nothing. Our Faith moſt holy! Surely, Solomon could not ſhew the Queen of Sheba ſo much treaſure in all his kingdom, as is lapt up in theſe words. O that our hearts were ſtretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our underſtanding were as bright as the ſun, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of the Saints, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and moſt holy, through our believing! O that the Spirit of the Lord would give this doctrine entrance into the ſtony and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the Law of Righteouſneſs, but cannot attain unto the Righteouſneſs of the Law! Wherefore? ſaith the Apoſtle. They ſeek righteouſneſs, and not by Faith; wherefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, they are bruiſed, ſhivered to pieces, as a ſhip that hath run herſelf upon a rock. O that God would caſt down the eyes of the proud, and humble the ſouls of the high-minded! that they might at the length abhor the garments of their own fleſh, which cannot hide their nakedneſs, and put on the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus, as he did put it on, which hath ſaid, *Doubtleſs I think all things but loſs, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loſs, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, which is of the Law; but*

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that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, even the righteouſneſs which is of God through Faith. O that God would open the ark of mercy, wherein this doctrine lieth, and ſet it wide before the eyes of poor afflicted conſciences, which fly up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can ſee nothing but only the gulf and deluge of their ſins, wherein there is no place for them to reſt their feet! The God of pity and compaſſion give you all ſtrength and courage, every day, and every hour, and every moment, to build and edify yourſelves in this moſt pure and holy Faith. And thus much both of the thing preſcribed in this exhortation, and alſo of the properties of the thing, *Build yourſelves in your moſt holy Faith.* I would come to the next branch which is of Prayer; but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I have added ſomewhat for the applying of it both to others, and to ourſelves.

29. For your better underſtanding of matters contained in this exhortation, *Build yourſelves*, you muſt note, that every Church and Congregation doth conſiſt of a multitude of Believers, as every houſe is built of many ſtones. And although the nature of the myſtical body of the Church be ſuch, that it ſuffereth no diſtinction in the inviſible members, but whether it be Paul or Apollos, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Chriſt's, and Chriſt is equally theirs: yet in the external adminiſtration of the Church of God, becauſe God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, it is neceſſary, that in every Congregation there be a diſtinction, if not of inward dignity, yet of outward degree; ſo that all are Saints, or ſeem to be Saints, and ſhould be as they ſeem: but are all Apoſtles? If the whole body were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath given ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome to be Paſtors, &c. for the edification of the body of Chriſt, in which work, we are God's labourers (ſaith the Apoſtle), and ye are God's huſbandry, and God's building.

 30. The

30. The Church, respected with reference unto administration Ecclesiastical, doth generally consist but of two sorts of Men, the Labourers and the Building; they which are ministered unto, and they to whom the work of the ministry is committed; Pastors, and the Flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers. If the Guide of a Congregation, be his name or his degree whatsoever, be diligent in his vocation, feeding the Flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it, *not by constraint, but willingly*; *not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind*; not as though he would tyrannise over God's heritage, but as a pattern unto the Flock, wisely guiding them: if the People in their degree do yield themselves framable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed and squared for the building: if the Magistrate do carefully and diligently survey the whole order of the work, providing by Statutes and Laws, and bodily punishments, if need require, that all things might be done according to the rule which cannot deceive; even as Moses provided, that all things might be done according to the pattern which he saw in the mount; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of such a Congregation every Man will say, *Behold a People that are wise, a People that walk in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a People full of knowledge and understanding, a People that have skill in building themselves.* Where it is otherwise, there, *as by slothfulness the roof doth decay*; and as by *idleness of hands the house droppeth thorough*, as it is in Eccles. x. 18. so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall, till there shall not be a stone left upon a stone.

31. We see how fruitless this exhortation hath been to such as bend all their travel only to build and manage a Papacy upon earth, without any care in the world of building themselves in their most holy Faith. God's People have enquired at their mouths,

mouths, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life?* Wherein ſhall we build and edify ourſelves? And they have departed home from their Prophets, and from their Prieſts, laden with doctrines which are precepts of Men; they have been taught to tire out themſelves with bodily exerciſe; thoſe things are enjoined them, which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their ears are filled with melody, but their ſouls do wither, and ſtarve, and pine away; they cry for bread, and behold ſtones are offered them; they aſk for fiſh, and ſee they have ſcorpions in their hands. Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that they build themſelves, but not in Faith; they feed their Children, but not with food: their Rulers ſay with ſhame, bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkenneſs ſtinketh, their abominations are known, their madneſs is manifeſt, the wind hath bound them up in her wings, and they ſhall be aſhamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, ſaith the Prophet, *is joined to Idols, let him alone.* I will turn me therefore from the Prieſts, which do miniſter unto Idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his choſen in Iſrael.

32. If there be any feeling of Chriſt, any drop of heavenly dew, or any ſpark of God's good Spirit within you, ſtir it up, be careful to build and edify, firſt yourſelves, and then your Flocks, in this moſt holy Faith.

33. I ſay, firſt yourſelves; for, he which will ſet the hearts of other Men on fire with the love of Chriſt, muſt himſelf burn with love. It is want of Faith in ourſelves, my Brethren, which makes us wretchleſs in building others. We forſake the Lord's inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our own deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We ourſelves are like thoſe women which have a longing to eat coals, and lime, and filth; we are

fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpel waxeth loathſome and unpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould we then have a care to feed others with that which we cannot fancy ourſelves? If Faith wax cold and ſlender in the heart of the Prophet, it will ſoon periſh from the ears of the People. The Prophet Amos ſpeaketh of a famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the north unto the eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the Word of the Lord, and ſhall not find it. Judgment muſt begin at the Houſe of God,* ſaith Peter. Yea, I ſay, at the Sanctuary of God this judgment muſt begin. This famine muſt begin at the heart of the Prophet. He muſt have darkneſs for a viſion, he muſt ſtumble at noon-day, as at the twilight, and then truth ſhall fall in the midſt of the ſtreets; then ſhall the People wander from ſea to ſea, and from the north unto the eaſt ſhall they run to and fro to ſeek the Word of the Lord.

Amos viii. 11, 12.

1 Pet. iv. 17.

34. In the ſecond of Haggai, *Speak now,* ſaith God to his Prophet, *ſpeak now to Zerubbabel, the ſon of Shealtiel, Prince of Judah, and to Jehoſhua, the ſon of Jehozadak the High-Prieſt, and to the reſidue of the People, ſaying, Who is left among you that ſaw this houſe in her firſt glory? and how do you ſee it now? Is not this houſe in your eyes, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would have all Men's eyes turned to the view of themſelves, every ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what duty Zerubbabel or Jehoſhua do owe unto God in this reſpect. They have, I doubt not, ſuch as put them hereof in remembrance. I aſk of you, which are a part of the reſidue of God's elect and choſen People, who is there amongſt you that hath taken a ſurvey of the Houſe of God, as it was in the days of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you that hath ſeen

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and conſidered this holy Temple in her firſt glory? And how do you ſee it now? is it not, in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing? When ye look upon them which have undertaken the charge of your ſouls, and know how far theſe are, for the moſt part, grown out of kind, how few there be that tread the ſteps of their ancient predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawn unto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent from former times is bewailed; eaſily perſuaded to think of them that lived to enjoy the days which now are gone, that ſurely they were happy in compariſon of us that have ſucceeded them. Were not their Biſhops Men unreprovable, wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, well-reported of, even of thoſe which were without? Were not their Paſtors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing to exhort with wholeſome doctrine, and to reprove thoſe which gainſaid the truth? had they Prieſts made of the refuſe of the People? were Men, like to the children which were in Nineveh, unable to diſcern between the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregations? did their Teachers leave their flocks over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them overſeers? did their Prophets enter upon holy things as ſpoils, without a reverend calling? were their Leaders ſo unkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But, Beloved, deceive not yourſelves. Do the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? It is your fault if they be thus faulty. *Nullus, qui malum Rectorem patitur, eum accuſet, quia ſui fuit meriti perverſi Paſtoris ſubjacere ditioni*, ſaith St. Gregory; whoſoever thou art, whom the inconvenience of an evil Governor doth preſs, accuſe thyſelf, and not him; his being ſuch, Jer. iii. 14, is thy deſerving. *O ye diſobedient Children, turn again,* 15. ſaith the Lord, *and then will I give you Paſtors according to mine own heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge*

knowledge and understanding. So that the only way to repair all ruins, breaches, and offensive decays in others, is to begin reformation at yourselves. Which that we may all sincerely, seriously, and speedily do, God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jesus' sake, unto whom, with the Holy Ghost, three Persons, one eternal and everlasting God, be honour, and glory, and praise for ever. *Amen*.

A

SERMON,

FOUND IN THE STUDY OF

BISHOP ANDREWS.

MATTH. vii. 7.

Aſk, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you. For whoſoever aſketh, &c.

AS all the creatures of God, which attain their higheſt perfection by proceſs of time, are in their firſt beginning raw; ſo Man, in the end of his race the perfecteſt, is at his entrance thereunto the weakeſt, and thereby longer enforced to continue a ſubject for other Men's compaſſions to work upon voluntarily, without any other perſuader, beſides their own ſecret inclination, moving them to repay to the common ſtock of humanity ſuch help, as they know that themſelves before muſt needs have borrowed; the ſtate and condition of all fleſh being herein alike. It cometh hereby to paſs, that although there be in us, when we enter into this preſent world, no conceit or apprehenſion of our own miſery, and for a long time after no ability, as much as to crave help or ſuccour at other Men's hands; yet

yet through his moſt good and gracious Providence, which feedeth the young, even of feathered fowls and ravens (whoſe natural ſignifications of their neceſſities are therefore termed in Scripture *Prayers and Invocations* which God doth hear), we, amongſt them, whom he values at a far higher rate than millions of brute creatures, do find by perpetual experience, daily occaſions given unto every of us, religiouſly to acknowledge with the Prophet David, *Thou, O Lord, from our birth haſt been merciful unto us*, we have taſted thy goodneſs hanging even at our mothers' breaſts. That God, which during infancy preſerveth us without our knowledge, teacheth us at years of diſcretion how to uſe our own abilities for procurement of our own good.

Aſk, and it ſhall be given you; ſeek, and you ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you. For whoſoever doth aſk, ſhall receive; whoſoever doth ſeek, ſhall find; the door unto every one which knocks ſhall be opened.

In which words we are firſt commanded to aſk, ſeek, and knock: ſecondly, promiſed grace anſwerable unto every of theſe endeavours; aſking, we ſhall have; ſeeking, we ſhall find; knocking, it ſhall be opened unto us: thirdly, this grace is particularly warranted, becauſe it is generally here averred, that no Man aſking, ſeeking, and knocking, ſhall fail of that whereunto his ſerious deſire tendeth.

1. Of aſking or praying I ſhall not need to tell you, either at whoſe hands we muſt ſeek our aid, or to put you in mind that our hearts are thoſe golden cenſers from which the fume of this ſacred incenſe muſt aſcend. For concerning the one, you know who it is which hath ſaid, *Call upon me*; and of the other, we may very well think, that if any where, ſurely firſt and moſt of all in our prayers, God doth make his continual claim, *Fili, da mihi cor tuum*, Son, let me never fail in this duty to have thy heart.

Againſt invocation of any other than God alone,

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if all arguments elſe ſhould fail, the number whereof is both great and forcible, yet this very bar and ſingle challenge might ſuffice; that whereas God hath in Scripture delivered us ſo many patterns for imitation when we pray, yea, framed ready to our hands in a manner all, for ſuits and ſupplications, which our condition of life on earth may at any time need, there is not one, no not one to be found directed unto Angels, Saints, or any, ſaving God alone. So that, if in ſuch caſes as this we hold it ſafeſt to be led by the beſt examples that have gone before, when we ſee what Noah, what Abraham, what Moſes, what David, what Daniel, and the reſt did; what form of prayer Chriſt himſelf likewiſe taught his Church; and what his bleſſed Apoſtles did practiſe, who can doubt but the way for us to pray ſo as we may undoubtedly be accepted, is by conforming our prayers to theirs, whoſe ſupplications we know were acceptable?

Whoſo cometh unto God with a gift, muſt bring with him a cheerful heart, becauſe he loveth *hilarem datorem*, a liberal and frank affection in giving. Devotion and fervency addeth unto prayers the ſame that alacrity doth unto gifts; it putteth vigour and life in them.

Prayer proceedeth from want, which being ſeriouſly laid to heart, maketh Suppliants always importunate; which importunity our Saviour Chriſt did not only tolerate in the woman of Canaan, but alſo invite and exhort thereunto, as the Parable of the wicked Judge ſheweth. Our fervency ſheweth us ſincerely affected towards that we crave: but that which muſt make us capable thereof, is an humble ſpirit; for God doth load with his grace the lowly, when the proud he ſendeth empty away: and therefore to the end that all generations of the world might know how much it ſtandeth them upon to beware of all lofty and vain conceits when we offer up our ſupplications before him, he hath in the Goſpel both

Matth. xv.

Luke xiii.

both delivered this caveat, and left it by a ſpecial choſen parable exemplified. The Phariſee and Publican having preſented themſelves in one and the ſame place, the Temple of God, for performance of one and the ſame duty, the duty of Prayer, did notwithſtanding in that reſpect only ſo far differ the one from the other, that our Lord's own verdict of them remaineth (as you know) on record, *They departed home*, the ſinful Publican, through humility of prayer, juſt; the juſt Phariſee, through pride, ſinful. So much better doth he accept of a contrite *peccavi*, than of an arrogant *Deo gratias*.

Aſking is very eaſy, if that were all God did require: but becauſe there were means which his Providence hath appointed for our attainment unto that which we have from him, and thoſe means now and then intricated, ſuch as require deliberation, ſtudy, and intention of wit; therefore he which emboldeneth to aſk, doth after invocation exact inquiſition; a work of difficulty. The baits of ſin every where open, ready always to offer themſelves; whereas that which is precious, being hid, is not had but by being ſought. *Præmia non ad magna prævenitur niſi per magnos labores*; ſtraightneſs and roughneſs are qualities incident unto every good and perfect way. What booteth it to others that we wiſh them well, and do nothing for them? As little ourſelves it muſt needs avail, if we pray and ſeek not. To truſt to labour without prayer, it argueth impiety and prophaneneſs; it maketh light of the Providence of God: and although it be not the intent of a religious mind; yet it is the fault of thoſe Men whoſe Religion wanteth light of mature judgment to direct it, when we join with our prayer ſlothfulneſs and neglect of convenient labour. He which hath ſaid, *If any Man lack wiſdom, let him aſk* — hath in like ſort commanded alſo to ſeek wiſdom, to ſearch for underſtanding as for treaſure. To them which did only crave a ſeat in the kingdom of Chriſt, his

Bernard.

anſwer,

anſwer, as you know, in the Goſpel, was this, To ſit at my right hand and left hand in the ſeat of glory is not a matter of common gratuity, but of divine aſſignment from God. He liked better of him which enquired, *Lord, what ſhall I do that I may be ſaved?* and therefore him he directed the right and ready way, *Keep the Commandments.*

I noted before unto you certain ſpecial qualities belonging unto you that aſk: in them that ſeek there are the like: which we may obſerve it is with many as with them of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, they *are always learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* *Ex amore non quærunt*, ſaith Bernard; they ſeek becauſe they are curious to know, and not as Men deſirous to obey. It was diſtreſs and perplexity of mind which made them inquiſitive, of whom St. Luke in the Acts reporteth, that ſought counſel and advice with urgent ſolicitation: Men and Brethren, ſith God hath bleſſed you with the ſpirit of underſtanding above others, hide not from miſerable perſons that which may do them good; give your counſel to them that need and crave it at your hands, unleſs we be utterly forlorn; ſhew us, teach us, what we may do and live. That which our Saviour doth ſay of prayer in the open ſtreets, of cauſing trumpets to be blown before us when we give our alms, and of making our ſervice of God a means to purchaſe the praiſe of Men, muſt here be applied to you, who never ſeek what they ought, but only when they may be ſure to have ſtore of lookers on. *On my bed*, ſaith the Canticles, *there did I ſeek whom my ſoul doth love.* When therefore thou reſolveſt thyſelf to ſeek, go not out of thy chamber into the ſtreets, but ſhun that frequency which diſtracteth; ſingle thyſelf from thyſelf, if ſuch ſequeſtration may be attained. When thou ſeekeſt, let the love of obedience, the ſenſe and feeling of thy neceſſity, the eye of ſingleneſs and ſincere meaning guide thy footſteps, and thou canſt not ſlide.

2 Tim. iii. 7.

You

You ſee what it is to aſk and ſeek; the next is *knock*. There is always in every good thing which we aſk, and which we ſeek, ſome main wall, ſome barred gate, ſome ſtrong impediment or other objecting itſelf in the way between us and home; for removal whereof, the help of ſtronger hands than our own is neceſſary. As therefore aſking hath relation to the want of good things deſired, and ſeeking to the natural ordinary means of attainment thereunto; ſo knocking is required in regard of hindrances, lets, or impediments, which are doors ſhut up againſt us, till ſuch time as it pleaſe the goodneſs of Almighty God to ſet them open: in the mean while our duty here required is to knock. Many are well contented to aſk, and not unwilling to undertake ſome pains in ſeeking; but when once they ſee impediments which fleſh and blood doth judge invincible, their hearts are broken. Iſrael in Egypt, ſubject to miſeries of intolerable ſervitude, craved with ſighs and tears deliverance from that eſtate, which then they were fully perſuaded they could not poſſibly change, but it muſt needs be for the better. Being ſet at liberty to ſeek the land which God hath promiſed unto their Fathers, did not ſeem tedious or irkſome unto them: this labour and travail they undertook with great alacrity, never troubled with any doubt, nor diſmayed with any fear, till at the length they came to knock at thoſe brazen gates, the bars whereof, as they had no means, ſo they had no hopes to break aſunder. Mountains on this hand, and the roaring ſea before their faces; then all the forces that Egypt could make, coming with as much rage and fury as could poſſeſs the heart of a proud, potent, and cruel Tyrant: in theſe ſtraits, at this inſtant, Oh that we had been ſo happy as to die where before we lived a life, though toilſome, yet free from ſuch extremities as now we are fallen into! Is this the milk and honey that hath been ſo ſpoken of? Is this the Paradiſe,

in

in deſcription whereof ſo much gloſſing and deceiving eloquence hath been ſpent? have we after four hundred and thirty years left Egypt to come to this? While they are in the midſt of their mutinous cogitations, Moſes with all inſtancy beateth, and God with the hand of his omnipotency caſteth open the gates before them, maugre even their own both infidelity and deſpair. It was not ſtrange then, nor that they afterwards ſtood in like repining terms; for till they came to the very brink of the river Jordan, the leaſt croſs accident, which lay at any time in their way, was evermore unto them a cauſe of preſent recidivation and relapſe. They having the land in their poſſeſſion, being ſeated in the heart thereof, and all their hardeſt encounters paſt, Joſhua and the better ſort of their Governors, who ſaw the wonders which God had wrought for the good of that people, had no ſooner ended their days, but firſt one tribe, then another, in the end all delighted in eaſe; fearful to hazard themſelves in following the conduct of God, weary of paſſing ſo many ſtraight and narrow gates, condeſcended to ignominious conditions of peace, joined hands with Infidels, forſook him which had been always the Rock of their Salvation, and ſo had none to open unto them, although their occaſions of knocking were great afterward, more and greater than before. Concerning Iſſachar, the words of Jacob, the Father of all the Patriarchs, were theſe; Iſſachar, though bonny and ſtrong enough unto any labour, doth couch notwithſtanding as an aſs under all burthens; he ſhall think with himſelf that reſt is good, and the land pleaſant; he ſhall in theſe conſiderations rather endure the burthen and yoke of tribute, than caſt himſelf into hazard of war. We are for the moſt part all of Iſſachar's diſpoſition, we account eaſe cheap, howſoever we buy it. And although we can happily frame ourſelves ſometimes to aſk, or endure for a while to ſeek; yet loath we are to follow a Gen. xlix.

courſe of life, which ſhall too often hem us about with thoſe perplexities, the dangers whereof are manifeſtly great.

But of the duties here preſcribed of aſking, ſeeking, knocking, thus much may ſuffice. The promiſes follow which God hath made.

2. *Aſk and receive, ſeek and find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you.* Promiſes are made of good things to come; and ſuch, while they are in expectation, have a kind of painfulneſs with them; but when the time of performance and of preſent fruition cometh, it bringeth joy.

Abraham did ſomewhat rejoice in that which he ſaw would come, although knowing that many ages and generations muſt firſt paſs: their exultation far greater, who beheld with their eyes, and embraced in their arms him which had been before the hope of the whole world. We have found that Meſſias, have ſeen the ſalvation; *Behold here the Lamb of God, which taketh away the ſins of the world.* Theſe are ſpeeches of Men not comforted with the hope of that they deſire, but rapt with admiration at the view of enjoyed bliſs.

As oft therefore as our caſe is the ſame with the Prophet David's; or that experience of God's abundant mercy towards us doth wreſt from our mouths the ſame acknowledgments which it did from his, *I called on the name of the Lord, and he hath reſcued his ſervant: I was in miſery and he ſaved me: Thou, Lord, haſt delivered my ſoul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling:* I have aſked and received, ſought and found, knocked and it hath been opened unto me: can there leſs be expected at our hands, than to take the cup of Salvation, and bleſs, magnify, and extol the mercies heaped upon the heads of the ſons of Men? Are we in the caſe of them, who as yet do only aſk and have not received? It is but attendance a ſmall time, we ſhall rejoice then; but how? we ſhall find, but where? it ſhall be

Pſal. cxvi.

be opened, but with what hand? To all which demands I muſt anſwer,

Uſe the words of our Saviour Chriſt, *quid hoc ad te?* what are theſe things unto us? Is it for us to be made acquainted with the way he hath to bring his counſel and purpoſes about? God will not have great things brought to paſs, either altogether without means, or by thoſe means altogether which are to our ſeeming probable and likely. Not without means, leſt under colour of repoſe in God we ſhould nouriſh at any time in ourſelves idleneſs: not by the mere ability of means gathered together through our own providence, leſt prevailing by helps which the common courſe of nature yieldeth, we ſhould offer the ſacrifice of thankſgiving for whatſoever prey we take to the nets which our fingers did weave; than which there cannot be to him more intolerable injury offered. *Vere et abſque dubio*, ſaith St. Bernard, *hoc quiſque eſt peſſimus, quo optimus, ſi hoc ipſum quo eſt optimus aſcribat ſibi*; the more bleſt, the more curſt, if we make his graces our own glory, without imputation of all to him; whatſoever we have we ſteal, and the multiplication of God's favours doth but aggravate the crime of our ſacrilege: he knowing how prone we are to unthankfulneſs in this kind, tempereth accordingly the means, whereby it is his pleaſure to do us good. This is the reaſon, why God would neither have Gideon to conquer without any army, nor yet to be furniſhed with too great an hoſt. This is the cauſe why, as none of the promiſes of God do fail, ſo the moſt are in ſuch ſort brought to paſs, that, if we after conſider the circuit, wherein the ſteps of his providence have gone, the due conſideration thereof cannot chooſe but draw from us the ſelf-ſame words of aſtoniſhment, which the bleſſed Apoſtle hath; *O the depth of the riches of the wiſdom of God! how unſearchable are his counſels, and his ways paſt finding out!* Let it therefore content us always to have his word for an

abſolute warrant; we ſhall receive and find in the end; it ſhall at length be opened unto you: however, or by what means, leave it to God.

3. Now our Lord groundeth every Man's particular aſſurance touching this point upon the general rule and axiom of his Providence, which hath ordained theſe effects to flow and iſſue out of theſe cauſes; gifts of ſuits, finding out of ſeeking, help out of knocking; a principle ſo generally true, that on his part it never faileth.

For why? it is the glory of God to give; his very nature delighteth in it; his mercies in the current, through which they would paſs, may be dried up, but at the head they never fail. Men are ſoon weary both of granting and of hearing ſuits, becauſe our own inſufficiency maketh us ſtill afraid, leſt by benefiting of others we impoveriſh ourſelves. We read of large and great proffers, which Princes in their fond and vain-glorious moods have poured forth: as that of Herod; and the like of Ahaſuerus in the book of Eſther. *Aſk what thou wilt, though it reach to the half of my kingdom, I will give it thee:* which very words of profuſion do argue, that the ocean of no eſtate in this world doth ſo flow, but it may be emptied. He that promiſeth half of his kingdom, foreſeeth how that being gone, the remainder is but a moiety of that which was. What we give we leave; but what God beſtoweth benefiteth us, and from him it taketh nothing: wherefore in his propoſitions there are no ſuch fearful reſtraints; his terms are general in regard of making, *Whatſoever ye aſk the Father in my name*; and general alſo in reſpect of perſons, *whoſoever aſketh, whoſoever ſeeketh.* It is true, St. James ſaith, *Ye aſk, and yet ye receive not, becauſe you aſk amiſs*; ye crave to the end ye might have to ſpend upon your own luſts. The rich Man ſought Heaven, but it was then that he felt Hell. The Virgins knocked in vain, becauſe they overſlipped their opportunity; and when the time

time was to knock, they ſlept: but *quærite Dominum dum inveniri poteſt*, perform theſe duties in their due time and due ſort. Let there, on our part, be no ſtop, and the bounty of God we know is ſuch, that he granteth over and above our deſires. Saul ſought an aſs, and found a kingdom. Solomon named wiſdom, and God gave Solomon wealth alſo, by way of ſurpaſſing. *Thou haſt prevented thy ſervant with bleſſings*, ſaith the Prophet David. *He aſked life, and thou gaveſt him long life, even for ever and ever.* God a giver; *He giveth liberally, and upbraideth none in any wiſe:* and therefore he better knoweth than we the beſt times, and the beſt means, and the beſt things, wherein the good of our ſouls conſiſteth.

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