

circumstances duly considered the safest and happiest for all estates, even for kings and princes themselves.

Again we are not to look that these things should always concur, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the course of men's lives or of public affairs should continually be drawn out as an even thread (for that the nature of things will not suffer) but a just survey being made, as those particular men are worthily reputed good whose virtues be great and their faults tolerable, so him we may register for a man fortunate, and that for a prosperous or happy state, which having flourished doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration such as might cause them to be a spectacle of misery to others.

Besides whereas true felicity consisteth in the highest operations of that nobler part of man which showeth sometime greatest perfection not in using the benefits which delight nature but in suffering what nature can hardliest endure, there is no cause why either the loss of good if it tend to the purchase of better, or why any misery the issue whereof is their greater praise and honour that have sustained it, should be thought to impeach that temporal happiness wherewith religion we say is accompanied, but yet in such measure, as the several degrees of men may require by a competent estimation, and unless the contrary do more advance, as it hath done those most heroical saints whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither misery nor prosperity is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatsoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity for which it appeareth in the eyes of sound and impartial judges to have proceeded from divine revenge, it passeth in the number of human casualties whereunto we are all alike subject. No misery is reckoned more than common or human, if God so dispose that we pass through it and come safe to shore, even as contrariwise men do not use to think those flourishing days happy which do end with tears.

[6.] It standeth therefore with these cautions firm and true, yea ratified by all men's unfeigned confessions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and state,

or else the same men with themselves; whether we confer one dominion with another or else the different times of one and the same dominion, the manifest odds between their very outward condition as long as they steadfastly were observed to honour God and their success being fallen from him, are remonstrances more than sufficient how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our religion.

Heathens were ignorant of true religion. Yet such as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wane or grow.

Of the Jews did not even their most malicious and mortal adversaries all acknowledge, that to strive against them it was in vain as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but apostasy? In the whole course of their own proceedings did they ever find it otherwise, but that during their faith and fidelity towards God every man of them was in war as a thousand strong, and as much as a grand Senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations, contrariwise that if they swerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forsook them utterly, their soldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entered into mutual conference, and sate in council for their own good, that which children might have seen their gravest Senators could not discern, their Prophets saw darkness instead of visions, the wise and prudent were as men bewitched, even that which they knew (being such as might stand them in stead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well proposed it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the rest to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with strange and unusual amazements of spirit they attempted tumultuously they saw not what; and by the issues of all tempts they found no certain conclusion but this, "God and heaven are strong against us in all we do." The cause whereof was secret fear which took heart and courage from them, and the cause of their fear an inward guiltiness that they all had offered God such apparent wrongs as were not pardonable.

[7.] But it may be the case is now altogether changed, and that in Christian religion there is not the like force towards

temporal felicity. Search the ancient records of time, look what hath happened by the space of these sixteen hundred years, see if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things so manifest that for evidence and proof herein we need not by uncertain dark conjectures surmise any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or blest in the course of faithful obedience towards true religion, more than only them whom we find in that respect on the one side guilty by their own confessions, and happy on the other side by all men's acknowledgment, who beholding the prosperous estate of such as are good and virtuous impute boldly the same to God's most especial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whom he afflicteth above others with them he hath cause to be more offended. For virtue is always plain to be seen, rareness causeth it to be observed, and goodness to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and sin it lieth many times hid, and because we be all offenders it becometh us not to incline towards hard and severe sentences touching others, unless their notorious wickedness did sensibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to pass.

[8.] Wherefore the sum of every Christian man's duty is to labour by all means towards that which other men seeing in us may justify, and what we ourselves must accuse, if we fall into it, that by all means we can to avoid, considering especially that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempestuous storm the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection and from backwardness in duties of service towards God, so if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point should be here set down, it were assuredly enough to soften and to mollify an heart of steel. On the contrary part although we confess with St. Augustine<sup>1</sup> most willingly, that the chiefest happi-

<sup>1</sup> [De Civit. Dei, v. 24. "Neque enim nos Christianos quosdam imperatores ideo felices dicimus, quia vel diutius imperarunt, vel imperantes filios morte placida reliquerunt, vel hostes reipubl. domuerunt, vel inimicos cives adversus se insurgentes et cavere et opprimere potuerunt. Hæc et alia vitæ hujus ærumnosæ vel munera vel solatia quidam etiam cultores dæmonum accipere meruerunt, qui non pertinent ad regnum Dei, qui pertinent isti: et hoc ipsius misericordia factum est, ne ab illo ista, qui in eum crederent, velut summa bona desiderarent. Sed felices eos dicimus, si juste imperant, si inter

ness for which we have some Christian kings in so great admiration above the rest is not because of their long reign, their calm and quiet departure out of this present life, the settled establishment of their own flesh and blood succeeding them in royalty and power, the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wise prevention of inward dangers and of secret attempts at home; all which solaces and comforts of this our unquiet life it pleaseth God oftentimes to bestow on them which have no society or part in the joys of heaven, giving thereby to understand that these in comparison are toys and trifles far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reason wherefore we mostly extol their felicity is if so be they have virtuously reigned, if honour have not filled their hearts with pride, if the exercise of their power have been service and attendance upon the majesty of the Most High, if they have feared him as their own inferiors and subjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleasure more than heaven, if revenge have slowly proceeded from them and mercy willingly offered itself, if so they have tempered rigour with lenity that neither extreme severity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifest hope of amendment, nor yet the easiness of pardoning offences embolden offenders, if knowing that whatsoever they do their potency may bear it out, they have been so much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the best rather than usual with greatest personages, if the true knowledge of themselves have

"linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, sed se homines esse meminerunt; si suam potestatem, ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum, majestati ejus famulam faciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus amant illud regnum, ubi non timent habere consortes; si tardius vindicant, facile ignoscunt; si eandem vindictam pro necessitate regendæ tuendæque reip. non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exerunt; si eandem veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si quod aspere coguntur plerumque decernere, misericordiæ lenitate et beneficiorum largitate commendant; si luxuria tanto eis est castigatio, quanto posset esse liberior; si malunt cupiditatibus pravis, quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare; et si hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter caritatem felicitatis æternæ; si pro suis peccatis, humilitatis et miseratōnis et orationis sacrificium Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales Christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea reipsa futuros, cum id quod expectamus advenerit." t. vii. p. 141.]

humbled them in God's sight no less than God in the eyes of men hath raised them up; I say albeit we reckon such to be the happiest of them that are mightiest in the world, and albeit those things alone are happiness, nevertheless considering what force there is even in outward blessings to comfort the minds of the best disposed, and to give them the greater joy when religion and peace, heavenly and earthly happiness are wreathed in one crown, as to the worthiest of Christian princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen: let it not seem to any man a needless and superfluous waste of labour that there hath been thus much spoken to declare how in them especially it hath been so observed, and withal universally noted even from the highest to the very meanest, how this peculiar benefit, this singular grace and preeminence religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly shield from all calamities, or else conducteth us safe through them, and permiteth them not to be miseries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plenty of all good things, or maketh a sallet<sup>1</sup> of green herbs more sweet than all the sacrifices of the ungodly.

[9.] Our fourth proposition before set down was that religion without the help of spiritual ministry is unable to plant itself, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their own accord. Which last assertion is herein as the first, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did I could easily declare how all things which are of God he hath by wonderful art and wisdom sodered as it were together with the glue of mutual assistance, appointing the lowest to receive from the nearest to themselves what the influence of the highest yieldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all his works was in reason to be also ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh might no less in grace than in nature be effected by hands and instruments duly subordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humiliation of man which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himself, and of no small effect to nourish that divine love which now maketh each embrace other not as men but as angels of God.

<sup>1</sup> [So Bodl. MS., 1st ed. and 1616, 1622. "Salad" 1676, K.] 1887.

[10.] Ministerial actions tending immediately unto God's honour and man's happiness are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the ministry; or else they are parts of that principal work of administration itself, which work consisteth in doing the service of God's house<sup>1</sup> and in applying unto men the sovereign medicines of grace, already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear that we owe to the guides of our souls<sup>2</sup> even as much as our souls are worth, although the debt of our temporal blessings should be stricken off.

LXXVII. The ministry of things divine is a function which as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawful manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting unto man in necessities, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needs have wandered in darkness to our endless perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately or as the Church in his name investeth, it being neither possible for all nor for every man without distinction convenient to take upon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as princes and civil magistrates whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of divine providence doth uphold, but ministers of God as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's ambassadors and his labourers, who should give them their commission but he whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of Jesus Christ? What angel in Heaven could have said to man as our Lord did unto Peter, "Feed my sheep: Preach: Baptize: Do this "in remembrance of me: Whose sins ye retain they are

<sup>1</sup> Luke xii. 42; 1 Cor. iv. 1; Tit. i. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 10; Ephes. iii. 2. <sup>2</sup> Καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφείλεις. Epist. ad Philem. [ver. 19.]

"retained: and their offences in heaven pardoned whose faults "you shall on earth forgive?" What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God translath out of darkness into glory, it raiseth men from the earth and bringeth God himself down from heaven, by blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible grace, it giveth daily the Holy Ghost, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls, when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish, when it revoketh the same they revive. O wretched blindness if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright and notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestow it!

[2.] To whom Christ hath imparted power both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is himself for the knitting of both in one; (a work which antiquity doth call<sup>1</sup> the making of Christ's body;) the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or character and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special *order* consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is in that they are a distinct *order*. So Tertullian calleth them<sup>2</sup>. And St. Paul himself dividing the body of the Church of Christ into two moieties nameth the one part *ιδιώτας*<sup>3</sup>, which is as much as to say the Order of the Laity, the opposite part whereunto we in like sort term the Order of God's Clergy, and the spiritual power which he hath given them the power of their Order, so far forth as the same consisteth in the bare execution of holy things called properly the affairs of God<sup>4</sup>. For of the power of their

<sup>1</sup> [E. g. S. Jerome, Ep. xiv. § 8. t. i. 33; and Ep. cxlvi. § 1. p. 1075. ed. Vallarsii. Hooker seems to have approved of the view of Remigius of Auxerre (ninth century), for which see Bibl. Patr. Colon. v. pars iii. 884; and comp. Waterland, Works, viii. 250.]

<sup>2</sup> Tertul. de Adhort. Castit. [c. 7.

"Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesie auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consensus sanctificatus a Deo."

<sup>3</sup> [1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23, 24. 'Ο ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου. S. Chrys. in loc. ιδιώτην, τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει.]

<sup>4</sup> Heb. ii. 17. [τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

jurisdiction over men's persons we are to speak in the books following.

[3.] They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a cloak as the weather serveth, to take it, reject and resume it as oft as themselves list, of which profane and impious contempt these later times have yielded as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasy strange examples; but let them know which put their hands unto this plough, that once consecrated unto God they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suspensions may stop, and degradations utterly cut off the use or exercise of power before given: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to separate and pull asunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through misdesert degradation, as there may be cause of just separation after matrimony<sup>1</sup>, yet if (as sometime it doth) restitution to former dignity or reconciliation after breach do happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the first knot.

Much less is it necessary which some have urged, concerning the reordination of such as others in times more corrupt did consecrate heretofore<sup>2</sup>. Which error already quelled by St. Jerome<sup>3</sup> doth not now require any other refutation.

[4.] Examples I grant there are which make for restraint of those men from admittance again into rooms of spiritual function, whose fall by heresy or want of constancy in professing the Christian faith hath been once a disgrace to their calling<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless as there is no law which bindeth, so there is no cause that should always lead, to show one and

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xix. [4-9.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ecc. Disc. fol. 16. "Papisticos sacerdotes eos dico qui nulla unquam nova ordinatione ad legitimum ministerium delecti sunt, sed tantum horrendis illis sacris freti, &c." See also fol. 80-82.]

<sup>3</sup> [In his Dialogue against the Luciferians.]

<sup>4</sup> [Can. Apost. 62. al. 61, or 54. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς διὰ φόβον ἀνθρώπων, Ἰουδαίου, ἢ Ἑλλήνου, ἢ αἰρετικοῦ, ἀρνήσεται, εἰ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφορίζεσθω· εἰ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κληρικοῦ, καθαιρεῖσθω· μετανοήσας δὲ ὡς λαϊκὸς δεχθήτω. ap. Coteler. PP. Apost. i. 450. S. Petr. Alex. Can.

10. ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr. iii. 333. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐδλογον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ κλήρου αὐτομολήσαντας ἐκπεπωκότας τε καὶ ἀναπαλαίσαντας ἔτι ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ εἶναι. S. Cyr. Ep. 55. t. ii. p. 105. "Redeunte ad Ecclesiam Trophimo, et satisfaciente, et poenitentia deprecationis errore pristinum confitente, et fraternitatem, quam nuper abstraxerat, cum plena humilitate et satisfactione revocante, auditæ sunt ejus preces . . . Sic tamen admixtus est Trophimus, ut laicus communicet, non secundum quod ad te malignorum literæ pertulerunt, quasi locum sacerdotis usurpet."]

the same severity towards persons culpable. Goodness of nature itself more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other men's offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecility. Besides also, them that wander out of the way<sup>1</sup> it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, lest strictness used towards such as reclaim themselves should make others more obstinate in error. Wherefore after that the church of Alexandria had somewhat recovered itself from the tempests and storms of Arianism<sup>2</sup>, being in consultation about the reestablishment of that which by long disturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer sort<sup>3</sup> gave quick sentence that touching them which were of the clergy and had stained themselves with heresy there should be none so received into the Church again as to continue in the order of the clergy. The rest which considered how many men's cases it did concern thought it much more safe and consonant to bend somewhat down towards them which were fallen, to show severity upon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation without any other demand saving only the abjuration of their error<sup>4</sup>; as in the gospel that wasteful

<sup>1</sup> "In XII. Tabulis cautum est, ut idem juris esset sanatis quod fortibus, id est bonis et qui nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano." Fest. in ver. Samnites. [*Sanates* dicti sunt, qui supra in fraque Romam habitaverunt, quia cum defecissent a Romanis, brevi post redierunt in amicitiam, quasi *sanata mente*." Festus, (or rather Paulus Diaconus, his epitomizer,) ubi sup.] [Cf. Wordsworth, *Fragments of Early Latin*, (Oxford, 1874) p. 515.] 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Ruffin. *Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 28*. ["Quo pacto post hæreticorum procellas et perfidiæ turbines tranquillitas revocaretur Ecclesiæ, omni cura et libratione discutiunt. Aliis videbatur fidei calore ferventibus, nullum debere ultra in sacerdotium recipi, qui se utcumque hæreticæ communionis contagione maculasset. Sed qui imitantes Apostolum quærebant non quod sibi utile esset sed quod pluribus, . . . dicebant melius esse

"humiliari paululum propter dejectos, . . . et ideo rectum sibi videri, ut tantum perfidiæ auctoribus amputatis, reliquis sacerdotibus datur optio, si forte velint, abjurato errore perfidiæ, ad fidem patrum statutaque converti, . . . quia et ille evangelicus junior filius, paternæ depopulator substantiæ, in semet ipsum reversus, non solum suscipi meruit, sed et dignus paternis complexibus deputatur, et annulum fidei recipit, et stola circumdatur: per quam quid aliud quam sacerdotii declarantur insignia? Nec probabilis extitit apud patrem senior filius, quod invidit recepto; nec tantum meriti habuit non delinquendo, quantum notæ contexit non indulgendo germano."]

<sup>3</sup> [That is, the Luciferians. See St. Jerome's *Dialogue* against them: and the account of the origin of their schism in *Socr. iii. 5, 6, 9*; *Sozom. v. 12, 23*; *Theodoret. iii. 4, 5*].

<sup>4</sup> [See the proceedings of the council of Alexandria, assembled on

young man which returned home to his father's house was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his own fidelity and virtue as blamed for not embracing him freely whose unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanours and faults past. But of this sufficient.

[5.] A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving orders is our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, "Receive the Holy Ghost." The<sup>1</sup> Holy Ghost they say we cannot give, and therefore we "foolishly" bid men receive it. Wise men for their authority's sake must have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding if it may please their wisdom as well to hear what fools can say as to control that which they do, thus we have heard some wise men teach, namely that the "Holy Ghost" may be used to signify

the return of St. Athanasius, A.D. 362: the synodical letter of that council drawn up by Athanasius, in his works, t. i. p. 770: and Newman on the Arians of the 4th Century, c. v. § 1.]

<sup>1</sup> "Papisticus quidam ritus stulte quidem ab illis et sine ullo Scripturæ fundamento institutus, et a disciplinæ nostræ auctoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum judicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retinetur." *Ecclesiast. Discip. p. 53*. [69 of Cartwright's Translation. See also *Adm. ap. Whitg. Def. 227*. "That ridiculous, and (as they use it to their new creatures) blasphemous saying, 'Receive &c.'" *Answ. ibid.* "No more ridiculous and blasphemous, than it is to use the words that our Saviour used in the Supper . . . The Bishop by speaking these words doth not take upon him to give the Holy Ghost, no more than he doth to remit sins, when he pronounceth the remission of sins. . . . He doth shew the principal duty of a minister, and assureth him of the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, if he labour in the same accordingly."

T. C. i. 44. "These words, 'Receive,' &c. are the imperative mood, and do expressly signify a commandment. And, the Bishop may as well say to the sea, when it rageth and swelleth, Peace, be quiet; as to say, 'Receive, &c.'" *Whitg. Def. ibid.* "The words . . . because they signify that God doth pour His Spirit upon those whom he calleth to that function, are most aptly used of the Bishop (who is God's instrument in that business) in the ordaining of ministers. St. Paul speaking to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. saith, 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee of prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the eldership.' In which words the Apostle signifieth that God doth bestow his gifts and Spirit upon such as be called to the ministry of the word, whereof imposition of hands is a token, or rather a confirmation." T. C. ii. 292. "The place of Timothy is utterly impertinent. For it is not question whether God doth give his gifts to them which he calleth, or no; but whether he giveth them by this means, of saying, 'Receive, &c.'" ]