Christ’s Poverty, profanely alleged.

BOOK VII. "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; where-
unto when their betters were chosen before them, they
thought it better to leave the Church, and to draw their
favours with them, than to endure those men their gover-
nors, whom themselves desired to govern."

[11.] Now whereas against the present estate of bishops, and the greatness of their port, and the largeness of their expenses at this day, there is not any thing more commonly objected than those ancient canons,[1] whereby they are re-
strained 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 ex-

spenses 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
temporary 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 unconstitution unto the pattern of our Lord
and Saviour’s estate, in such circumstances as himself did
ever mind to require that the rest of the world should be
necessary like him. Thus against the wealth of the clergy
they allege[1] how meanly Christ himself was provided for;
against bishops’ palaces,[2] 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.”[2] Which
things, as they are not unfit to control covetous, proud or
ambitious desires of the ministers of Christ, and even of all
Christians, whatsoever they be; and to teach men content-
ment 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 conceived 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

[2]Non volent negare, quia oportet
omnes fideles sequi Christum in
moribus. Patet quod in gradu suo
oportet clericos specialiter in pau-
peritate humilii sequi ipsum.” Penn.
Humble Motion, p. 108. (1590).
As touching the lord bishops and
great clemence, which have so
laden themselves with thick clay,
that they have much ado to get up
into the pulpit of God; do they
not know that it is their duty,
that they may please Him who
hath chosen them to be soldiers,
not to entangle themselves with
the affairs of this life, and that
they ought for the peace and
wealth of the Church to follow
the example of their Lord and
Master, &c. then is it a small
matter for them to leave their

“thousands and be content with
their hundreds.”

dicit Matth. 8. ‘Quid filius ho-
minis non habet, &c. hoc est,
non habet humanitas, sanctitatis
et proprietarium dominando. Qua
ergo fronde episcopi nostri castar
audent in dominio chivii se sic ex-
tollere super Christianam?”

[3]"Disput., aliaribus temporibus sub Christi Evangelio esse rationem, ac olim fuit sub lege Moseaica: divinitatis honoribus Deum
prisci et indolentes sacerdotibus, at
Evangeli ministros pauperes et in-
glorios vivere oportere, ad Christi
Servatoris nostrorum exemplum et
Apostolorum.” Saravia, de Hon.
Presul. et Presbyteri debito, c. 4.
Vid. Wicliff. ubi sup.]
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, allege not this as Julian sometime did Beati pauperes¹ unto Christians, when his meaning was to spoil then 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 also², "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 proceed³ by one and the same rule."

XXIV. 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 living, but even of life, yet what 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 the same. 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!

[2.] 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 hands of the simple multitude that are such indeed, to the end that those who thirst for the spoil of spiritual possessions may tell such time as they have their

¹ [Psalm vii. 8.]
² [Epiph. contra Haeres. lib. iii. cap. 70. c. 1. ]
³ [1 Cor. xi. 1.]
² Phil. iii. 16.
hearts, and walk in the paths of a most exact life. Whether it was 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 this thereto their spitefulest 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 favourable pardon, if it shall seem a fault thus far to presume; or if otherwise, your wonted courteous acceptation.

—“Sine me haec haud mollia fatu
Sublatis aperire doles.”
Aeneid. lib. xii. [35]

[4.] First, 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 publicly 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-proceedings 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 silence 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 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 Belshazzar, 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? Woe worth such impious and irreligious profanations! 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

1 Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxvii. [c. iii. (A.D. 367.)]
2 Damasus et Ursinus [Ursinus supra humanum
modum ad raipendi episcopatus
sedem ardentem, scissis studis as
perimine confiditabant, adusque
mortis vulnerumque discrimina
adjungentes utriusque progressis...
constatque in basilica Sicini, ubi
ritus Christiani est conventicum,
uno die cxxxvii. reperta cadaver
peremptorum; efferaturque diu
pielem aegre postea deteniantm.”
P. 60. ed. Vales.
prefix. ed. Par. 1630.]
4 Nemo gradum sacerdotii preti
venalitate mercetur; quantum
quisque mereatur, non quantum
dare sufficiat, aestimetur. Profecto
VOL. III.

“enim, quis locum tue et qua causa
esse poterit excusari, si veneranda
Dei templo pecunia expungentur?
Quem murum integritatis aut val-
lum [fidel] providemus, si auri
sacra fasces in perpetuam vener-
da proserpat? quae denique cau-
tum esse poterit aut securum, si
sancitas incorrupta corrupentur?
Cesset altarius immine profa-
nus arbor avaritiæ, et a sacris
adytis repellatur piaculare flagi-
tium. Itaque castus et humilis
nostros temporibus eligatur epi-
scopus, ut vocamus locorum
perveniunt, omnia vitae propriae
integritate purifict. Nec pretio
sed precibus ordinare antistes.”
L. 31. C. de Episc. et Cler. [Cod.
Just. lib. i. tit. 3. lex 31.].
number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into seat of episcopal regiment.

[5.] Secondly, 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, "τοιαύτα μὲν ἄξιωτα, δύσηδειν ἐκ τῶν εὐσκόπων; a thing "highly to be accounted of, but an 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 pertain 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 belongeth unto government, as empirics learn physic 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 government were bishops.

[6.] Thirdly, Know we never so well what belongeth unto a charge of so great moment, yet can we be therein proceed but with hazard of public 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.

[7.] These three rehears'd 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's sake rather than with serious intent to do good, when their courts erected for the maintenance of good order, are disorder'd, 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 growth out of these defects must needs be exceeding great. In a minister, ignorance and disability to teach is a main; 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 unsufficiency of most parishes throughout the land to maintain them, both public 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 growth by themselves burdened with silly creatures more than need, whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very order itself into contempt.¹

It may be that the fear of a Quare impedit² doth cause institutions to pass more easily than otherwise they would³.

¹ [Dr. Bridges, Def. of the Government, &c. p. 488, takes notice of a similar oversight: "With dutiful submission to their authority, we wish that some even of our bishops had been so careful in their time that they had not admitted some though prettily learned yet too headstrong and newfangled ministers, that since they have entered into the ministry, forgetting the oath of their canonical obedience to their prince, and they have, and do make, all, or the most part, of these stirs. But their carelessness in admitting such hath been since most well punished by these their disobedient and unthankful children. And some also they have admitted into this function too unlearned (we confess) and unworthy ministers, and so are not altogether clear of maintaining the continual nurseries of ignorance and igno-

² [Bp. Cooper, Adm. p. 147. "As for the corruption in bestowing other meaner livings, the chief fault thereof is in patrons themselves. For it is the usual manner of the most part of these (I speak of too good experience) though they may have good store of able men in the Universities, yet if an ambitious or greedy minister come not unto them to sue for the bene-
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.

[8.] Shall we look for care in admittance 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 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 do they not I trust offend by sale, as by unadvised gift of such preferments, wherein that ancient canon1 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 public good of the Church it will hardly stand, that in any one person such favours be more multiplied than law permiteth in those livings which are with cure.

[9.] 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, these are things that visitors should seek. When these things are inquired of formally, and but for custom’s 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.

[10.] 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.

[11.] 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 helps; 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 amongst the meaner, and what with disusage amongst the higher sort, they are in the eyes of both sorts as bees that have 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.

[12.] 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.

[13.] Most wretched are the terms of men's estate when once they are at a point of wretchedness 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 regimen 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 to decay: but whom shall their successors sue for the dilapidations which they make of that credit, the unrepaid 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?

[14.] 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, whereby 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 part and just suspicion of like practice in some, in procuring the undeserved preferments of some unworthy persons, the very cause of

---

1 Egisip. Hist. c. 56. [Nactus "igitur Herodes regnum, quod a Romanis pro oppugnate vel pro dita patriae mercede acceperat, in locum Antigoni . . . substituit, ece sores in sacerdotium, non Asiae monaei generis, quos clarioris suisse prosapia acceperitus, sed ignobiles quisque quos aut libido aut causas dedisset . . . In hujusmodi ordinaria tioibus Archelaus securus paterna speciem consuetudinis, angustioris animi tenuit, secatendum: nunc quodam insisto mortalibus, ut apud eos minus suspecta sit ignavia hebeticorum, quam gratia honorum." in Bibl. P. Colen. ii. 1003 F.]

* [I. e. Hosippus (or Josippus), de Belle Judaica: a compilation from Josephus in Latin, and in some MSS. ascribed to S. Ambrose. It was printed several times in the sixteenth century, from 1511 to 1583, and by Weber, Merburg, 1864. Vid. Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 216; Cullier. ii. 2. § 5; Weiss in Bibl. Lit. 1886.]