Subjection ought to be unrepining.

BOOK VIII. He that resisteth them, resisteth God: and resisted they are, if either the authority itself which they exercise be denied, as by Anabaptists all secular jurisdiction is; or if resistance be made but only so far forth as doth touch their persons which are invested with power (for they which said, Notus hunc regnare, did not utterly exclude regiment; nor did they wish all kind of government clean removed, which would not at the first have David govern): or if that which they do by virtue of their power, namely, their laws, edicts, sentences, or other acts of jurisdiction, be not suffered to take effect, contrary to the blessed Apostle's most holy precept, "Obey them that 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 contumaciously or repiningly done, because we can do no otherwise. In such sort the Israelites in the desert 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 for more conscience, knowing, that he which resisteth them, purchaseth unto himself condemnation." Disobedience therefore unto laws which are made by men is not a thing of so small account as some would make it. Howbeit, too rigorously it were, that the breach of every human law should be held a deadly sin: a mean there is between those extremities, if so be we can find it out.

APPENDIX, No. II.

A Discovery of the Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions concerning Church Government, out of the Fragments of Richard Hooker.

Contention ariseth, either through error in men's judgments, or else disorder in their affections. When contention doth grow by error in judgment, it ceaseth not

"dicated: out of the rude draughts of Lancet Andrews, late bishop of Winchester." Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, A.D. 1641. This is part of a collection entitled, "Certain brief Treatises, written by diverse learned men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church: wherein both the primitive institution of Episcopacy is maintained, and the lawfulness of the Ordination of the Protestant Ministers beyond the seas likewise defended." The other fragments are, "The original of Bishops and Metropolitans, briefly laid down by Martin Bucer, John Reinoels and James archbishop of Armagh." "A Disquisition touching Proconsular Asia and its seven Churches," by Ussher: "A Declaration of the Patriarchal Government of the ancient Church," by Edward Bremwood; "A brief Declaration of the several forms of Government received in the Reformed Churches beyond the seas," by John Durel; and, "The Lawfulness of the Ordination of the Ministers of those Churches, maintained against the Romanists," by Francis Mason. If the fragment in question be Hooker's, (a point on which the editor does not feel entitled to express any decided opinion; but is rather inclined to hold the negative,) it may have been sketched by way of hints for the conclusion of the whole work; and for that reason it is interspersed here. Compare the latter part of Cranmer's letter to Hooker, subjoined to the fifth book in this edition.

Archdeacon Cotton informs the editor, that this paper is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in MS. D. 3. 3.) in the handwriting of some person unknown, "but certainly," Mr. Gibbons adds, "the same amanuensis, who copied the latter portions of the Sermon on Pride, and also the Appendix, to B. v. together with B. vi. This may afford a reason for ascribing the Paper to Hooker." The marginal references to Scripture are in Ussher's hand, as likewise several slight corrections in the text. It is highly probable that this is the very MS. from which the printed copy was taken; more especially at p. 5, line 22, where the writer has added a side-note to the printer, "a larger space between these:" which has been followed: the space left there being wider than between any other two paragraphs of the tract." Mr. Gibbons adds that the Title or Heading is Ussher's. But it makes no mention of Hooker, standing as follows: "The Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions concerning Church-Government."

1 [Possevino de Rebus Muscovitico, p. 5. A.D. 1581. "Concionatores non habent sed tantum, quas diximus, vitas sanctorum, vel eorum, quos pro sanctis venerantur, atque homilii partem ut dixit (a D. presbiter Chrysostomo) a Poppis suis audient."


Concionatoribus carent. Satia esse putant interiusse saecus, ac evangelii, epistolarium, aliorumque doctorem verba, quae vernacula lingua recitab sacra audisse: ad hoc quod varius opiniones ac haereses, quae ex conscientibus plerumque oriuntur, "esse effugere credunt." ap. Rer. 1.

* But Ussher afterwards erased the direction:—as Mr. Gibbons informs the Editor.
Whether civil Interference be for the Church's Peace.

BOOK VIII.
Appendix.
No. 8.

**contentions amongst preachers, and by their occasion amongst others, forbade preaching utterly throughout all his dominions; and instead thereof commanded certain sermons of the Greek and Latin Fathers to be translated, and them to be read in public assemblies, without adding a word of their own thereunto upon pain of death. He thought by this politic devise to bring them to agreement, or at least to cover their disagreement. But so bad a policy was no fit salve for so great a sore.**

We may think perhaps, that punishment would have been more effectual to that purpose. For neither did Solomon speak without book in saying1, that when “folly is bound up in the heart of a child, the rod of correction must drive it out;” and experience doth shew, that when error hath once disquieted the minds of men and made them restless, if they do not fear they will terrify. Neither hath it repented the Church at any time to have used the rod in moderate severity for the speedier reclaiming of men from error, and the reuniting2 such as by schism have sndered themselves. But we find by trial, that as being taught and not terrified, they shut their ears against the word of truth, and soothe themselves in that wherewith custom or sinister persuasion hath inclined them: so contrariwise, if they be terrified and not taught, their punishment doth not commonly work their amendment.

As Moses therefore, so likewise Aaron; as Zerubabel, so Jehoshua; as the prince which hath laboured by the sceptre of righteousness and sword of justice to end strife, so the prophets which with the book and doctrine of salvation have soundly and wisely endeavoured to instruct the ignorant in those litigious points where-with the Church is now troubled: whether by preaching, as Apollos among the Jews; or by disputing, as Paul at Athens, or by writing, as the learned in their several times and ages heretofore, or by conferring in synods and councils, as Peter, James, and others at Jerusalem, or by any the like allowable and laudable means; their praise is worthy in the gospel; and their portion in that promise which God hath made by his prophet3, “They that turn many unto righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever;” I say, whosoever have soundly and wisely endeavoured by those means to reclaim the ignorant from their error, and to make peace.

Want of sound proceeding in church controversies hath made many more stiff in error now than before.

Want of wise and discreet dealing, hath much hindered the peace of the Church. It may be thought, and is, that Arius had never raised those tempestuous storms which we read he did; if Alexander, the first that withstood the Arians' heresy, had borne himself with greater moderation, and been less eager1 in so good a cause. Sulpius Severus doth note as much in the dealings of Iacatius4 against the favourers of Priscillian, when that heresy was but green and new sprung up. For by overmuch vehemency against Jactantius5 and his mates, a spark was made a flame: insomuch that thereby the seditious waxed rather more fierce than less troublesome. In matters of so great moment, whereupon the peace or disturbance of the Church is known to depend, if there were in us that reverend care which should be; it is not possible we should either speak at any time without fear, or ever write but with a trembling hand. Do they consider whereabout they go, or what it is they have in hand, who taking upon them the causes of God, deal only or chiefly against the persons of men?

We cannot altogether excuse ourselves in this respect, whose home controversies and debates at this day, although I trust they be as the strife of Paul with Barnabas and not with Elymas, yet because there is a truth, which on the one side being unknown hath caused contention, I do wish it had pleased Almighty God, that in setting it out, those offences had not grown, which I had rather bewail with secret tears than public speech.

Nevertheless as some sort of people is reported to have bred a detestation of drunkenness in their children by presenting the deformity thereof in servants, so it may come to pass (I wish it might) that we beholding more foul deformity in the face and countenance of a common adversary, shall be induced to correct some smaller blemishes in our own. Ye are not ignorant of the Demons'6, 7

Mosc. Auct. varii, Francol. 1600. It appears from King's Greek Church, p. 433, that Iwan Basi-lowitz held a synod in 1542, in which possibly the law in question might be enacted. He was very jealous of the progress of Luther-

* the easier reuniting. ** See in the same collection, p. 290, Hist. Belli Li-

vonicici, per Tillm. Bredenbach, 1563. 1 Prov. xxii. 15. 2 2 Cor. viii. 18. 3 Dan. xii. 3.

Excesses of the Popish Party a Warning to us. 463

BOOK VIII.
Appendix.
No. 2.

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1 [Socr. E. H. i. 6. πολε οργη

[εγγυτηρας.]

2 Lib. ii. § 61.] “Is vero sine

modo, et ultra quam oportuit, “mends to be proposed by the

Instantium sociosque ejus laces-

sens, facem quandam nascenti

“incendio subedit: ut exaspera-

verit malos potius quam oppres-

sens.”

3 [Bristow's “Fifty-one De-

Catholics to the Heretics.” Lond.

1592. 400.]
Prayer, the great Mean of Reconciliation.

BOOK VIII. Motives, Censures, Apologies, Defences, and other writings, which our great enemies have published under colour of seeking peace; promising to bring nothing but reason and evident remonstrance of truth. But who seeth not how full gorged they are with vain, slanderous, and immodest speeches, tending much to the disgrace, to the disproof nothing, of that cause which they endeavour to overthrow? "Will you speak wickedly for God's defence?" saith Job. Will you dip your tongues in gall and your pens in blood, when you write and speak in his cause? Is the truth confirmed, are men convicted of their error when they are upbraided with the miseries of their condition and estate? When their understanding, wit, and knowledge is depressed? When suspicions and rumours, without respect how true or how false, are objected to diminish their credit and estimation in the world? Is it likely that Inveectives, Epigrams, Dialogue, Epistles, Libels, laden with contumelies and criminations, should be the means to procure peace? Surely they which do take this course, "the way of peace they have not known." If they did but once enter into a stayed consideration with themselves what they do, no doubt they would give over and resolve with Job, "Behold I am vile, what shall I answer? I will lay my hand upon my mouth. If I have spoken once amiss, I will speak no more; or if twice, I will proceed no further."

II. But how sober and how sound soever our proceeding be in these causes; all is in vain which we do to abate the errors of men, except their unruly affections be bridled. Self-love, vainglory, impatience, pride, pertinacy, these are the bane of our peace. And these are not conquered or cast out, but by prayer. Pray for Jerusalem, and your prayer shall cause "the hills to bring forth peace;" peace shall distil and "come down like the rain upon the mown grass, and as the showers that water the earth." We have used all other means, and behold we are frustrate, we have laboured in vain. In disputations, whether it be because men are ashamed to acknowledge their errors before many witnesses, or because extremity doth exclude mature and ripe advice without which the truth cannot soundly and thoroughly be demonstrated, or because

\[\text{ye D.}\]

\[\text{1 The same author's "Sure ways to find out the Truth, or Motives into the Catholic Faith," Antwerp, 1574. 8vo.}\]

\[\text{2 [Allen's "Apology of the English Seminaries at Rome and Rheims," Mons, 1581.]}\]

\[\text{[Campian's "Censure upon two books written in answer to Edmund Campian's offer of Disputation." Douay, 1581; and Defence of the same by Parsons, 1582.]}\]

\[\text{3 Job xiii. 7. 4 Job xi. 4, 5. 5 Psalm cxii. 3, 6.}\]

Account of the new Arrangement of the Eighth Book.

the fervour of contention doth so disturb men's understanding, that they cannot sincerely and effectually judge: in books and sermons, whether it be because we do speak and write with too little advice, or because you do hear and read with too much prejudice: in all human means which have hitherto been used to procure peace; whether it be because our dealings have been too feeble, or the minds of men with whom we have dealt too too impicable, or whatsoever the cause or causes have been: forasmuch as we see that as yet we fail in our desires, yet the ways which we take to be most likely to make peace, do but move strife; O that we would now hold our tongues, leave contending with men, and have our talk and treaty of peace with God. We have spoken and written enough of peace: there is no way left but this one, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem.

APPENDIX, No. III.

A Table, shewing how the several portions of the Eighth Book in Dobson's edition, 1825, Vol. II. are distributed in the present.

I. "We come now," p. 379, to "lawfully overrule," p. 391. See above, c. i. 1–ii. 3.

II. "It hath been declared," p. 391, to "ecclesiastical laws," p. 393. See above, c. ii. 17.

III. "Unto which supreme," p. 393, to "most reasonable," p. 402. See above, c. ii. 4–16.


V. "For the title or style," p. 404, to "ought to have," p. 405. See above, c. iv. 8.

VI. "These things being first," p. 405, to "Hercules to tame them," p. 418. See above, c. iv. 1–7.

VII. "The last difference," p. 418, to "or to any part," p. 422. See above, c. iv. 9–12.

1 Psalm cxxii. 6.
APPENDIX, No. IV.

The following are detached notes in the Dublin MS. which occur, Book VIII., with an interval of one blank page, immediately after the dissertation on the making of laws, p. 419. The words "one man," at the top, probably refer to some passage intended to be produced for refutation.

"One man. Then could not any of them be under another's authority so far as thereby to be either licensed or hindered in those things which he doth by the said power, but God alone should himself on earth authorize and disauthorize all that bare rule in the Church. "Wherefore, to set down briefly that which we hold for truth. "Power ecclesiastical itself is originally God's ordinance; he hath appointed it to be; and therefore in that respect on him only they all which have it are most rightly said to depend. The "derivation of that power into the several persons which have it is "the proper deed of the Church, and of those high ministers which are in that case appointed to ordain and consecrate such as from "time to time shall exercise and use the same.

"Furthermore, sith when they have that power, it resteth nevertheless unexercised, except some part of the people of God be permitted them to work upon; they most of necessity for the "peaceable and quiet practice of their authority upon the persons of "men, where all are subject to a Christian king, depend in that "respect on him also. By holding therefore this dependency "whereof we speak, it is not meant that either the king did first "institute, or that he doth confer and give, the grace of eccle-"siastical presidency; but only add unto it exercise by the further-"ance of his supereminent authority and power, without the pres-"dominant concurrency whereof spiritual jurisdiction could take no "effect, men's persons could not in open and orderly sort be subject "thereunto. A bishop, whose calling is authorized wholly from "God, and received by imposition of sacred hands, can execute safely "no act of episcopal authority on any one of the king's liege people, "otherwise than under him who hath sovereignty over them all."

The election of Bishops.

At the first, the first created in the College of Presbyters was still the Bishop: he dying, the next senior did succeed. "Sed

1 [Compare B. vii. xi. 8. p. 211.]
Memoranda on Church Privileges.

BOOK VII.

"quia ceperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inventi ad primatus
"tenendos, immutata est ratio; prospicienti Concilio ut non ordo sed
"meritum crearet Episcopum, sicutur sacerdotum judicium constitutu-
"teum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum."
Ambr. in 4. ad Eph.

"Apud nos Apostolorum locum episcopi tenent. Bishops, the
Vallars.) "ad Marcell." "Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum
"loquar, qui Apostolico gradui succedentes Christi Corpus sacro
"ore conseruent." "Speech against the clergy of God irreligious.

"Privileges granted unto the Clergy. A law in general, to make
"good all such privileges as by way of honour had been granted to
"the clergy before, the Roman emperor thought himself bound
"in conscience to ratify." L. xii. c. De Sacr. Eccl. [Cod. i. tit. ii.
lex 12. A. D. 454. "Privilegia, qua generalibus constitutionibus
"universis sacrosanctis ecclesiis orthodoxae religionis retro Principes
"prestiturunt, firma et illustga in perpetuum decernimus custodiri."]

"Again, whereas Church lands did before stand charged with ordi-
"nary burdens even of the meanest kind, this the law imperial
"taketh away as a thing contumelious unto religion, and giveth for
"the time to come a privilege of immunity from such burdens.
"Prima illius usurpationis contumelia depellenda est, ne prædia
"usibus coelestium secretorum dedicata, sordidorum munerum face
"concessimus Deo, et hac presenti charta nostra confirmavimus,
"pro nobis et hæreditibus nostris in perpetuum, quod Ecclesia An-
"glica libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates