

BOOK VIII. He that resisteth them, resisteth God: and resisted they are^v, if either the authority itself which they exercise be denied, as by Anabaptists all secular jurisdiction is^z; 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 clean^a removed, which would not at the first have David govern^b): or if that which they do by virtue of their power, namely, their laws, edicts, sentences^c, or other acts of jurisdiction, be not suffered to take effect, contrary to the blessed Apostle's most holy precept^d, "Obey them that have the oversight of you¹." Or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby satisfied neither, as long as that which we do is contemptuously 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^e mere conscience, knowing, that he which resisteth them, purchaseth unto himself condemnation." Disobedience therefore unto laws which are made by men^f 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 those extremities, if so be we can find it out.

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APPENDIX, No. II.

A Discovery of the Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions concerning Church Government, out of the Fragments of Richard Hooker².

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

^v be E.C.L.Q. ^z jurisdictions E. ^a clearly E. ^b to govern E.Q.
^c services E. ^d rule E. ^e of E.L. ^f them E.

¹ Heb. xiii. 17.

² [Prefixed to "A Summarie
view of the government both of
"the Old and New Testament,
"whereby the episcopal govern-
ment of Christ's Church is vin-

till men by instruction come to see wherein they err, and what it is that did deceive them. Without this, there is neither policy nor punishment that can establish peace in the Church.

The Moscovian emperor¹, being weary of the infinite strifes and

"dicated: out of the rude draughts
"of Lancelot 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 Govern-
"ment of the Church: wherein
"both the primitive institution of
"Episcopacy is maintained, and
"the lawfulness of the Ordination
"of the Protestant Ministers be-
"yond the seas likewise defended."
The other fragments are, "The ori-
"ginal of Bishops and Metropoli-
"tans, briefly laid down by Martin
"Bucer, John Reynolds and James
"archbishop of Armagh;" "A Dis-
"quisition touching Proconsular
"Asia and its seven Churches,"
by Ussher; "A Declaration of the
"Patriarchal Government of the
"ancient Church," by Edward
Brerewood; "A brief Declaration
"of the several forms of Govern-
"ment received in the Reformed
"Churches beyond the seas," by
John Durel; and "The Lawful-
"ness of the Ordination of the
"Ministers of those Churches,
"maintained against the Roman-
"ists," by Francis Mason. If the
fragment in question be Hooker's,
(a point on which the editor does
not feel entitled to express any de-
cided opinion; but is rather in-
clined 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 in-
serted 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. Gibbings adds,
"the same amanuensis, who copied
"the latter portions of the Sermon
"on Pride, and also the Appendix i.
"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 as at p. 5. line 22,
"Ussher has added a side-note to
"the printer, 'a larger space be-
"twixt these:.'† which has been
"followed: the space left there
"being wider than between any
"other two paragraphs of the
"tract." Mr. Gibbings 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 Con-
"tentions concerning Church-Gov-
"ernment."]

¹ [Possevin de Rebus Muscoviticis, p. 5. A. D. 1581. "Concionatores non habent, sed tantum, "quas diximus, vitas sanctorum, "vel eorum, quos pro sanctis venerationantur, atque homiliae partem "ut dixi (a D. praesertim Chry- "sostomo) a Poppis suis audiunt." Herberstein, Rerum Moscovitic. Comment. p. 31. "Doctores quos "sequuntur sunt Basilius magnus, "Gregorius, et Joannes Chrysos- "tomus." Concionatoribus carent. "Satis esse putant interfuisse sa- "cris, ac evangelii, epistolarum, "aliorumque doctorum verba, quae "vernacula lingua recitat sacrificus "audivisse: ad hoc, quod varias "opiniones ac haereses, quae ex "concionibus plerumque oriuntur, "sese effugere credunt." ap. Rer.

† But Ussher afterwards erased the direction:—as Mr. Gibbings informs the Editor.

BOOK VIII. contentions amongst preachers, and by their occasion amongst others, forbad 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 reuniting^u such as by schism have sundered 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 inured 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 wherewith 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 worthily in the gospel², 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

^u the easier reuniting. *So in D.*

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

anism in Livonia. See in the same collection, p. 220, Hist. Belli Livonici, per Tilm. Bredenbach, 1563.]

¹ Prov. xxii. 15.

² 2 Cor. viii. 18.

³ Dan. xii. 3.

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. Sulpitius Severus doth note as much in the dealings of Idacius² against the favourers of Priscillian, when that heresy was but green and new sprung up. For by overmuch vehemency against Jactantius^y 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 whereabouts 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 sifting 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^z 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 Demands^z,

^y Instantius D.

^z deformities D.

¹ [Socr. E. H. i. 6. πρὸς ὀργήν ἐξάντερα.] "verit malos potius quam oppres-
"serit."]

² Lib. ii. § [61.] "Is vero sine
"modo, et ultra quam oportuit,
"Instantium sociosque ejus laces-
"sens, facem quandam nascenti
"incendio subdidit: ut exaspera-

³ [Bristow's "Fifty-one De-
"mands to be proposed by the
"Catholics to the Heretics." Lond.
1592. 4to.]

BOOK VIII. Motives¹, Censures², Apologies³, 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 virulent, 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^a 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 Invectives, Epigrams, Dialogues, 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 known⁵." If they did but once enter into a stayed consideration with themselves what they do, no doubt they would give over and resolve with Job⁶, "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 peace⁷:" 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 extemporality doth exclude mature and ripe advice without which the truth cannot soundly and thoroughly be demonstrated, or because

^a ye D.

¹ [The same author's "Sure Defence of the same by Parsons, ways to find out the Truth, or 1582.]

"Motives unto the Catholic Faith." Antwerp, 1574. 8vo.]

² [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.]

³ [Allen's "Apology of the English Seminaries at Rome and Rheims." Mons, 1581.]

⁴ Job xiii. 7. ⁵ Rom. iii. 17.

⁶ Job xl. 4, 5.

⁷ Psalm lxxii. 3, 6.

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 implacable, or whatsoever the cause or causes have been: forasmuch as we see that as yet we fail in our desires, yea 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^b: there is no way^c left but this one¹, "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.
- IV. "The cause of deriving," p. 402, to "hath been shewed," p. 404.
See above, c. ii. 18. iii. 1.
- 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.

^b for peace D.

^c there is *now* no way D.

¹ Psalm cxxii. 6.

- BOOK VIII. VIII. "Among sundry prerogatives," p. 422, to "and others," p. 423.
 Appendix, No. 3. See above, c. v. 1. latter part.
- IX. "The consuls of Rome," p. 423, to "than the other," *ibid.*
 See above, c. v. 1. former part.
- X. "Wherefore the clergy," *ibid.* to "shall not need," *ibid.*
 See above, c. v. 2. last paragraph.
- XI. "The ancient imperial," *ibid.* to "meetings ecclesiastical," p. 425.
 See above, c. v. 2. former part.
- XII. "There are which wonder," p. 425, to "do withstand," p. 432.
 See above, c. vi. 10-14. former part.
- XIII. "Touching the king's," p. 432, to "of the truth therein," p. 443.
 See above, c. viii. 1-9.
- XIV. "The case is not like," p. 443, to "assent not asked," p. 449.
 See above, c. vi. 4-9.
- XV. "Yea, that which is more," p. 449, to "can find it out," p. 453.
 See above, Appendix to B. VIII. No. I.

A Table, shewing the arrangement of the fragments in Bernard's Clavi Trabales, as compared with the present Edition.

- P. 65. "The service which we do," to "kings and priests," p. 71.
 See above, c. iii. 2-6.
- P. 71. "Wherein it is," to "unto kings," p. 72.
 See above, c. vi. 14. note 1, p. 418.
- P. 72. "Although not both," to "over the Church," *ibid.*
 See above, c. vi. 14. latter part.
- P. 73. "The case is not like," to "commonwealth hath simply," p. 76.
 See above, c. vi. 4-6.
- P. 77. "Touching the advancement," to "sufficiently spoken before," p. 86.
 See above, c. vii. 1-7.
- P. 86. "As therefore the person" to "he came not," p. 87.
 See above, c. viii. 7, 8.
- P. 88. "Besides these testimonies," to "bear rule," *ibid.*
 See above, c. viii. 8. note 3, p. 440.
- P. 88. "We may by these testimonies," to "the truth therein," p. 92.
 See above, c. viii. 9.
- P. 92. "The last thing," to "accountable to any," p. 94.
 See above, c. ix. 1, 2.

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. Appendix, No. 4.

"*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 must 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 ecclesiastical presidency; but only add unto it exercise by the furtherance of his supereminent authority and power, without the predominant 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 Bishop¹: he dying, the next senior did succeed him. "Sed

¹ [Compare B. vii. xi. 8. p. 211.]

BOOK VIII.

Appendix,
No. 4.

“quia cœperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio ; prospiciente Concilio ut non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, multorum sacerdotum iudicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum.” Ambr. in 4. ad Eph.

“Apud nos Apostolorum locum episcopi tenent. Bishops, the Apostles’ successors. Hieron. Epist. 54.” (al. 41. tom. i. 187. ed. Vallars.) “ad Marcell.” “Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar, qui Apostolico gradui succedentes Christi Corpus sacro ore conficiunt.” “Speech against the clergy of God irreligious. Hieron. Ep. 1. ad Heliodor.” (al. 14. § 8. t. i. 33.)

“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 Sac. Eccl. [Cod. i. tit. ii. lex 12. A. D. 454. “Privilegia, quæ generalibus constitutionibus universis sacrosanctis ecclesiis orthodoxæ religionis retro Principes præstiterunt, firma et illibata in perpetuum decernimus custodiri.”] “Again, whereas Church lands did before stand charged with ordinary 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 cœlestium secretorum dedicata, sordidorum munerum fæce vexentur.” L. v. c. De Sac. Eccles. [A. D. 412.] “Imprimis concessimus Deo, et hac præsentī charta nostra confirmavimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum, quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas illæsas.” Magn. Chart. cap. 1.