hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home.

[4.] He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these: a standing ecclesiastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court: these two sorts to have the care of all men’s manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to conven, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whosoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted.

This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moonlight, or howsoever, being departed; to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy?

Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this propo-

1 [Capito, of Basle, writes thus to Farel in Calvin's Epist. p. 6. “Au-

ditis Tyranni esse voluisistis in

liberam ecclesiam, voluisistis novum

Pontificatum revocare.” Beza:

“Non deorant ... qui Papistam

“prodem sic revocati clamita-
tent.”]

2 Chr. Letter. p. 39. “After

speaking of his restoring and

reestablishing of discipline, you

have in one place, Many things

might lead them (to be more de-
sirous of him). And in another

place, ‘he righteously considered,’

&c. ‘This I see not how the wisest,’ &c. Therefore we pray you to tell us how

such ‘might lead’ and ‘may

beest,’ such entering into his

thought, and crosse commend-
ing that for his divine which he

simply proponed as out of the

scriptures of God, may not drop

into your reader heart such un-

heeded impressions, as may make

him highly admire R. H. great

man and judicious wisedome,

and J. Calvin's carnall police, fine

hypocrisie and peremptorie folly.”

Hooker, M.S. note. “‘Safer to
discuss all the saints in heaven

than M. Calvin. Howe bold they

are themselves with as great men

as M. Calvin, namely, Chryso-

stone, Jerome, Ambrose, Austin.

Calvin himself not hereby justified

from censuring both the deedes

and writings of men which went

before him.”—The acts of every

present age most sincerely judged

of by posterity. While men are

living the judgment of their friends

is perverted with love, the verdict

of their enemies corrupt through

envye.”

That Calvin's bitterness was a
great cause to aggrivate his trouble.

His nature from a child observed

by his own parents, as Beza

noteth, was propense to sharpe

and severe reprehension where he

thought any fault was. (Destina-

tum cum pater ab initio theologoe

studii, ad quae utro illum ineli-

geret, ut honestam etiam et eternam

eternam etiam atque mirum in muni-

dum religious esset, et severus

omnium in suis sodalibVs vitiorem

censor’.) And this not to be mis-

liked in him.

But his maner of dealing

against them which were in deed

bad men was that which wrought

him self much wo, and did them

no good. His friends saw this, as

appeareth by his 95 Epist. unto

Farelus. [N. suo more rescrp-

sise non infinitius est Bucerus.

Nam hoc unum causatus est cur

mibi non recitaret, quia nollet

mibi frustra stornachum movere.

Hinc collige quatum amarulum-

tie fuerit, quod ille judicavit pro
had some fear, that the filling up of the seats in the
consistory with so great a number of laymen was but to
please the minds of the people, to the end they might
think their own sway somewhat; but when things came
to trial of practice, their pastors' learning would be at all
times of force to over-persuade simple men, who knowing
the time of their own presidenship to be but short would
always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority:
and among the ministers themselves, one being so far in
estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were
likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a
kind of secret dependency and awe: so that in show a
marvellous indifferently composed senate ecclesiastical was

“sua prudentia non possa me
sine gravissime Offensione trans-
mittit.” p. 383. “His own words
declaring how in his sermons he
handled and dealt with his adver-
saries, Epist. 15.” [Ita ejus
impendit paene pietas et aperte etiam
pro concione sagullabam, ut nihil
minus aut ipsi aut aliis dubius
asses sermo, quam si vel nominas-
bation vel caput demonstrassier,”
p. 19. On his deathbed he thus
expressed himself to the senators of
Geneva: “Ulytr corte agnosco me
volvis hoc quoque nomine pluris-
mum deubre, quod vehementiam
illam meam interum immodera-
tum sequi animo tulistis.” Beza.
“His usage of H. 8. hir M. father
that now is. Such courses of con-
demned by Beza in the fourth of
his Epistles against one Adrian a
Dutch minister, p. 42.” [Hoc
certe non fuit vel prudentis vel
boni etiam pastoris in illustrissi-
um illum Principem nominat
declamare.”
Id. note on p. 37. “Remember
to make a comparison between
Calvin and Beza, how different
they were in natural disposition,
and yeat how linked in unity and
“concord, Calvin being of a stiff
“nature, Beza of a pliable, the one
“stern and severe, the other tract-
able and gentle. Both wise and
“discreet men. Whereby we see
“what it is for any one church or
place of government to have two,
one succeeding another, and both
in their ways excellent, although
“unlike. For Beza was one whom
“no man would please, Calvin
“one whom no man durst. His
“dependants both abroad and at
“home; his intelligence from far;
“rein churches; his correspond-
dence every where with the
“chieftest, his industry in pursuing
“them which did at any time openly
“either withstand his proceedings
“or gainsay his opinions; his booke
“intilled, contra Nebulonem quen-
dam;” his writing but of three
“lines in disgrace of any man as
“forcible as any proscription
“throughout all reformed churches;
his rescripts and answers of as
“great authority as decreal epis-
cules. His grace in preaching the
“mearest of all other gifts in him,
“[Facundiae consensor et verbo-
“rum parcum.” Beza] yeat even
“that way so had in honour and
“estimation, that an heater of his
“being asked wherfore he came
“not sometime to other men’s ser-
mans as well as Calvin’s, an-
swered, That if Calvin and S.
“Paul himself should preach both
“at one hour, he would leave S.
“Paul to heare Calvin. Zanch.
tom. VII. Epist. ante Miscell.”
This reference is from the C. C. C.
Transcript.]

Jealousies caused by the Discipline.

“sostomentum secutus vim quidem
“non opponam sed ullo me potius
“occidi facile patiar, quam hac
“manus contemptoribus Dei, rite
“voce ac manu, multa de sacrata
“mysteriis in eorum contempitores
“locutus: ‘At ego, inquit, Chry-

to govern, but in effect one only man should, as the spirit
and soul of the residue, do all in all. But what did
these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so
strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one:
namely, whether they would to their endless disgrace, with
ridiculous lightness dismiss him whose restitution they had
in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend unto
that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or
to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat
hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited.

Wherefore in the end those orders were on all sides assented A.D. 1541.
unto: with no less alacrity of mind than cities unable to hold
out longer are wont to shew, when they take conditions such as
it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow
straits of advantage.

[5.] Not many years were over-passed, before these twice-
sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault
to the fortress of the same discipline; childishly granting [1553.]
by common consent of their whole Senate, and that under
their town seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the
Eldership had excommunicated: further also decreeing,
with strange absurdity, that to the same Senate it should
belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication,
and to absolve whom it pleased them: clean contrary to
their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which
decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin; “Before,”
saith he, “this decree take place, either my blood or banish-
“ment shall sign it.” Again, two days before the com-
munion should be celebrated, his speech was publickly to
like eec: “Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the
“things that are holy to them whom the Church hath
“judged despisers.” Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the
forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time
not to use the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to pre-

[Nov. 20.]

1 [Compare Bancroft, Survey, p. 20.]
2 [Calv. Epist. p. 163.]
3 \inter concionandum, elata
“voce ac manu, multa de sacrata
“mysteriis in eorum contempitores
“locutus: ‘At ego, inquit, Chry-

“sostomentum secutus vim quidem
“non opponam sed ullo me potius
“occidi facile patiar, quam hac
“manus contemptoribus Dei, rite
“voce ac manu, multa de sacrata
“mysteriis in eorum contempitores
“locutus: ‘At ego, inquit, Chry-
sent himself in the church, till they saw somewhat which what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, "therefore," saith he, "the case so standing as now it doth, let me use these words of the apostle unto you, 'I commend you unto God and the word of his grace,'" and so bade them heartily all adieu.

[6.] It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they still continued only constant in unconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetic cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first before they gave assent unto any order had shewed some wit and discretion in them: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore dispatched with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities by their good means might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them: yea so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, if's or and's; the other an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Helvetic Churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the Senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: First, "After what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised:" Secondly, "Whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the Consistory:" Thirdly, "What the use of their Churches was to do in this case:" answer was returned from the said Churches, "That they had heard already of those consistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances drawing towards the prescript of the word of God; for which cause they did not think it good for the Church of Geneva by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were." Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Master Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainly saw, that when stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slack.

[7.] The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was

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1 [Acts xx. 32.]
2 ["Locum illum insigne Ac- tum Apostolicorum forte trac- tantes, in quo Paulus Ecclesiae Eph- "sine valedict, testatus se eum non esse, qui adversus magistra- tum pugnare sciret aut doceret, "cæterum multis verbis cohor- tus, ut in ea quam audivisset do- "rina perseveraret, tandem, veluti "postremam hanc conscientem Ge- "nevae habituros, 'Et quandoqui- "dem, inquit, ita se res habent, "licet mihi quoque, fratres, apud "vos hanc Apostoli verba usurpare, "Commendo vos Deo et sermoni "gratiæ ipsius: t. que voces t. "sceleratos illos mirifice percute- "runt, tum bonos eiam tantum magis "serie officii admonerunt." Beza.] 3 [Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle. See the letters from Calvin to Viret and Bullinger, and the case submitted to the Church of Zurich, with Bullinger's answer, in Calvin's Epistles, p. 163-171.]
4 Epist. 166. 5 [Bullinger to Calvin, Epist. p. 170. "Dudum audivisse nos de "ur. is istius Ecclesie Consisto- "rius, ut agnoscer e illas pias "esse, et accedere ad verbi Dei "prescriptum: idque non videri "admissendum ut per innovationem "mutetur." Calvin's own state- "ment of the affair may be found in "his correspondence, p. 163-172.]
planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth 1, "For that he saw "how needful these bridles were, to be put in the jaws of "that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed.

But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more commendable than that which he sought for the countenancing of it established 2. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpeneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And

1 "Quod earum urbem videret om- "nino, hanc rei nigendis."

2 [Chr. Letter, p. 42. "If such "bolder and bare affirmations may go "for payment, why may we not as "well bear, and believe Maister "Harding, which calleth all the "whole and pure doctrine beleaved "and professed in England, A "wicked new devised of Geneva?"

Hooker, MS. note. "Do you not "yourself call the discipline which "they use in Geneva, a new found "discipline? p. 45. If it be a new "found thing, and not found els- "where till Geneva had erected it; "you must say of discipline, It "is a new devise of Geneva: except "you recant your opinion concern- "ing the newnes of it. For all the "world doth know that the first "practise thereof was in Geneva. "You grant it to be but a new "found thing must either shew us "some author more ancient, or els "acknowledge it as we do to have "been there devised. If you excuse "the speech and say it is ironical, "you betray yourself to be a fa-

all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are which to him did seem to intimate that all Christian churches ought to have their Elderships endowed with power of excommunication, and that a part of those Elderships every where should be chosen out from amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your own church?

[8.] We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of holy Scripture according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whatsoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gaineday; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that discipline was once begun omit: not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences 3 was in the church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that: the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by 4. French churches, both


4 ["What should the world doe "with the old musty doctors? Al- "lege scripture, and shew it al- "leaged in the sense that Calvin "alloweth, and it is of more force "in any man's defense, and to the "proof of any assertion, than if "ten thousand Augustines, Jeromes, "Chrysostomes, Cyprians, or who- "soever els were brought forth."

5 "Do we not daily see that men are "accused of heresie for holding that "which the fathers held, and that "they never are cleere, if they find "not somewhat in Calvin to justify "themselves?" MS. note of Hooker
Disciplinarian Controversy at Heidelberg.

having power to excommunicate, and a part of that Eldership to be of necessity certain chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erasmus as truly the non-necessity of lay elders to be ministers thereof.

[10.] Amongst ourselves, there was in King Edward's days some question moved by reason of a few men's scrupulosity touching certain things. And beyond seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary, some contenting themselves abroad with the use of their own service-book at home authorized before their departure out of the realm, others liking better the Common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva translated, those smaller contentions before begun were by this mean somewhat increased. Under the happy reign of her Majesty which now is, the greatest matter a while contended for was the wearing of the cap and surplice, till there came Admonitions directed unto the high court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it

dioce of London. (Parker I. 429-460. Grind. 142-146.) In 1567 this had led to the establishment of conventicles, (Parker I. 478. Grind. 166) and more extensive reform began to be talked of, (Ann. I. ii. 346) especially in 1570, at Cambridge, which caused Sarjent's expulsion (ibid. 372). In 1571, a bill of alterations was proposed in parliament, which occasioning the Queen's interference, had the effect, as it should seem, of preventing the adoption of the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," which the archbishop at the time had thoughts of, (Ann. I. ii. 93-99. P. I. 62. 63.)

The rejection of Mr. Strickland's bill above mentioned, by the parliament of 1571, led to the immediate publication of the first "Admonitio," so that he could not obtain the royal sanction for the "Advertisements" then issued, (Str. Parker I. 300-349. Ann. I. ii. 125-175.) until the following year; when they occasioned several deprivations in the

under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the selfsame pattern. Till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weak, that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.

[9.] To one of those churches which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adored; unto this church, the Church of Heidelberg, there cometh one who craving leave to dispute publicly defendeth with open disdain of their government, that "to a minister with his Eldership power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomsoever, yea even kings and princes themselves." Here were the seeds sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erasmus about the matter of excommunication, whether there ought to be in all churches an Eldership in the titlepage of "A Christian Letter," &c.

1 ["Two things there are which trouble greatly these later times: one, that the Church of Rome cannot, another, that Geneva will not err." MS. note of Hooker on Ch. Letter, p. 37.]

2 ["Accidit, ut Anglius quidam, qui proper rem vestriam ex Anglia ferebat eccessisse, doctrinis titulo cuperet insigniri, et de adiaphoribus et vestibus disputationem proponeret. Hanc theologiam inueniretur, ne scilicet Anglos offenderent, ut autem nostrae res turbarentur, pro nihilò, ut videtur, duxerunt. Quare inter alias hanc thesis proponitur; opor-tore in quavis recte constituta ecclesia hanc servari procurationem, in qua ministri cum suo delecto ad eam rem presbyterio jus teneant, quosvis peccantes, etiam Principes excommunicandi."
