BOOK VIII. grave^d authentical words¹, "Be it enacted by the authority "of this present parliament, that all and singular articles "and clauses contained in the said dispensation, shall remain "and be reputed and taken to all intents and constructions in "the laws of this realm, lawful, good and effectual to be "alleged and pleaded in all courts ecclesiastical and temporal, "for good and sufficient matter either for the plaintiff or "defendant, without any allegation or objection to be made "against the validity of them by pretence of any general "council, canon, or decree to the contrary." Somewhat belike they thought there was in this mere temporal court, without which the pope's own mere ecclesiastical legate's dispensation had taken small effect in the Church of England; neither did they or the cardinal himself, as then, imagine any thing committed against the law of nature or of God, because they took order for the Church's affairs, and that even in the court of parliament.

> The most natural and religious course in making of g laws is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wisest in those things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to set down a form of publich prayer, a solemn confession of the articles of Christianⁱ faith, rites^j and ceremonies meet for the exercise of religion; it were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit, than men of secular trades and callings: howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for devising to of laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the counsels of physicians to the sick: well might they seem as wholesome admonitions and instructions, but laws could they never be without consent of the whole Church, which is the only thing that bindeth each member of the Church¹, to be guided by them. Whereunto both nature and the practice of the Church of God set down in Scripture, is found every way so fully consonant, that God himself would not impose, no not his own laws upon his people

by the hand of Moses, without their free and open consent. BOOK VIII. Wherefore to define and determine even of the church's affairs by way of assent and approbation, as laws are defined of in that right of power, which doth give them the force of laws; thus to define of our own church's regiment, the parliament of England hath competent authority.

Touching the 1 supremacy of power which our kings have in this case of making laws, it resteth principally in the strength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that without which they were but kings m by mere title, and not in exercise of dominion. Be it in states of regiment popular, aristocratical, or regal, principality resteth in that person, or those persons, unto whom is given the oright of excluding any kind of law whatsoever it be before establishment. This doth belong unto kings, as kings; pagan emperors even Nero himself had not^p less, but much more than this in the laws of his own empire. That he challenged not any interest in q giving voice in the laws of the church, I hope no man will so construe, as if the cause were conscience, and fear to encroach upon the Apostles' right.

If then it be demanded by what right from Constantine downward, the Christian emperors did so far intermeddle with the church's affairs, either we must herein condemn them utterly. as being over presumptuously bold, or else judge that by a law which is termed Regia, that is to say royal, the people having derived intot the emperor their whole power for making of laws, and by that mean his edicts being made laws1, what matter soever they did concern, as imperial dignity endowed* them with competent authority and power to make laws for religion, so they were taught, by Christianity to use their power, being Christians, unto the benefit of the Church of Christ. Was there any Christian bishop in the world which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful subjection which Christians do owe to the pastors of their souls? to whom,

d grand D. • there om. D. f neither did they or the cardinal imagine E. or the cardinal himself, as they imagine, any thing commit Q; commit any thing C.L. s of om. E.Q.C.L. h public om. E.C.L. the Christian E. rites om. E. h the devising E. 1 This clause om. F.

¹ An. 1 et 2 Phil. et Mar. c. 8.

¹ that E.Q.C.L. mkings but E. states of om. E.

1 no E.C.L. of E.Q.C.L. tunto their emperors E.Q.C.L. means E.C.L.Q. endued E. o the om. E. regal E.C.

[&]quot; Quod principi placuit, legis "suum et potestatem concedat *." habet vigorem: cum lege Regia, Inst. [lib. i. t. 2.] de J. N. G. et C. " quæ de ejus imperio lata est, po-"pulus ei et in eum omne imperium

^{* &}quot;cum . . . concedat" om. E.C.L.

BOOK VIII. in respect of their sacred order, it is not by us, neither may be denied, that kings and princes are as much as the very meanest that liveth under them, bound in conscience to shew themselves gladly and willingly obedient, receiving the seals of salvation, the blessed sacraments, at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all reverence, not disdaining to be taught and admonished by them, not withholding from them as much as the least part of their due and decent honour. All which, for any thing that hath been alleged, may stand very well without resignation of supremacy of power in making laws, even laws concerning the most spiritual affairs of the Church.

> Which laws being made amongst us, are not by any of us so taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power which the prince doth communicate unto the parliament, or to any other court under him, but from power which the whole body of this a realm being naturally possessed with, hath by free and deliberate assent derived unto him that ruleth over them, so far forth as hath been declared. So that our laws made concerning religion, do take originally their essence from the power of the whole realm and church of England, than which nothing can be more consonant unto the law of nature and the will of our Lord Jesus Christ.

> [12.] To let these go, and tob return to our own men; "Ecclesiastical governors," they say1, "may not meddle with "theo making of civil laws, and of laws for the commonwealth; "nor the civil magistrate, high or low, with making of orders "for the Church." It seemeth unto me very strange, that thosed men which are in no cause more vehement and fierce. than where they plead that ecclesiastical persons may not κυριεύειν, be lordse, should hold that the power of making ecclesiastical laws, which thing is of all otherf most proper unto

dominion, belongeth to none but persons ecclesiasticalg only. BOOK VIII. Their oversight groweth herein for want of exact observation, what it is to make a law. Tully, speaking of the law of nature, saith, "That thereof God himself was inventor, disceptator, lator, "the deviser, the discusser, the deliverer :" wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefest parts which then did appertain to thisk public action. For when laws were made, the first thing was to have them devised; the second, to sift them with as much exactness of judgment as any way might be used; the next, by solemn voice of sovereign authority to pass them, and give them the force of laws. It cannot in any reason seem otherwise than most fit, that unto ecclesiastical persons the care of devising ecclesiastical laws be committed, even as the care of civil unto them which are in those affairs most skilful. This taketh not away from ecclesiastical persons all right of giving voice with others, when civil laws are proposed for regiment of that1 commonwealth, whereof themselves, (howsoeverm now the world would have them annihilated,) are notwithstanding as yet a part: much less doth it cut off that part of the power of princes, whereby, as they claim, so we know no reasonable cause wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to Almighty God, so much authority in making of all manner of laws within their own dominions, that neither civil nor ecclesiastical do pass without their royal assent. In devising and discussing of laws, wisdom is specially o required: but that which establisheth p and maketh them, is power, even power of dominion; the chiefty whereof, amongst us, resteth in the person of the king. Is there any law of Christ's which forbiddeth kings and rulers of the earth to have such sovereign and supreme power in the making of laws, either civil or ecclesiastical? If there be, our controversy hath an end.

[13.] Christ in his church hath not appointed any such law concerning temporal power, as God did of old deliver qunto the commonwealth of Israel; but leaving that to be at the

z nor E.Q.C.L. a the E. b to om. E.C.L. c the om. E.Q. d these E.O.C.L. e be lords om. D. f of all other is E. is most proper of all other C.

^{154.} ap. Whitg. Def. 695. "As for "as they meddle not with the "the making of the orders and ce- "making of civil laws for the com-"remonies of the Church, they do "monwealth, so the civil magistrate "(where there is a constituted and "hath not to ordain ceremonies per-"ordered church,) pertain unto the "taining to the Church."] "ministers of the Church and to

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 92. (292 D.) [al. "the ecclesiastical governors; and

g ecclesiastical persons E.C. i part D. h and E. and the C.L. m though E. however C. E.C.L. [Fulm. this.] 1 the E.L. n of om. C.L. o especially is E. P establisheth them E.C.L.Q. 9 deliver om. E.Q.C.L.

¹ [De Rep. iii, ap. Lactant, vi. 8.]

BOOK VIII. world's free choice, his chiefest care was that the spiritual law of the Gospel might be published far and wide.

They that received the law of Christ, were for a long time people scattered in sundry kingdoms, Christianity not exempting them from the laws which they had been subject unto, saving only in such cases as those laws did enjoin that which the religion of Christ forbade^u. Hereupon grew their manifold persecutions throughout all places where they lived: as oft as it thus came to pass, there was no possibility that the emperors and kings under whom they lived, should meddle any whit at all with making laws for the Church. From Christ therefore having received power, who doubteth, but as they did, so they might bind themselves* to such orders as seemed fittest for the maintenance of their religion, without the leave of high or low in the commonwealth; forasmuch as in religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it?

But when the mightiest began to like of the Christian faith; by their means whole free states and kingdoms became obedient unto Christ. Now the question is, whether kings by embracing Christianity do thereiny receive any such law, as taketh from them the weightiest part of that sovereignty which they had even when they were heathens: whether being infidels they might do more in causes of religion, than now they can by the law of God, being true believers. For whereas in regal states, the king or supreme head of the commonwealth, had before Christianity a supreme stroke in the making of laws for religion: he must by embracing Christian religion utterly thereof deprive himself^b, and in such causes become a° subject to his own^d subjects, having even within his own dominions them whose commandment he must obey; unless thise power be placed in the hande of some foreign spiritual potentate: so that either a foreign or domestical commander uponf earth he must needsg admit, more now than before he had, and that in the chiefest things whereupon commonwealths do stand. But apparent it is unto all men which are not strangers in h the doctrine of Jesus Christ, that no state in the world receiving Christianity is by any law therein contained

bound to resign the power which they lawfully held before: BOOK VIII. but over what persons and in what causes soever the same hath been in force, it may so remain and continue still. That which as kings they might do in matterk of religion, and did in matter of false religion, being idolaters1 orm superstitious kings, the same they are now even in every respect as n fully authorized to do in all affairs pertinent unto the state of true Christian° religion.

[14.] PAnd concerning their supreme power of making laws for all persons in all causes to be guided by, it is not to be let pass, that the head enemies of this headship are constrained to acknowledge1 the king endowed8 even with this very power, so that he may and ought to exercise the same, taking order for the Church and her affairs of what nature or kind soever, in case of necessity: as when there is no lawful ministry, which they interpret then to be (and this surely is a point very markable^t), whensoever^u the ministry is wicked. A wicked ministry nox lawful ministry, and in such sort no lawful ministry, that what doth belong to them as ministers by right of their calling, the same to be annihilated in respect of their bad qualitiesz; their wickedness in itself a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the Church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other society, the members whereof have been before so peremptorily for ever excluded from power of dealing with the affairs^a of the Church.

⁸ is E. that om. D. ^u did forbid E. * them E. y thereby E.O. z laws E.C. * the om. E.Q.C.L. b deprive himself thereof E. E.Q.C.L. down om. E.Q.C.L. his E. [Fulm. this] L. of his E. [Fulm. this] L. of his E. [Fulm. this] L. of his E.Q.C.L. hunto E.Q.

^{*} matters E.C.L. 1 idolatrous E.Q.C.L. m and E.C. n as om. E. o true and Christian D.

The passage which follows, down to "over the "Church," p. 419, is placed by the Dublin MS. before "There are which wonder," &c. c. vi. 9. The margin of D. has, "Power to make laws." t remarkable E.C.L. u wheresoever E.Q.C.L. quality? D. a dealing for ever with affairs E. r for D. * endued E. is no E. y ministry? D.

[&]quot;lawful ministry to set good orders "(as in ruinous decays and over-"throws of religion,) that then the "prince ought to do it; and if (when "there is a lawful ministry) it shall "agree of any unlawful or unmeet "order, that the prince ought to "it, but to drive them to that which "order in these things." "is lawful and meet." And iii.

¹ T.C. lib. iii. p. 159 (51 E.) [T. C. 159: (quoting Jewel and Nowell;) i. 193. al. 155. ap. Whitg. Def. 701, "'Christian princes have rather to says, "We say, that if there be no "do with these matters than igno-"rant and wicked priests . . . In case "of necessity (meaning when the "ministry is wicked) the prince "ought to provide for convenient "remedy:' the very selfsame thing "which we maintain, in saying, "when there is no lawful ministry, "stay that order, and not to suffer "that then the prince ought to take

They which have once throughly learned this lesson, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For if the wickedness of the ministry transfer their right unto the king; in case the king be as wicked as they, to whom then shall the right descend? There is no remedy, all must come by devolution at thee length, even as the family of Brown will have it1, unto the godly among the people; for confusion untod the wise and thee great, the poor and the simplef, some Knipperdoling2 with his retinue, must take theg work of the Lord in hand; and the making of church laws and orders h must prove to be their right in the end. If not for love of the truth, yet for very shame of sok gross absurdities, let these contentions1 and shiftingm fancies be abandoned.

The cause which moved them for a time to hold a wicked ministry no lawful ministry; and in this defect of a lawful ministry, kings authorizedⁿ to make laws and orders for the affairs of the Church, till the Church be well established, is surely this: First, they see that whereas the continual dealing of the kings of Israel in the affairs of the Church doth make

b transfers E. c the om. E.C.O. o and to the D.E. the great, by the poor and the simple; some Kniperdoling, &c. E. Gauden. Kimperdoling E. G. Kniperdoling 1676.

But all the MSS. omit by: which Kimperdoling E.G. Kniperdoling 1676. But all the MSS. omit by: which seems to indicate the change of punctuation here adopted. 8 this E.C.L. h and orders om. D. very om. E.

m stifling E. [trifling Fulm. Q. in marg.] k so om. E. 1 qu. contentious?
n authorized kings E. o till it were k so om. E. well E.

"Answer to G. Gifford's pretended "Defence of Read Prayers," 1590, a circular letter from the bishop of London (Aylmer) to his clergy, with "A Brief of the Positions holden by "the new sectory of Recusants:" of which the 10th is, "That if the "prince, or magistrate under her, "do refuse, or defer to reform, such "faults as are amiss in the Church. "the people may take the reforming Munster, one of the leaders of the "of them into their own hands, be-"fore or without her authority." And in a subsequent paper, Art. 6. "They affirm that the people must "reform the Church and not tarry "for the magistrate." Their own reply is, "We go not about to re"form your Romish bishopricks, "deane officers advocates courts," "deane officers advocates courts." "deans, officers, advocates, courts, "inde jubet omnia templa destrui." "canons, neither your popish priests, Ibid.] "half priests, ministers, all which

¹ [See at the end of Greenwood's "come out of the bottomless pit: "but we leave those merchantmen "and their wares with the curse of "God upon them until they repent "...We are to obey God rather than "man, and if any man be i. : rant "let him be ignorant still. We are "not to stay from doing the Lord's
"commandment upon the pleasure
"or offence of any."]

² [Bernard Knipperdoling, of

anabaptists in the tumult of 1533, and designated by Sleidan as 'facile "primus ejus factionis." Commennow very strongly p against them, the burden thereof q they book viii. shall in time well enough shake off, if it may be obtained that Ch. vi. 14. it is for kings lawful indeed 'to follow those' holy examples, howbeit no longer than during the foresaid t case of necessity, while the wickedness, and in respect thereof the unlawfulness of the ministry doth continue. Secondly, they perceive right well, that unless they should yield authority unto kings in case of such supposed necessity, the discipline they urge were clean excluded, as long as the clergy of England doth thereunto remain opposite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no remedy but the tenet must be this: that now when the ministry of England is universally wicked, and, in that respect, hath lost all authority, and is become no lawful ministry, no such ministry as hath the right which otherwise should belong unto them, if they were virtuous and godly as their adversaries are; in this necessity the king may do somewhat for the church: that which we do imply in the name of headship, he may both have and exercise till they be entered which will disburden and ease him of it; till they come, the king is licensed to hold that power which we call headship. But what afterwards? In a church [well?] ordered, that which the supreme magistrate hath 1, is "to see that the "laws of God touching his worship, and touching all matters "and orders of the Church, be executed and duly observed; " to see that every ecclesiastical person do that office where-"unto he is appointed; to punish those that fail in their "office"." In a word, (that which Allen himself acknowledgeth2,) unto the earthly power which God hath given him it doth belong to defend the laws of the Church, to cause them to be executed, and to punish the transgressors y of the same.

On all sides therefore it is confessed, that to the king belongeth power of maintaining laws made for church regiment,

P strong E.Q.C.L. 9 whereof E. hereof C. r indeed lawful for kings E.C.L. these E.C.L. t foresaid om. E.C.L.Q. u reason C. x vid. p. 17. [marg. D.] punish rebels and transgressors E.Q.C.L. t the laws E.Q.C.L. the

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 192. [al. 153. ap. "ecclesiæ leges defendere, negotio-

Whitg. Def. 694.]

2 Apol. fol. 40*. p. 2. [c. iv. p.
67. "Ad terrenam spectat potesta"tem, quam Deus illis largitus est,"
"" "rum suscipere executionem, et
"punire rebelles atque transgres"sores."] "rum suscipere executionem, et

BOOK VIII. and of causing them to be observed; but principality of power in making them, which is the thing that we attribute unto kings, this both the one sort and the other doa withstand1: although2 not both in such sort but that still it is granted by the one that albeit ecclesiastical councils consisting of church officers did frame the laws whereby the church affairs were ordered in ancient times, yet no canon, no not of any council, had the force of a law in the Church, unless it were ratified and confirmed by the emperor being Christian. Seeing therefore it is acknowledged3, that it was then the manner of the emperor to confirm the ordinances which were made by the ministers, which is as much in effect to say that the em-

that om. E.Q.C.L.

a doth D.

1 [Here in E.Q.C.L. ends the "mon hearing and determining of treatise on Legislative Supremacy, "church controversies; but they and the section "Touching the "which are hereunto appointed, and "king's supereminent authority," "have all their proceedings author-&c. (c. viii.) begins. But in D. the "ized by such power as may cause following passage is inserted: which, occurring as it does afterwards, the first part of it almost verbatim, was probably put here as a note in the copy from which that MS. was transcribed, and got by mistake into the text. (It appears also in Cl. Trab. p. 71.) "Wherein it is, from the pur-"pose altogether, alleged, that Con-"stantine," &c. (as in c. viii. § 8. parted from; the following passage to "a matter of theirs:) all which " hereupon may be inferred reacheth "no further than only unto the ad-"ministration of church affairs, or "the determination of strifes and "controversies* rising about the "matter† of religion: it proveth "that in former ages of the world it " hath been judged most convenient "for church officers to have the "hearing of causes merely ecclesi-"astical, and not the emperor him-" self in person to give sentence of "them. No one man can be suffi-"cient for all things. And there-"fore public affairs are divided, "each kind in all well-ordered states " allotted unto such kind of persons "as reason presumeth fittest to han-"dle them. Reason cannot presume "kings ordinarily so skilful as to be " personal judges meet for the com-

"them to take effect. The princi-"pality of which power in making "laws, whereupon all these things "depend, is not by any of these al-"legations proved incommunicable "unto kings."]

to the end of this section, as they give it, is quite incoherent, following the extract given above, (note 1,)

in this way: "The principality of "which power in making laws "whereupon all these things depend, "is not by any of these allegations
"proved incommunicable unto
"kings, although not both in such
"sort," &c. This being clearly wrong, and the passage as it stands in the text fitting in tolerably well.

jecture may not seem too bold.] ³ T. C. lib. i. p. 193. [al. 154. ap. Def. 698. "By the emperor's epistle "in the first action of the council of "Constantinople...it appeareth that "it was the manner of the emperors "to confirm the ordinances which "were made by the ministers, and "to see them kept."]

perhaps the insertion of it on con-

† matters Cl. Tr.

peror had in church ordinances a voice negative; -- and that BOOK VIII. without his confirmation they had not the strength of public Ch. vii. 1, 2. ordinances;-why are we condemned as giving more unto kings than the Church did in those times, we giving them no more but that supreme power which the emperor did then exercise with much larger scope than at this day any Christian king either doth or possibly can use it over the Church^b?

VII. Touching the advancement of prelates unto their The rooms by the king; whereas it seemeth in the eyes of many power in a thing very strange that prelates, the officers of God's own the advancen t sanctuary, than which nothing is more sacred, should be made of Bishops by persons secular; there are that will not have kings be unto the rooms of altogether of the laity, but to participate that sanctified power prelacy. which God hath endued his clergy with, and that in such respect they are anointed with oil. A shift vain and needless. For as much as, if we speak properly, we cannot say kings do make, but that they only do place, bishops. For in a bishop there are these three things to be considered; the power whereby he is distinguished from other pastors; the special portion of the clergy and peopled over whom he is to exercise that bishoply power; and the place of his seat or throne, together with the profits, preeminences, honours thereunto belonging. The first every bishop hath by consecration; the second hise election investeth him with; the third he receiveth of the king alone.

[2.] With consecration the king intermeddleth not further than only by his letters to present such an elect bishop as shall be consecrated. Seeing therefore that none but bishops do consecrate, it followeth that none but they only do give unto every bishop his being. The manner of uniting bishops as heads, unto the flock and clergy under them, hath often

b These sentences from "although not both," p. 418, l. 4, occur only in D. They are followed by the passage "There are which wonder," &c. c. vi. 9. to "Christian religion," p. 415. After which at an interval, that MS. proceeds with the words "Touching the advancement," &c. as in the text. ° This side-note from Cl. Trab. as are all the various readings in this seventh chapter. f only om. d the people. e the.

Chapelle, after their anointing, they