

sweet than the commonwealth; who hath more than a fatherly affection unto all. To whom every one's life is dearer than his own; who night and day is doing and endeavouring nothing else, but that it may be very well with all; who hath rewards in readiness for all that are good; and pardon for the bad, if so be they will betake them to a better course; that so freely desireth to deserve well of his subjects, that if it be needful, he will not stick to preserve their safety by his own peril; that taketh his country's commodity to be his own gain; that always watcheth, that others may sleep quietly; that leaveth himself no quiet vacancy, that his country may live in quiet vacancy, or peace; that afflicteth himself with successive cares, that his subjects may enjoy tranquillity. To conclude, on whose virtue it is, that the public happiness doth depend."

The Image of a Bad Prince. Ibid.

"If you would set forth a bad prince to the eye, you must paint some savage, horrid beast, made up of such monstrosities as a dragon, a wolf, a lion, a viper, a bear, &c., every way armed, with six hundred eyes; every way toothed; every way terrible; with hooked talons; of an insatiable paunch; fed with men's bowels; drunk with man's blood; that watcheth to prey upon the lives and fortunes of all the people: troublesome to all, but specially to the good; a fatal evil to the world; which all curse and hate, who wish well to the commonwealth; which can neither be endured, because of his cruelty, nor yet taken away without the great calamity of the world, because wickedness is armed with guards and riches."

CHAPTER III.

Directions for Subjects concerning their Duty to their Rulers.

BEING now to speak of the duties which I must practise, and to those of my own rank, I shall do it with some more freedom, confidence and expectation of regard and practice.

Direct. i. 'Though I shall pass by most of the theory, and especially of the controversial points in politics, and not presume to play the lawyer's part; yet I must advise you to understand so much of the cause, and nature, and end of government, as is necessary to direct you in your obedience, and to preserve you from all temptations to rebellion.' Especially take heed of those mistakes which confound sovereignty and subjection, and which delude the people with a conceit, that they are the original of power, and may intrust it as they please; and call their rulers to account, and take the forfeiture, and recal their trust, &c. It is not to flatter kings, but to give God his due, that I shall caution you against these mistakes of popularity. And first, I shall briefly lay down the truth, and then answer some few of the chief objections.

Prop. i. That there be government 'in genere,' and obedience thereto, is determined even in nature, by the God of nature, in making man a sociable creature, and each man insufficient for himself, and in making republics necessary to the welfare and safety of individuals, and government necessary to these republics*. This therefore is not left to the people's wills; though some odd cases may be imagined, in which some individual persons may live out of a commonwealth, and not be obliged to live under civil government; yet that exception doth but confirm the general rule: even as all men ordinarily are bound to live in communion with some particular church, and know their own pastor, though yet some few may be excepted, as some ambassadors, travellers, seamen, soldiers, banished men, &c. So here, the obligation to live under government, lieth upon the generality of the world, though some few may be excepted.

Prop. ii. Rulers therefore are God's officers, placed under him in his kingdom, as he is the universal, absolute sovereign of the world; and they receive their power from

* Nihil Deo qui omnem mundum hunc regit, acceptius, quam concilia castusque hominem quæ civitates appellantur. Cicero. This quotation affords another instance of Mr. Baxter's inaccrate mode of citing his authors. He frequently gives their sense in his own words. The words of Cicero are, Nihil est enim illi principi Deo, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius, quam concilia, castusque hominem, jure sociati, quæ civitates appellantur. Cic. Som. Op. vol. vii. p. 915. (T. C.)

God, who is the only original of power. Not only their strength from his strength, but their authority or governing power, (which is 'jus regendi') from his supreme authority; as mayors and bailiffs in corporations receive their power from the king. "There is no power, but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God ^b."

Prop. 111. This governing power 'in genere,' is not an empty name, but in the very institution containeth in it those things materially which are absolutely necessary to the end of government.

Prop. 1v. Yet God hath left that which is commonly called, the specification of government; and some lower parts of the matter, and manner of exercise, undetermined; as also the individual persons or families that shall rule. In these three therefore it is that communities interpose.

1. Whether the sovereignty shall be in one, or two, or ten, or how many, and how divided for their exercise, God hath not determined.
2. Nor hath he determined of every particular, whether the power shall extend to this, or that, or the other thing, or not? Nor whether it shall be exercised thus or thus, by standing courts, or temporary judges, &c.
3. Nor hath he named the person or family that shall rule ^c.

Prop. v. Though these in the constitution are determined of by explicit or implicit contract or consent, between the ruler and the community, yet by none of these three can the people be truly and properly said to give the ruler his power of government. Not by the first or last; for both those do but determine who shall be the recipient of that power; whether one or more, and who individually. Not the second, for that is but a limiting, or bounding, or regulating the governing power, that it be not exercised to their hurt; the bounding and regulating of their power, is not the giving them power. The people having the strength, cannot be ruled against their concordant wills: and therefore, if they contract with their governors, that they will be ruled

^b Rom. xiii. 1—3.

^c Grotius de Imper. Sam. Potest. c. i. pp. 7, 8. Sant qui objiciant reges quendam imperare non posse, nisi consensus ordinum accesserit: sed his non vident quibus in locis id juris est, ibi summum imperium non esse penes reges, sed aut penes ordines, aut certe penes id corpus, quod rex et juncti constituunt, ut Bodinus, Suarezius, Victoria, aliique, aliunde demonstrarunt: certum summum imperium totum, et aliquid imperare non posse, ideo tantum quod alter vetet aut intercedat, plane sunt *derivata*.

thus and thus, or not at all; this is not to give them power. Yet propriety they have, and there they may be givers. So that this bounding, or regulating, and choosing the form, and persons, and giving of their propriety, is all that they have to do. And the choosing of the family or person, is not at all a giving the power. They are but 'sine quibus non' to that; they do but open the door to let in the governor; they do but name the family or man, to whom God, and not they, shall give the power.

As, when God hath already determined what authority the husband shall have over the wife, the wife by choosing him to be her husband, giveth him not his power, but only chooseth the man, to whom God giveth it by his standing law: though about the disposing of her estate, she may limit him by precontracts; but if she contract against his government, it is a contradiction and null. Nor if he abuse his power, doth it at all fall into her hands.

If the king by charter give power to a corporation to choose their mayor, or other officer, they do but nominate the persons that shall receive it, but it is the king's charter, and not they, that give him the power.

If a soldier voluntarily list himself under the king's general, or other commanders; he doth but choose the man that shall command him, but it is the king's commission that giveth him the power to command those that voluntarily so list themselves. And if the authority be abused or forfeited, it is not into the soldiers' hands, but into the king's.

Prop. vi. The constituting consent or contract of ancestors obligeth all their posterity, if they will have any of the protection or other benefit of government, to stand to the constitution; else governments should be so unsettled and mutable, as to be incapable of their proper end.

Prop. vii. God hath neither in nature or Scripture, estated this power of government, in whole or in part, upon the people of a mere community, (much less on subjects) whether noble or ignoble, learned or unlearned, the part of the community, or the whole body, real or representative^d.

^d So foolish and bad is the multitude too often, that it made Aristippus hold it as probable, that a wise man should not endanger himself for his country, because wis-

The people as such, have not this power, either to use or to give : but the absolute sovereign of all the world, doth communicate the sovereign power in every kingdom, or other sort of commonwealth from himself immediately, I say, immediately ; not without the mediation of an instrument signifying his will ; for the law of nature and Scripture are his instrument, and the charter of authority : nor yet so immediately, as without any kind of medium ; for the consent and nomination of the community before expressed, may be ' *conditio sine qua non*,' so far as aforesaid. * But it is so immediately from God, as that there is no immediate recipient, to receive the power first from God, and convey it to the sovereign.

Prop. VIII. The natural power of individual persons over themselves, is ' *tota specie*' different from this political or civil power. And it is not the individual's resignation of this natural power of self-disposal, unto one or more, which is the efficient cause of sovereignty or civil power^c.

Prop. IX. If you take the word 'law' properly, for the expression of a ruler's will obliging the governed, or making their duty ; and not improperly for mere contracts between the sovereign and the people, then it is clear in the definition itself, that neither subjects, nor the community, as such, have any legislative power. Neither nature or Scripture, hath given the people a power of making laws, either by themselves, or with the sovereign ; either the sole power, or a part of it. But the very nature of government requireth, that the whole legislative power, that is, the power of making governing laws, belong to the ' *summa majestas*,' or sovereign alone. (Unless when the ' *summa potestas*' is in many hands, you compare the partakers among themselves, and call one party the sovereign, as having more of the sovereignty than the rest.) For those that are no governors at all, cannot perform the chief act of government, which is the making of governing laws ; but the people are no governors at all, either as a community, or as subjects : so that dom is not to be cast away for the commodity of fools. Laert. in Aristip. But a wise man must be wise for others, and not only for himself.

* It was one of the Roman laws of the twelve tables, *Vendendi filium patri potestas esto*. But this law rather giveth the father that power, than declareth it to be naturally in him. Nature alloweth him no other selling of him, than what is for his child's own good.

you may easily perceive, that all the arguments for a natural democracy, are built upon false suppositions; and wherever the people have any part in the sovereignty, it is by the after-constitution, and not by nature: and that kings receive not their power from the people's gift, (who never had it themselves to use or give,) but from God alone.

Prop. x. Though God have not made an universal determination for any sort of government, against the rest; (whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy,) because that is best for one people, which may be worse for others, yet ordinarily monarchy is accounted better than aristocracy, and aristocracy better than democracy. So much briefly of the original of power.

Object. 1. But, saith worthy Mr. Richard Hooker, *Ecol. Polit. lib. i. sect. 10. p. 21 f.*, "That which we speak of the power of government, must here be applied to the power of making laws, whereby to govern; which power, God hath over all, and by the natural law, whereto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men, belongeth so properly to the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at first from their consent, upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny. Laws they are not therefore, which public approbation hath not made so."

Answ. Because the authority of this famous divine is with his party so great, I shall adventure to say something, lest his words do the more harm: but not by confident opposition, but humble proposal and submission of my judgment to superiors and wiser men, as being conscious of my own inferiority and infirmity, I take all this to be an assertion nowhere by him proved; (and by me elsewhere disproved fully). Laws are the effects and signs of the ruler's will; and instruments of government. Legislation is the first part of government; and if the whole body are naturally governors, the 'Pars imperans' and 'Pars subdita' are confounded. If the most absolute monarch can make no

¹ So p. 23. The same error of the original of power hath Acosta, *lib. ii. c. 5. p. 206.* with many other Jesuits and Papists.

laws, then disobeying them were no fault. It is enough that their power be derived from God immediately, though the persons be chosen by men. Their authority is not derived from the people's consent, but from God, by their consent, as a bare condition 'sine qua non.' What if a community say all to their elected king, "We take not ourselves to have any governing power to give or use, but we only choose you or your family to that office which God hath instituted, who in that institution giveth you the power upon our choice;" can any man prove, that such a king hath no power, but is a tyrant; because the people disclaim the giving of the power; when indeed they do their duty? Remember that in all this we speak not of the government of this or that particular kingdom, but of kingdoms and other commonwealths indefinitely^s.

Object. 11. But, saith he, lib. viii. p. 192, "Unto me it seemeth almost out of doubt and controversy, that every independent multitude before any certain form of regimen established, hath under God supreme authority, full dominion over itself,"——

Answ. If by dominion were meant propriety, every individual hath it; but for governing power, it seemeth as clear to me, that your independent multitude hath no civil power of government at all; but only a power to choose them governors; while they have no governors, they have no governing power, for that maketh a governor.

Object. 111. Ibid. "A man who is lord of himself, may be made another's servant, &c."

Answ. 1. He may hire out himself to labour for another; because he hath so far the power of himself, and his labour is his own, which he may sell for wages; but in a family, that the master be the governor to see God's laws obeyed by his servants, is of Divine appointment, and this governing power the servant giveth not to his master, but only maketh himself the object of it. 2. The power that nature giveth a man over himself, is 'tota specie' distinct from civil government; (as Dr. Hammond hath well shewed against I. G.) An individual person hath not that power of his own life as

^s Bishop Andrews in Tortur. Tort. p. 385. Acutus homo non distinguit inter formam, atque autoritatem regiminis; forma de hominibus esse potest: de celo semper est autoritas. An rex sit supra leges, Vid. Seb. Fox. lib. ii. de Instit. Reg.

the king hath. He may not put himself to death, for that which the king may put him to death for. 3. If this were true, that every individual; by self-resignation might give a king his power over him; yet 'a posse ad esse non valet consequentia;' and that it is not so is proved, in that God the Universal Sovereign hath prevented them, by determining himself, of his own officers, and giving them their power in the same charter by which he enableth the people to choose them. Therefore it is no better reasoning than to say, 'If all the persons in London subjected themselves to the lord mayor, he would thereby receive his power from them,' when the king hath prevented that already, by giving him the power himself in his charter; and leaving only the choice of the person to them; and that under the direction of the rules which he hath given them ^b.

Object. iv. But, saith he, lib. viii. p. 193, "In kingdoms of this quality, (as this we live in) the highest governor hath indeed universal dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire body over the several parts whereof he hath dominion; so that it standeth for an axiom in this case, The king is 'major singulis, universis minor.' "

Ans. If you had included himself, it is certain that he cannot be greater than the whole, because he cannot be greater than himself. But seeing you speak of the whole in contradistinction from him, I answer, That indeed 'in genere causæ finalis' the sovereign is 'universis minor,' that is, the whole kingdom is naturally more worth than one, and their felicity a greater good; or else the 'bonum publicum,' or 'salus populi' could not be the end of government; but this is nothing to our case; for we are speaking of governing power as a means to this end; and so 'in genere causæ efficientis' the sovereign (yea, and his lowest officer) hath more authority or 'jus regendi' than all the people as such, (for they all as such have none at all;) even as the church is of more worth than the pastor, and yet the pastor alone hath more authority to administer the sacraments, and to govern the people, than all the flock hath; for they have none either to use or give (whatever some say

^b Dion. Cass. saith, that when Euphates the philosopher would kill himself, Veniam dederat ei Adrianus citra ignominiam et infamiam, ut cicutam tum propter acnetutem, tum etiam propter gravem morbum, bibere possit. In vita Adrian.

to the contrary), but only choose him to whom God will give it¹.

Object. v. Saith the reverend author, lib. viii. p. 194, "Neither can any man with reason think, but that the first institution of kings, (a sufficient consideration wherefore their power should always depend on that from which it did always flow) by original influence of power from the body into the king, is the cause of kings' dependency in power upon the body; by dependency we mean subordination and subjection."

Ans. 1. But if their institution 'in genere' was of God, and that give them their power, and it never flowed from the body at all, then all your superstructure falleth with your ground-work. 2. And here you seem plainly to confound all kingdoms by turning the 'pars imperans' into the 'pars subdita,' and 'vice versa;' if the king be subject, how are they his subjects? I will not infer what this will lead them to do, when they are taught that kings are in subordination and subjection to them. Sad experience hath shewed us what this very principle would effect.

Object. vi. Ibid². "A manifest token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain argument, that lands are held under any as lords, than if we see that such lands in defect of heirs fall unto them by escheat; in like manner it doth follow rightly that seeing dominion when there is none to inherit it, returneth unto the body, therefore they which before were inheritors of it, did hold it in dependance on the body; so that by comparing the body with the head as touching power, it seemeth always to reside in both; fundamentally and radically in one, in the other derivatively; in one the habit, in the other the act of power."

Ans. Power no more falleth to the multitude by escheat, than the power of the pastor falls to the church, or the power of the physician to the hospital, or the power of the schoolmaster to the scholars: that is, not at all. When all the heirs are dead, they are an ungoverned community,

¹ Against the people's being the givers of power, by coujuring all their own-in one, in church or state, see Mr. D. Cawdry's Review of Mr. Hooker's Sarvey, p. 154, &c.

² So lib. viii. pp. 211. 218. 220.

that have power to choose a governor, but no power to govern, neither (as you distinguish it) in habit nor in act; originally nor derivatively. As it is with a corporation when the mayor is dead, the power falleth not to the people.

Therefore there is no good ground given for your following question, "May a body politic then at all times withdraw in whole or in part the influence of dominion which passeth from it, if inconveniences do grow thereby?" Though you answer this question soberly yourself, it is easy to see how the multitude may be tempted to answer it on your grounds, especially if they think your inconvenience turn into a necessity, and what use they will make of your next words, "It must be presumed that supreme governors will not in such cases oppose themselves, and be stiff in detaining that, the use whereof is with public detriment." A strange presumption.

Object. VII. "The axioms of our regal government are these, 'rex facit regem:' the king's grant of any favour made contrary to law is void; 'Rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest.'"

Ans. If 'lex' be taken improperly for the constituting contract between prince and people, and if your 'facit' have respect only to the species and person, and not the substance of the power itself, then I contradict you not. But if 'lex' be taken properly for 'authoritativa constitutio debiti,' or the signification of the sovereign's will to oblige the subject, then 'lex non facit regem, sed rex legem'.

Object. VIII. Lib. viii. p. 210. "When all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for the devising 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 to us than the counsels of physicians to the sick: Well might they seem as wholesome admonitions and instructions, but laws they could never be, without consent of the whole church to be guided by them, whereunto both nature and the practice of the church of God set down in

¹ Lib. viii. p. 195. Trita in scholis, neminem sibi imperare posse; neminem sibi legem posse dicere, a qua mutata voluntate nequeat recedere: summum ejus esse imperium qui ordinario jure derogare valeat. Et quibus evincitur jus summæ potestatis non limitari per legem positivam. Hinc et Augustinus dixit imperatorem non esse subjectum legibus suis.—Grotius de Imp. pp. 149, 150.

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."

Ans. 1. Wisdom doth but prepare laws, and governing power enacteth them, and giveth them their form. But the whole body hath no such governing power, therefore they give them not their form^m. 2. The people's consent to God's laws gave them not their form or authority; this opinion I have elsewhere confuted, against a more erroneous author. Their consent to God's laws was required indeed, as naturally necessary to their obedience, but not as necessary to the being or obligation of the law. Can you think that it had been no sin in them to have disobeyed God's laws, unless they had first consented to them? Then all the world might escape sin and damnation by denying consent to the laws of God. 3. This doctrine will teach men that we have no church lawsⁿ; for the whole church never signified their consent. Millions of the poorer sort have no voices in choosing parliament men or convocations; and this will teach the minor dissenting part, to think themselves disobliged for want of consenting; and will give every dissenting part or person a negative voice to all church laws. 4. A single bishop hath a governing power over his particular church, and they are bound to obey him^o. And if the governing power of one pastor be not suspended for want of the consent of any or all the people, then much less, the governing power of king and parliament.

Object. ix. Lib. viii. p. 220. "It is a thing even un-

^m Hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam. Legem nec hominum ingenii excogitam, nec scitum aliquod esse populorum; sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique sapientia. Cicero de Leg. See lib. i. sect. 17—19. (T. C.)

ⁿ How considerable a part of England is London? Yet in this convocation, which hath made the new changes in the liturgy and book of ordination, London had not one clerk of their choosing: for being to choose but two, they chose only Mr. Calany and myself, who were neither of us accepted, or ever there. Now if your opinion be true; *Quer.* 1. Whether you make not this convocation's decrees to be but counsels to us. 2. Or at least whether the city of London, or the London ministers be not made free from detriment, as not consenters: you will free them and me, especially, from detriment for our not conforming to this convocation's acts as such; upon reasons which I do not own myself, as generally by you laid down.

^o Heb. xiii. 7. 17.

doubtedly natural that all free and independent societies should themselves make their own laws; and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politic body——.”

Ans. This is oft affirmed, but no proof at all of it; in many nations the representatives of the whole body have the legislative power or part of it. But that is from the special constitution of that particular commonwealth, and not from nature, nor common to all nations. All that naturally belongeth to the people as such, was but to choose their law-makers, and secure their liberties, and not to make laws themselves by themselves or mere representers.

Object. x. Lib. viii. p. 221. “For of this thing no man doubteth, namely, that in all societies, companies, and corporations, what severally each shall be bound to, it must be with all their assents ratified. Against all equity it were that a man should suffer detriment at the hands of men, for not observing that which he never did, either by himself or by others, mediately agree to——.”

Ans. I am one that more than doubt of that which you say no man doubteth of. Do you not so much as except God’s laws, and all those that only do enforce them, or drive men to obey them? As men are obliged to obey God, whether they consent or not; so are they to obey the laws of their sovereigns, though they never consented to them, no, nor to their sovereignty, as long as they are members of that commonwealth, to the government whereof the sovereign is lawfully called, millions of dissenters may be bound to obey, till they quit the society.

Object. xi. Lib. viii. p. 221. “If magistrates be heads of the church, they are of necessity Christians.”

Ans. That can never be proved. A constitutive head indeed must be a Christian, and more, even a pastor to a particular church, and Christ to the universal. This headship our kings disclaim; but a head of the church, that is, over the church, or a coercive governor of it, the king would be if he were no Christian. As one that is no physician may be head over all the physicians in his kingdom; or though he be no philosopher, or artist, he may be head over all the philosophers and artists, and in all their causes have the supreme coercive power; so would the king over all

Protestants if he were no Protestant, and over all Christians if he were no Christian! But you think that he that is no member of the church cannot be the head of it: I answer, not a constitutive, essential head as the pastor is; but he may be the head over it, and have all the coercive power over it. What if the king be not a member of many corporations in his kingdom? Yet as he is head of the kingdom, he is head of or over them as they are parts of it.

Object. XII. Lib. viii. pp. 218. 223, 224. "What power the king hath, he hath it by law: the bounds and limits of it are known; the entire community giveth order, &c." P. 223. "As for them that exercise power altogether against order, although the kind of power which they have, may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by permission, as all injustice is." P. 224. "Usurpers of power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aspired unto places of highest authority, but them that use more authority than they did ever receive in form and manner beforementioned. Such usurpers thereof as in the exercise of their power do more than they have been authorized to do, cannot in conscience bind any man to obedience."

Ans. It is true that no man can exercise more power than he hath: the power that we speak of being 'ἐξουσία, jus regendi,' it is impossible to use more authority than they have; though they may command beyond and without authority. And it is true that where a man hath no authority or right to command, he cannot directly bind to obedience. But yet a ruler may exercise more power than man ever gave him, and oblige men to obedience thereby. God giveth them power to govern for his glory, according to his laws, and to promote obedience to those laws of God (in nature and Scripture) by subordinate laws of their own. And all this the sovereign may do, if the people at the choice of him or his family, should only say, 'We take you for our sovereign ruler:' for then he may do all that true reason or Scripture make the work of a sovereign ruler, even govern the people by all such just means as tend to the public good and their everlasting happiness: and yet that people that should do no more but choose persons and families to govern them, and set them no bounds, do give no power to those

they choose, but determine of the persons that shall have power from God. Yet it is granted you, that if the person or family chosen, contract with them to govern only with such and such limitations, they have bound themselves by their own contract; and thus both specifications of government and degrees of power come in by men. But always distinguish, 1. Between the people giving away their propriety, (in their goods, labours, &c. which they may do,) and giving authority, or governing power (which they have not to give). 2. Between their naming the persons that shall receive it from the universal king, and giving it themselves. 3. Between bounding and limiting power, and giving power. 4. And between a sovereign's binding himself by contract, and being bound by the authority of others^p. If they be limited by contracts, which are commonly called the constitutive or fundamental laws, it is their own consent and contract that effectively obligeth and limiteth them; of which indeed the people's will may be the occasion, when they resolve that they will be governed on no other terms: but if the contract limit them not, but they be chosen simply to be the 'summæ potestates,' without naming any particular powers either by concession or restraint, then as to ruling they are absolute as to men, and limited only by God, from whose highest power they can never be exempt, who in nature and Scripture restraineth them from all that is impious and unjust, against his laws and honour, or against the public happiness and safety. And here also remember, that if any shall imagine that God restraineth a magistrate when it is not so, and that the commands of their governors are contrary to the Word of God, when it is no such matter; their error will not justify their disobedience.

Though I have answered these passages of this reverend author, it is not to draw any to undervalue his learned writ-

^p Potestas maritalis est a Deo: applicatio ejus potestatis ad certam personam ex consensu venit quo tamen ipsum jus non datur. Nam si ex consensu daretur, posset consensu etiam dissolvi matrimonium, aut conveniri ne maritus femine imperaret. Quid minime verum est. Imperatoria potestas non est penes electores: ergo nec ab ipsis datur; sed ab ipsis tamen certæ personæ applicatur. Jus vitæ et necis non est penes cives antequam in rempublicam coeant. Privatus enim jus vindictæ non habet: ab illis tamen applicatur ad cœtum aut personarum aliquam. Grotius de Imperio, p. 370.

ings, but to set right the reader in the principles of his obedience, on which the practice doth so much depend.

And I confess, that other authors of politics say as much as Mr. Hooker saith, both Papists and Protestants; but not all, nor I think the soundest: I will instance now in Alstedius only, (an excellent person, but in this mistaken,) who saith, *Encyclop. lib. xxiii. Polit. cap. p. 178.* “*Populus universus dignior et potior est tum magistratu tum ephoris. —Hinc recte docent Doct. Politici, populum obtinere regnum et jura majestatis proprietate et dominio: principem et ephoros usu et administratione; (whereas the people have not the ‘regnum vel jura majestatis’ any way at all). —Si administratores officium suum facere nolint, si impia, et iniqua mandent, si contra dilectionem Dei et proximi agant, populus propriæ salutis curam arripit, imperium male utentibus abrogabit, et in locum eorum alios substituet.—Porro ephori validiora ipso rege imperia obtinent: principem enim constituunt et deponunt; id quod amplissimum est præeminentiæ argumentum. Atque hæc prærogativa mutuis pactis stabilitur.—Interim princeps summam potestatem obtinere dicitur, quatenus ephori administrationem imperii, et cumulum potestatis ipsi committunt. Denique optimatum universorum potestas non est infinita et absoluta, sed certis veluti rethris et clathris definita, utpote non ad propriam libidinem, sed ad utilitatem et salutem populi alligata. Hinc illorum munia sunt regem designare, constituere, inaugurare, constitutum consiliis et auxiliis juvare; sine consensu et approbatione principis, quamdiu ille suum officium facit, nihil in reipublicæ negotiis suscipere: nonnunquam conventum inscio principe agere, necessitate reipublicæ exigente.—Populum contra omnis generis turbatores et violatores defendere—.*” I suppose Mr. Hooker’s principles and Alstedius’s were much the same. I will not venture to recite the conclusion, cap. 12. p. 199. R. 5. ‘*de resistendo Tyranno.*’

Many other authors go the same way, and say that the people have the ‘*majestas realis,*’ (both Papists, and Protestants, and heathens). But I suppose that what I have said against Hooker will serve to shew the weakness of their grounds: though it is none of my purpose to contradict either Hooker or any other, so far as they open the

odiousness of the sin of tyranny, (which at this day keepeth out the Gospel from the far greatest part of the world, and is the greatest enemy to the kingdom of Christ;) nor yet as they plead for the just liberties of the people; but I am not for their authority.

Direct. 11. 'Begin with an absolute, universal, resolved obedience to God, your Creator and Redeemer, who is your sovereign King, and will be your final, righteous Judge.' As he that is no loyal subject to the king, can never well obey his officers; so he that subjecteth not his soul to the original power of his Creator, can never well obey the derivative power of earthly governors.

Object. 'But,' you may say, 'experience teacheth us, that many ungodly people are obedient to their superiors as well as others.' I answer, Materially they are, but not formally, and from a right principle, and to right ends: as a rebel against the king may obey a justice of peace for his own ends, as long as he will let him alone, or take his part. But not formally as he is the king's officer. So ungodly men may flatter princes and magistrates for their own ends, or on some low and bye account, but not sincerely as the officers of God. He is not like to be truly obedient to man, that is so foolish, dishonest, and impious as to rebel against his Maker; nor to obey that authority, which he first denieth in its original and first efficient cause. Whatever satan and his servants may say, and however some hypocrites may contradict in their practices the religion which they profess, yet nothing is more certain, than that the most serious, godly Christians, are the best subjects upon earth. As their principles themselves will easily demonstrate.

Direct. 111. 'Having begun with God, obey your governors as the officers of God, with an obedience ultimately divine.' All things must be done in holiness by the holy. That is, God must be discerned, obeyed, and intended in all; and therefore in magistrates in a special manner. In two respects magistrates are obeyed, or rather flattered by the ungodly: first, as they are men that are able to do them corporal good or hurt: as a horse, or dog, or other brute

³ Greg. Nazianzen cited by Bilson of Subjection, p. 361. Thou reignest together with Christ; rulest with him; thy sword is from him; thou art the image of God.

will follow you for his belly, and loveth to be where he fareth best. Secondly, as the head of his party, and encourager of him in his evil way, when he meets with rulers that will be so bad. Wicked men love wicked magistrates for being the servants of satan; but faithful men must honour and obey a magistrate, as an officer of God; even a magistrate as a magistrate, and not only as holy, is an officer of the Lord of all. Therefore the fifth commandment is as the hinge of the two tables; many of the ancients thought that it was the last commandment of the first table, and the moderns think it is the first commandment of the last table; for it commandeth our duty to the noblest sort of men; but not merely as men, but as the officers of God. They debase magistrates that look at them merely as those that master other men, as the strongest beast doth by the weaker; nothing will make you sincere and constant in your honouring and obeying them, but taking them as the officers of God, and remembering by whose commission they rule, and whose work they do; that "they are the ministers of God to us for good." If you do not this, 1. You wrong God, whose servants they are; for he that despiseth, despiseth not man but God. 2. You wrong the magistrate, as much as you should do an ambassador, if you took him to be the messenger of some Jack Straw, or some fellow that signifieth no more than his personal worth importeth. 3. And you wrong yourselves; for while you neglect the interest and authority of God in your rulers, you forfeit the acceptance, protection, and reward of God. Subjects as well as servants must learn that great lesson, "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men: knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ: but he that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong, and there is no respect of persons." Magistrates are as truly God's officers as preachers: and therefore as he that heareth preachers heareth him, so he that obeyeth rulers obeyeth him: the exceptions are but the like in both cases: it is not every thing that we must receive from preachers; nor every thing that we must do at the command of rulers: but both in their proper place and work, must be regarded as the officers of

* Rom. xiii. 1—5.

* Col. iii. 23—25. So Eph. vi. 5—8.

God: and not as men that have no higher authority than their own to bear them out.

Direct. iv. 'Let no vices of the person cause you to forget the dignity of his office.' The authority of a sinful ruler is of God, and must accordingly be obeyed: of this read Bishop Bilson at large in his excellent treatise of Christian Subjection; against the Papists that excommunicate and depose princes whom they account heretics, or favourers of them. Those sins which will damn a man's soul, and deprive him of heaven, will not deprive him of his kingdom, nor disoblige the subjects from their obedience. An infidel, or an ungodly Christian (that is, an hypocrite) is capable of being a prince, as well as being a parent, husband, master; and the apostle hath taught all as well as servants, their duty to such. "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; and not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; for this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it if when you are buffeted for your faults, you take it patiently? but if when ye do well and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God; for even hereunto were ye called." Though it be a rare mercy to have godly rulers, and a great judgment to have ungodly ones, it is such as must be borne^a.

Direct. v. 'Do not either divulge or aggravate the vices of your governors to their dishonour; for their honour is necessary to the public good.' If they have not care of their own honour, yet their subjects must have a care of it. If once they be dishonoured, they will the more easily be contemned, hated and disobeyed. Therefore the dishonouring of the rulers tendeth to the dissolution of the government, and ruin of the commonwealth. Only in two cases did the ancient Christians aggravate the wickedness of their governors. 1. In case they were such cruel monsters as Nero, who lived to the misery of mankind. 2. In case they were not only open enemies of the church of Christ, but their honour stood in competition with the honour of Chris-

¹ Pet. ii. 18—21.

^a Victor. Utic. saith of Victorianus proconsul of Carthage, that even to an Arian persecuting, usurping tyrant, Pro rebus sibi commissis semper fidelissimus habebatur; and the like of Sebastian and others, p. 460.

tianity, piety and honesty, as in Julian's case; I confess against Nero and Julian both living and dead (and many like them), the tongues and pens of wise and sober persons have been very free; but the fifth commandment is not to be forgotten, "Honour thy father and mother;" and "Fear God, honour the king*;" though you must not call evil good, yet you may conceal and hide evil: Ham was cursed for opening his father's nakedness. Though you must flatter none in their sins, nor hinder their repentance, but further it by all righteous means, yet must you speak honourably of your rulers, and endeavour to breed an honourable esteem of them in the people's minds; and not as some, that think they do well, if they can secretly make their rulers seem odious, by opening and aggravating their faults.

Direct. vi. 'Subdue your passions, that no injuries which you may suffer by them, may disturb your reason, and make you dishonour them by way of revenge.' If you may not revenge yourselves on private men, much less on magistrates; and the tongue may be an unjust revenger, as well as the hand. Passion will provoke you to tell all men, 'Thus and thus I was used,' and to persuade you that it is no sin to tell the truth of what you suffered: but remember, that the public good, and the honour of God's officers are of greater value, than the righting of a particular person that is injured. Many a discontented person hath set kingdoms on fire, by divulging the faults of governors for the righting of themselves.

Object. 'But shall cruel and unrighteous or persecuting men do mischief, and not hear of it, nor be humbled for it?'

Ans. 1. Preachers of the Gospel, and others that have opportunity, may privately tell them of it, to bring them to repentance (if they will endure it) without dishonouring them by making it public. 2. Historians will tell posterity of it, to their perpetual infamy, (if repentance and well-doing recover not their honour). Flatterers abuse the

* 1 Pet. ii. 17. Mark vii. 10. x. 19.

† Lamprid. saith of Alex. Severus that, Amavit literatos homines, vehementer eos etiam reformidans, nequid de se asperum scriberent. Universal. Hist. p. 132. Tiberius bellua luto et sanguine macerata; sui tegendi peritissimus artifex, totus tamen posteritatis oculis patuit, Deo hypocrisis detractioe larvæ plectente.

living, but truth will dishonour their wickedness when they are dead: for it is God's own decree, "That the memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot^a." 3. And God himself will fully be avenged upon the impenitent for ever, having told you, "That it were better for him that offendeth one of his little ones, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea^b." And is not all this enough, without the revenge of your passionate tongues? To speak evil of dignities, and despise dominion, and bring railing accusations, are the sins of the old licentious heretics. Christ left us his example, not to revile the meanest, when we are reviled^b. If you believe, that God will justify the innocent, and avenge them speedily^c, what need you be so forward to justify and avenge yourselves?

Object. 'If God will have their names to rot, and spoken evil of when they are dead, why may I not do it while they are alive?'

Answer. There is a great deal of difference between a true historian, and a self-avenger in the reason of the thing, and in the effects: to dishonour bad rulers while they live, doth tend to excite the people to rebellion, and to disable them to govern: but for truth to be spoken of them, when they are dead, doth only lay an odium upon the sin, and is a warning to others, that they follow them not in evil: and this no wicked prince was ever so great and powerful as to prevent; for it is a part of God's resolved judgment. Yet must historians so open the faults of the person, as not to bring the office into contempt, but preserve the reverence due to the authority and place of governors^d.

Direct. VII. 'By all means overcome a selfish mind, and get such a holy and a public spirit, as more regardeth God's honour, and the public interest, than your own.' It is Selfishness that is the great rebel and enemy of God, and of the king, and of our neighbour. A selfish, private spirit careth not what the commonwealth suffereth, if he himself may be

^a Prov. x. 7.

^b Matt. xviii. 6. Mark ix. 42. Luke xvii. 2. Jude 7—9.

^c 1 Pet. ii. 23.

^d Luke xviii. 7, 8.

^e Sext. Aurel. Victor. de Calig. De quo nescio an decernerit memoriam prodi, nisi forte quia juvat de principibus nosse omnia, ut improbi saltem famæ metu talia declinent.

a gainer by it. To revenge himself, or to rise up to some higher place, or increase his riches, he will betray and ruin his king, his country and his nearest friends. A selfish, ambitious, covetous man, is faithful to no man, longer than he serveth his ends; nor is he any further to be trusted, than his own interest will allow. Self-denial, and a public spirit, are necessary to every faithful subject.

Direct. VIII. 'Wish not evil to your governors in your secret thoughts; but if any such thought would enter into your hearts, reject it with abhorrence.' "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thoughts; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter^e." A feverish, misguided zeal for religion, and a passionate discontent for personal injuries, do make many greatly guilty in this point; they would be much pleased, if God would shew some grievous judgment upon persecutors; and take no warning by Christ's rebukes of James and John, but secretly are wishing for fire from heaven, not knowing what manner of spirit they are of. They cherish such thoughts as are pleasing to them, though they dare not utter them in words. And he that dare wish hurt, is in danger of being drawn by temptation to do hurt.

Object. 'But may we not pray for the cutting off of persecutors? And may we not give God thanks for it, if he do it himself, without any sinful means of ours?'

Answer. 1. Every ruler that casteth down one sect or party of Christians, and setteth up another (perhaps as true to the interest of Christianity as they) is not to be prayed against, and his destruction wished by the suffering party. 2. If he be a persecutor of Christianity and piety itself, as heathens and infidels are, yet if his government do more good, than his persecution doth harm, you may not so much as wish his downfall. 3. If he were a Nero, or a Julian, you must pray first for his conversion; and if that may not be, then next for his restraint, and never for his destruction, but on supposition, that neither of the former may be attained (which you cannot say). 4. You must pray for the deliverance of the persecuted church, and leave the way and means to God, and not prescribe to him. Hurtful desires and

^e Eccles. x. 20.

prayers are seldom of God. 5. You may more freely rejoice afterwards, than desire it before: because when a Julian is cut off, you know that God's righteous will is accomplished; when before you knew not that it was his will: yet after, it is the deliverance of the church, and not the hurt of a persecutor as such, that you must give thanks for: be very suspicious here, lest partiality and passion blind you^f.

Direct. IX. 'Learn how to suffer; and know what use God can make of your sufferings, and think not better of prosperity, and worse of suffering, than you have cause^g.' It is a carnal, unbelieving heart, that maketh so great a matter of poverty, imprisonment, banishment or death, as if they were undone, if they suffer for Christ, or be sent to heaven before the time; as if kingdoms must be disturbed to save you from suffering: this better beseems an infidel or a worldling, that takes his earthly prosperity for his portion, and thinks he hath no other to win or lose. Do you not know what the church hath gained by suffering? How pure it hath been when the fire of persecution hath refined it? And how prosperity hath been the very thing that hath polluted it, and shattered it all to pieces; by letting in all the ungodly world, into the visible communion of the saints, and by setting the bishops on contending for superiority, and overtopping emperors and kings? Many thousands that would be excellent persons in adversity, cannot bear a high or prosperous state, but their brains are turned, and pride and contention maketh them the scorn of the adversaries that observe them.

^f They are dangerous passages which Petrarch hath, though a good, learned and moderate man. Dial. 49. Non tot passim essent domini nec tam late furerent, nisi populi insanirent et cuique civium pro se charior foret res privata quam publica; voluptas quam gloria, pecunia quam libertas, vita quam virtus—Et statim—Et sane si vel unum patria civem bonum habeat, malum dominum diutius non habebit. The meaning is too plain: abundance of the most learned writers have such passages which must be read with caution; though I would draw none to the other extreme. Petrarch's 68 Dial. and 85 Dial. de bono domino, is as smart as the former; but yet speaketh not all that 'contra reges,' which he doth 'contra dominos.' However he says that, Inter regem et tyrannum non discernunt Graeci, &c.—So Sir Thomas More in his Poems: Regibus e multis regnum bene qui reget unum: vix tamen unus erit, si tamen unus erit. And that of Senec. Trag. ult. Tantum ut noccat, cupit esse potens—

^g Bias interrogatus, quidnam esset difficile? Ferre, inquit, fortiter mutationem rerum in deterius. Diog. Laert. lib. i. sect. 86. p. 54.

Direct. x. ‘Trust God, and live by faith; and then you will find no need of rebellious or any sinful means.’ Do you believe, that both the hearts and lives of kings, and all their affairs, are in the hands of God? If not, you are atheists. If you do, then do you not think that God is fitter than you to dispose of them? He that believeth, will not make haste. Deliverance from persecutions must be prayed and waited for, and not snatched by violence, as a hungry dog will snatch the meat out of his master’s hands, and bite his fingers. Do you believe, “That all shall work together for good to them that love God^h?” And do you believe, that the godly are more than conquerors; when they are killed all day, and counted as sheep unto the slaughterⁱ? And do you believe, that is cause of exceeding joy, when for the sake of righteousness you are hated and persecuted, and all manner of evil is falsely spoken of you^k? If you do not, you believe not Christ; if you do, will you strive by sinful means against your own good, and happiness, and joy? Will you desire to conquer, when you may be more than conquerors? Certainly, the use of sinful means doth come from secret unbelief and diffidence. Learn to trust God, and you will easily be subject to your governors.

Direct. xi. ‘Look not for too great matters in the world: take it but for that wilderness which is the way to the promised land of rest.’ And then you will not count it strange to meet with hard usage and sufferings from almost all. “Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as if some strange thing happened to you; but rejoice in that ye are partakers of the sufferings of Christ^l.” Are you content with God and heaven for your portion? If not, how are you Christians; if you are, you have small temptation to rebel or use unlawful means for earthly privileges^m. Paul saith, “He took pleasure in persecutionⁿ.” Learn you to do so, and you will easily bear them.

Direct. xii. ‘Abhor the popular spirit of envy, which maketh the poor, for the most part, think odiously of the rich and their superiors; because they have that which they had rather have themselves.’ I have long observed it, that

^h Rom. viii. 28.

ⁱ Verse 32—35.

^k Matt. v. 10—12.

^l 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13.

^m Phil. iii. 7, 8, 11, 12.

ⁿ 2 Cor. xii. 10.

the poor labouring people, are very apt to speak of the rich, as sober men speak of drunkards; as if their very estates, and dignity, and greatness were a vice^a. And it is very much to flatter their own conscience, and delude themselves with ungrounded hopes of heaven. When they have not the Spirit of regeneration and holiness, to witness their title to eternal life, they think their poverty will serve the turn; and they will ordinarily say, That they hope God will not punish them in another world, because they have had their part in this: but they will easily believe, that almost all rich and great men go to hell. And when they read Luke xvi. of the rich man and Lazarus, they think they are the Lazarus's, and read it as if God would save men merely for being poor, and damn men for being great and rich; when yet they would themselves be as rich and great, if they knew how to attain it. They think that they are the maintainers of the commonwealth, and the rich are the caterpillars of it, that live upon their labours, like drones in the hive, or mice and vermin that eat the honey, which the poor labouring bees have long been gathering. For they are unacquainted with the labours and cares of their governors, and sensible only of their own. This envious spirit exceedingly disposeth the poor to discontents, and tumults, and rebellions; but it is not of God^o.

Direct. XIII. 'Keep not company with envious murmurers at government; for their words fret like a canker, and their sin is of an infecting kind.' What a multitude were drawn into the rebellion of Corah, who no doubt, were provoked by the leader's discontented words. It seemeth they were for popularity. "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord:— Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness; except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?— Wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?" What confidence, and

^a Univers. Hist. p. 140. Dicas imperatorem orbis Epictetum, Neronem mancipium: irrisum esse summo fastigio, cum serviret dignus, imperaret indignus; nullumque esse malum, quin aliquis boni gutta cordiatus.

^o James iii. 15—17.

^p Numb. xvi. 3, 13, 14.

what fair pretences are here? so probable and plausible to the people, that it is no wonder that multitudes were carried to rebellion by it? Though God disowned them by a dreadful judgment, and shewed whom he had chosen to be the governors of his people.

Direct. xiv. 'Keep humble, and take heed of pride.' The humble are ready to obey and yield, and not only to be subject to magistrates, but to all men, even voluntarily to be subject to them that cannot constrain them. "Be all of you subject one to another." It is no hard matter for a twig to bow, and for a humble soul to yield and obey another, in any thing that is lawful. But the proud take subjection for vassalage, and obedience for slavery, and say, "Who is Lord over us; our tongues are our own; what Lord shall control us? Will we be made slaves to such and such?" "Only from pride cometh contention." By causing impatience, it causeth disobedience and sedition.

Direct. xv. 'Meddle not uncalled with the matters of superiors, and take not upon you to censure their actions, whom you have neither ability, fitness or authority to censure.' How commonly will every tradesman and labourer at his work, be censuring the counsels and government of the king; and speaking of things, which they never had means sufficiently to understand. Unless you had been upon the place, and heard all the debates and consultations, and understood all the circumstances and reasons of the business, how can you imagine that at so great a distance you are competent judges? Fear God, and judge not that you be not judged'. If busybodies and meddlers with other men's matters, among equals, are condemned"; much more when they meddle, and that censoriously, with the matters of their governors. If you would please God, know, and keep your places, as soldiers in an army, which is their comely order and their strength.

Direct. xvi. 'Consider the great temptations of the rich and great; and pity them that stand in so dangerous a station, instead of murmuring at them, or envying their greatness.' You little know what you should be your-

¹ 1 Pet. v. 15.

[†] Psal. xii. 6, 7. Prov. xvi. 18. xix. 23.

[•] Prov. xiii. 10.

[†] Matt. vii. 1—3.

[•] 2 Thess. iii. 11. 1 Tim. v. 13. 1 Pet. iv. 15.

selves, if you were in their places, and the world, and the flesh, had so great a stroke at you, as they have at them. He that can swim in a calmer water, may be carried down a violent stream. It is harder for that bird to fly, that hath many pound weights tied to keep her down, than that which hath but a straw to carry to her nest. It is harder mounting heaven-wards with lordships and kingdoms, than with your less impediments. Why do you not pity them that stand on the top of barren mountains, in the stroke of every storm and wind, when you dwell in the quiet, fruitful vales? Do you envy them that must go to heaven, as a camel through a needle's eye, if they come there? And are you discontented, that you are not in their condition? Will you rebel and fight to make your salvation as difficult as theirs? Are you so unthankful to God for your safer station, that you murmur at it, and long to be in the more dangerous place?

Direct. xvii. 'Pray constantly and heartily for the spiritual and corporal welfare of your governors.' And you have reason to believe, that God who hath commanded you to put up such prayers, will not suffer them to be wholly lost, but will answer them some way to the benefit of them that perform the duty*. And the very performance of it will do us much good of itself; for it will keep the heart well disposed to our governors, and keep out all sinful desires of their hurt; or control them and cast them out, if they come in: prayer is the exercise of love and good desires; and exercise increaseth and confirmeth habits. If any ill wishes against your governors should steal into your minds, the next time you pray for them, conscience will accuse you of hypocrisy, and either the sinful desires will corrupt or end your prayers, or else your prayers will cast out those ill desires. Certainly the faithful, fervent prayers of the righteous, do prevail much with God: and things would go better than they do in the world, if we prayed for rulers as heartily as we ought.

Object. 'For all the prayers of the church, five parts of six of the world are yet idolaters, heathens, infidels, and Mahometans: and for all the prayers of the reformed churches, most of the Christian part of the world are drowned in Popery, or gross ignorance and superstition, and the

* 1 Tim. ii. 1—3.

poor Greek churches have Mahometan or tyrannical governors, and carnal, proud, usurping prelates domineer over the Roman church ; and there are but three Protestant kings on the whole earth ! And among the Israelites themselves, who had priests and prophets to pray for their princes, a good king was so rare, that when you had named five or six over Judah, (and never an one after the division over Israel,) you scarce know where to find the rest. What good then do your prayers for kings and magistrates ?

Answ. 1. As I said before, they keep the hearts of subjects in an holy, obedient frame. 2. Were it not for prayers, those few good ones would be fewer, or worse than they are ; and the bad ones might be worse, or at least do more hurt to the church than they now do. 3. It is not to be expected, that all should be granted in kind that believers pray for ; for then not only kings, but all the world should be converted and saved ; for we should pray for every one. But God who knoweth best how to distribute his mercies, and to honour himself, and refine his church by the malice and persecution of his enemies, will make his people's prayers a means of that measure of good which he will do for rulers, and by them in the world ; and that is enough to encourage us to pray. 4. And indeed, if when proud, ungodly worldlings have sold their souls by wicked means, to climb up into places of power, and command, and domineer over others ; the prayers of the faithful should presently convert and save them all, because they are governors. This would seem to charge God with respect of persons, and defect of justice, and would drown the world in wickedness, treasons, bloodshed, and confusion, by encouraging men by flatteries, or treacheries, or murders, to usurp such places, in which they may both gratify their lusts, and after save their souls, while the godly are obliged to pray them into heaven. It is no such hearing of prayers for governors which God hath promised. 5. And yet, I must observe, that most Christians are so cold and formal in their prayers for the rulers of the world, and of the church, that we have great reason to impute the unhappiness of governors, very much to their neglect ; almost all men are taken up so much with their own concernments, that they put off the public concernments of the world, and of the church and state, with a few cus-

tomary, heartless words; and understand not the meaning of the three first petitions of the Lord's prayer, and the reason of their precedency, or put them not up with that feeling, as they do the other three. If we could once observe, that the generality of Christians were more earnest and importunate with God, for the hallowing of his name through all the world, and the coming of his kingdom, and the obeying of his will in earth, as it is in heaven, and the conversion of the kings and kingdoms of the world, than for any of their personal concerns, I should take it for a better prognostic of the happiness of kings and kingdoms, than any that hath yet appeared in our days. And those that are taken up with the expectations of Christ's visible reign on earth, would find it a more lawful and comfortable way, to promote his government thus by his own appointed officers, than to rebel against kings, and seek to pull them down, on pretence of setting up him that hath appointed them, whose kingdom (personally) is not of this world⁷.

Direct. xviii. 'When you are tempted to dishonourable thoughts of your governors, look over the face of all the earth, and compare your case with the nations of the world; and then your murmurings may be turned into thankfulness for so great a mercy.' What cause hath God to difference us from other nations, and give us any more than an equal proportion of mercy with the rest of the world. Have we deserved to have a Christian king, when five parts of the world have rulers that are heathens and Mahometans? Have we deserved to have a Protestant king, when all the world hath but two more? How happy were the world, if it were so with all nations, as it is with us? Remember how unthankfulness forfeiteth our happiness.

Direct. xix. 'Consider as well the benefits which you receive by governors, as the sufferings which you undergo;

⁷ Object. Si id juris orbis obtineat status religionis erit instabilis; mutato regis animo religio mutabitur. Resp. Unicum hic solatium in Divina est providentia; omnium animos Deus in potestate sua habet; sed speciali quodam modo cor regis in manu Domini. Deus et per bonos et per malos reges opus suum operatur. Interdum tranquillitas, interdum tempestas ecclesie utilior. Nempe si pius est qui imperat, si diligens lector sacre Scripturæ, si assiduus in precibus, si Ecclesie Catholice reverens, si peritos attente audiens, multum per illum proficit veritas. Sin distorto est et corrupto judicio, pejus id ipsi cedit quam ecclesie. Nam ipsum grave manet judicium regis ecclesie, qui ecclesiam inultam non sinit. Grotius de Imper, p. 210. Jotm xviii. 36.

and especially consider of the common benefits, and value them above your own.' He that knoweth what man is, and what the world is, and what the temptations of great men are, and what he himself deserveth, and what need the best have of affliction, and what good they may get by the right improvement of it, will never wonder nor grudge to have his earthly mercies mixed with crosses, and to find some salt or sourness in the sauce of his pleasant dishes. For the most luscious is not of best concoction. And he that will more observe his few afflictions, than his many benefits, hath much more selfish tenderness of the flesh, than ingenuous thankfulness to his benefactor. It is for your good that rulers are the ministers of God^a. Perhaps you will think it strange, that I say to you (what I have oft said,) that I think there are not very many rulers, no, not tyrants and persecutors so bad, but that the godly that live under them, do receive from their government more good than hurt; and (though it must be confessed, that better governors would do better, yet) almost the worst are better than none. And none are more beholden to God for magistrates, than the godly are, however none suffer so much by them in most places of the world^a. My reason is, 1. Because the multitude of the needy, and the dissolute prodigals, if they were all ungoverned, would tear out the throats of the more wealthy and industrious, and as robbers use men in their houses, and on the highway, so would such persons use all about them, and turn all into a constant war. And hereby all honest industry would be overthrown, while the fruit of men's labours were all at the mercy of every one that is stronger than the owner; and a robber can take away all in a night, which you have been labouring for many years, or may set all on fire over your heads; and more persons would be killed in these wars by those that sought their goods, than tyrants and persecutors use to kill (unless they be of the most cruel sort of all). 2. And it is plain, that in most

^a Rom. xiii. 3—5.

^a Dicunt Stoici, sapientes non modo liberos esse verum et reges: cum sit regnum imperium nemini obnoxium, quod de sapientibus solis asseritur. Statuere enim oportere principem de bonis et malis; hæc autem malorum scire neminem. Similiter ad magistratus, et judicia et oratoriam solos illos idoneos, neminemque malorum. Diog. Laert. in Zenone.

countries, the universal enmity of corrupted nature to serious godliness would inflame the rabble, if they were but ungoverned, to commit more murders and cruelties upon the godly, than most of the persecutors in the world have committed. Yet I deny not, in most places there are a sober sort of men of the middle rank that will hear reason, and are more equal to religion than the highest or the lowest usually are. But suppose these sober men were the more numerous, yet is the vulgar rabble the more violent, and if rulers restrained them not, would leave few of the faithful alive on earth. As many volumes as are written of the martyrs, who have suffered by persecutors, I think they saved the lives of many more than they murdered. Though this is no thanks to them, it is a mercy to others: as many as Queen Mary martyred, they had been far more if she had but turned the rabble loose upon them and never meddled with them by authority. I do not think Nero or Dioclesian martyred near so many, as the people turned loose upon them would have done. Much more was Julian, a protector of the church from the popular rage, though in comparison of a Constantine or a Theodosius, he was a plague. If you will but consider thus the benefits of your common protection, your thankfulness for rulers would overcome your murmurings. In some places, and at some times, perhaps the people would favour the Gospel, and flock after Christ, if rulers hindered them not; but that would not be the ordinary case, and their inconstancy is so great, that what they built up one day in their zeal, the next day they would pull down in fury.

Direct. xx. 'Think not that any change of the form of government, would cure that which is caused by the people's sin, or the common depravity of human nature,' Some think they can contrive such forms of government, as that rulers shall be able to do no hurt: but either they will disable them to do good, or else their engine is but glass, and will fail or break when it comes to execution. Men that are themselves so bad and unhumbled, as not to know how bad they are, and how bad mankind is, are still laying the blame upon the form of government when any thing is amiss, and think by a change to find a cure. As if when an army is infected with the plague, or composed of cowards, the

change of the general, or form of government, would prove a cure. But if a monarch be faulty, in an aristocracy you will but have many faulty governors for one; and in a democracy a multitude of tyrants^b.

Direct. XXI. 'Set yourselves much more to study your duty to your governors, than the duty of your governors to you; as knowing, that both your temporal and eternal happiness depend much more upon yourselves, than upon them^c.' God doth not call you to study other men's duties so much as your own. If your rulers sin, you shall not answer for it; but if you sin yourselves, you shall. If you should live under the Turk, that would oppress and persecute you, your souls shall speed never the worse for this; it is not you, but he that should be damned for it. If you say, 'But it is we that should be oppressed by it;' I answer, 1. How small are temporal things to a true believer, in comparison of eternal things? Have not you a greater hurt to fear, than the killing of your bodies by men^d? 2. And even for this life, do you not believe that your lives and liberties are in the power of God, and that he can relieve you from the oppression of all the world, by less than a word, even by his will? If you believe not this, you are atheists; if you do, you must needs perceive that it concerneth you more to care for your duty to your governors, than for theirs to you; and not so much to regard what you receive, as what you do; nor how you are used by others, as how you behave yourselves to them. Be much more afraid lest you should be guilty of murmuring, dishonouring, disobeying, flattering, not praying for your governors, than lest you suffer any thing unjustly from them. "Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters; yet if any man suffer as

^b *Eam rempublicam optimam dicunt Stoici, quæ sit mixta ex regno et populari dominatu, optimorumque potentia.* Diog. Laert. in Zenone.

^c Bad people make bad governors; in most places the people are so wilful and tenacious of their sinful customs, that the best rulers are not able to reform them. Yea, many a ruler hath cast off his government, being wearied with mutinous and obstinate people. Plato would not meddle with government in Athens. *Quia plebs aliis institutis et moribus assueverat.* Diog. Laert. in Platone. And many other philosophers that were fittest for government, refused it on the same account, through the disobedience of the people.

^d Luke xii. 4.

a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf.— If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, ye are happy.*” Live so, that all your adversaries may be forced to say, as it was said of Daniel, “ We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God †.” Let none be able justly to punish you as drunkards, or thieves, or slanderers, or fornicators, or perjured, or deceivers, or rebellious, or seditious, and then never fear any suffering for the sake of Christ or righteousness. Yea, though you suffer as Christ himself did, under a false accusation of disloyalty, fear not the suffering nor the infamy, as long as you are free from the guilt. See that all be well at home, and that you be not faulty against God or your governors, and then you may boldly commit yourselves to God ‡.

Direct. xxii. ‘ The more religious any are, the more obedient should they be in all things lawful. Excel others in loyalty, as well as in piety.’ Religion is so far from being a just pretence of rebellion, that it is the only effectual bond of sincere subjection and obedience.

Direct. xxiii. ‘ Therefore believe not them that would exempt the clergy from subjection to the civil powers.’ As none should know the law of God so well as they, so none should be more obedient to kings and states, when the law of God so evidently commandeth it. Of this read “ Bilson of Christian Subjection” (who besides many others, saith enough of this). The arguments of the Papists from the supposed incapacity of princes, would exempt physicians, and other arts and sciences, from under their government, as well as the clergy.

Direct. xxiv. ‘ Abase not magistrates so far, as to think their office and power extend not to matters of religion, and the worship of God.’ Were they only for the low and contemptible matters of this world, their office would be contemptible and low. To help you out in this, I shall answer some of the most common doubts.

Quest. i. ‘ Is the civil magistrate judge in controversies of faith or worship?’

Ans. It hath many a time grieved me to hear so easy a question frequently propounded, and pitifully answered, by

* 1 Pet. iv. 13—17.

† Dan. vi. 5.

‡ 1 Pet. ii. 23, 24.

such as the public good required to have had more understanding in such things. In a word, judgment is public or private. The private judgment, which is nothing but a rational discerning of truth and duty, in order to our own choice and practice, belongeth to every rational person. The public judgment is ever in order to execution. Now the execution is of two sorts, 1. By the sword. 2. By God's Word applied to the case and person. One is upon the body or estate; the other is upon the conscience of the person, or of the church, to bring him to repentance, or to bind him to avoid communion with the church, and the church to avoid communion with him^b. And thus public judgment, is civil or ecclesiastical; coercive and violent in the execution; or only upon consenters and volunteers. In the first, the magistrate is the only judge, and the pastors in the second. About faith or worship, if the question be, 'Who shall be protected as orthodox, and who shall be punished by the sword as heretical, idolatrous, or irreligious;' here the magistrate is the only judge. If the question be, 'Who shall be admitted to church communion as orthodox, or ejected and excommunicated as heretical or prophane;' here the pastors are the proper judges. This is the truth, and this is enough to end all the voluminous wranglings upon the question, 'Who shall be judge?' And to answer the cavils of the Papists against the power of princes in matters of religion. It is pity that such gross and silly sophisms, in a case that a child may answer, should debase Christian princes, and take away their chief power, and give it to a proud and wrangling clergy, to persecute and divide the church with^c.

Quest. 11. 'May our oath of supremacy be lawfully taken, wherein the king is pronounced supreme governor in all cases ecclesiastical as well as civil?'

Ans. There is no reason of scruple to him that understandeth, 1. That the title 'causes ecclesiastical' is taken from the ancient usurpation of the pope and his prelates, who brought much of the magistrate's work into their courts,

^b Of these things see my propositions of the difference of the magistrate's and pastor's power to Dr. Lud. Moul.

^c The 'Rex sacrorum' among the Romans, was debarred from exercising any magistracy. Plut. Rom. Quest. 63.

under the name of 'causes ecclesiastical.' 2. That our canons, and many declarations of our princes, have expounded it fully, by disclaiming all proper pastoral power. 3. That by 'governor' is meant only one that governeth coercively, or by sword; so that it is no more than to swear 'That in all causes ecclesiastical, so far as coercive government is required, it belongeth not to pope or prelates under him; but to the king and his officers or courts alone:' or, 'That the king is chief in governing by the sword in causes ecclesiastical as well as civil.' So that if you put 'spiritual' instead of 'ecclesiastical,' the word is taken materially, and not formally; not that the king is chief in the spiritual government, by the keys of excommunication and absolution, but that he is chief in the coercive government about spiritual matters, as before explained ^b.

Quest. III. 'Is not this to confound the church and state, and to give the pastor's power to the magistrate?'

Ans. Not at all; it is but to say that there may be need of the use both of the word and sword against the same persons, for the same offence; and the magistrate only must use one, and the pastors the other. An heretical preacher may be silenced by the king upon pain of banishment, and silenced by the church, upon pain of excommunication. And what confusion is there in this?

Quest. IV. 'But hath not the king power in cases of church discipline, and excommunication itself?'

Ans. There is a magistrate's discipline, and a pastoral discipline. Discipline by the sword, is the magistrate's work; discipline by the Word is the pastor's work. And there is a coercive excommunication, and a pastoral excommunication. To command upon pain of corporal punishment, that a heretic or impenitent, wicked man shall forbear the sacred ordinances and privileges, a magistrate may do; but to command it only upon Divine and spiritual penalties, belongeth to the pastors of the church. The magistrate hath power over their very pastoral work, though he have not power in it, so as to do it himself. Suppose but all the physicians of

^b See Bilson of Subject. pp. 258. 256. Princes only be governors in things and causes ecclesiastical; that is, with the sword. But if you infer, 'ergo,' bishops be no governors in those things, meaning, no dispensers, guilders, nor directors of those things, your conclusion is larger, &c. So p. 256.

the nation to be of divine institution, with their colleges and hospitals, and in the similitude you will see all the difficulties resolved, and the next question fully answered¹.

Quest. v. 'Seeing the king, and the pastors of the church may command and judge to several ends in the same cause, suppose they should differ; which of them should the church obey?'

Ans. Distinguish here, 1. Between a right judgment, and a wrong. 2. Between the matter in question; which is either, 1. Proper in its primary state to the magistrate. 2. Or proper primarily to the pastor. 3. Or common to both (though in several sorts of judgment). And so I answer the question thus.

1. If it be a matter wherein God himself hath first determined, and his officers do but judge in subordination to his law, and declare his will, then we must obey him that speaketh according to the Word of God, if we can truly discern it; and not him that we know goeth contrary to God^m. As if the magistrate should forbid communion with Arians or heretics, and the pastors command us to hold communion with them as no heretics; here the magistrate is to be obeyed (because God is to be obeyed) before the pastors, though it be in a matter of faith and worship. If you say, 'Thus you make all the people judges,' I answer you, And so you must make them such private judges, to discern their own duty, and so must every man; or else you must rule them as beasts or madmen, and prove that there is no heaven or hell for any in the world but kings and pastors; or, at least, that the people shall be saved or damned for nothing, but obeying or not obeying their governors; and if you could prove that, you are never the nearer reconciling the contradictory commands of those governors.

2. But if the matter be not fore-determined by God, but

¹ It was somewhat far that Carolus Magnus went, to be actual guide of all in his chapel in reading even in all their stops, as it is at large declared by Abbas Usserg. Chro. p. 181.

^m Bishop Bilson p. 315. We grant, they must rather hazard their lives, than baptise princes which believe not, or distribute the Lord's mysteries to them that repent not, but give wilful and open signification of impiety, &c. Beda Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 5. telleth us, That Melitus, bishop of London, (with Justus) was banished by the heirs of king Sabereth, because he would not give them the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which they would needs have before they were baptized.

left to man; then, 1. If it be the magistrate's proper work, we must obey the magistrate only. 2. If it be about the pastor's proper work, the pastor is to be obeyed; though the magistrate gainsay it, so be it he proceed according to the general rules of his instructions, and the matter be of weight. As if the magistrate and the pastors of the church do command different translations or expositions of the Bible to be used, or one forbiddeth, and another commandeth the same individual person to be baptized, or receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or to be esteemed a member of the church; if the people know not which of them judgeth right, it seemeth to me they should first obey their pastors, because it is only in matters intimately pertaining to their office. I speak only of formal obedience, and that of the people only; for, materially, prudence may require us rather to do as the magistrate commandeth, 'quod, non quia,' to avoid a greater evil. And it is always supposed that we patiently bear the magistrate's penalties, when we obey not his commands. 3. But in points common to them both, the case is more difficult. But here you must further distinguish, first, between points equally common, and points unequally common; secondly, between determinations of good, or bad, or indifferent consequence as to the main end and interest of God and souls. 1. In points equally common to both, the magistrate is to be obeyed against the pastors; because he is more properly a commanding governor, and they are but the guides or governors of volunteers; and because, in such cases, the pastors themselves should obey the magistrate; and therefore the people should first obey him". 2. Much more in points unequally common, which the magistrate is more concerned in than the pastors; the magistrate is undoubtedly to be first obeyed. Of both, there might instances be given about the circumstantials or adjuncts of God's worship. As the place

▪ Bishop Andrews in *Tort. Tort.* p. 383. *Cohibeat Regem Diaconus, si cum indignas sit, idque palam constet, accedat tamen ad sacramentum: cohibeat et medicus si ad noxium quid vel insalubre manum admoveat: cohibeat et equiso inter equitandum adigat equum per locum præruptum, vel salebrosum, cui subsit periculum: etiamne medico? etiamne equisoni suo subjectus rex? Sed de majori potestate loquitur; sed ea, ad rem noxiam procul arcendam. Qua in re charitatis semper potestas est maxima.* Here you see what church-government is, and how kings are under it, and how not, in Bishop Andrews' sense.

of public worship, the situation, form, bells, fonts, pulpits, seats, precedency in seats, tables, cups, and other utensils; church-bounds by parishes, church-ornaments, gestures, habits, some councils, and their order, with other such like; in all which, 'cæteris paribus,' for my part I would rather obey the laws of the king, than the canons of the bishops, if they should disagree. 3. But in cases common to both, in which the pastor's office is more nearly and fully concerned than the magistrate's, the case is more difficult: as at what hour the church shall assemble; what part of Scripture shall be read; what text the minister shall preach on; how long prayer, or sermon, or other church-exercises shall be; what prayers the minister shall use; in what method he shall preach; and what doctrine he shall deliver, and the people hear; with many such like. These do most nearly belong to the pastoral office, to judge of as well as to execute; but yet in some cases the magistrate may interpose his authority. And herein, 1. If the one party do determine clearly to the necessary preservation of religion, and the other to the ruin of it; the disparity of consequents, maketh a great disparity in the case; for here God himself hath predetermined, who commandeth that "all be done to edification." As for instance, if a Christian magistrate ordain, that no assembly shall consist of above forty or an hundred persons, when there are so many preachers and places of meeting, that it is no detriment to men's souls; and especially, when the danger of infection, or other evil warranteth it, then I would obey that command of the magistrate, though the pastors of the church were against it, and commanded fuller meetings. But if a Julian should command the same thing, on purpose to wear out the Christian religion, and when it tendeth to the ruin of men's souls, (as when preachers are so few, that either more must meet together, or most must be untaught, and excluded from God's worship,) here I would rather obey the pastors that command the contrary, because they do but deliver the command of God, who determineth consequently of the necessary means, when he determineth of the end. But if the consequents of the magistrate's and the pastor's commands should be equally indifferent, and neither of them discer-

nably good or bad, the difficulty then would be at the highest, and such as I shall not here presume to determine*.

No doubt but the king is the supreme governor over all the schools, and physicians, and hospitals in the land, that is, he is the supreme in the civil coercive government: he is supreme magistrate over divines, physicians, and schoolmasters; but not the supreme divine, physician, or schoolmaster. When there is any work for the office of the magistrate, that is, for the sword, among any of them, it belongeth only to him, and not at all to them: but when there is any work for the divine, the physician, the schoolmaster, or if you will, for the shoemaker, the taylor, the watchmaker, this belongeth not to the king to do, or give particular commands for: but yet it is all to be done under his government; and on special causes he may make laws to force them all to do their several works aright, and to restrain them from abuses. As (to clear the case in hand) the king is informed that physicians take too great fees of their patients, that some through ignorance, and some through covetousness give ill compounded medicines and pernicious drugs: no doubt but the king, by the advice of understanding men, may forbid the use of such drugs as are found pernicious to his subjects, and may regulate not only the fees, but the compositions and attendances of physicians. But if he should command, that a man in a fever, or dropsy, or consumption, shall have no medicine, but this or that, and so oft, and in such or such a dose, and with such or such a diet; and the physicians whom my reason bindeth me to trust, (and perhaps my own experience also,) do tell me that all these things are bad for me, and different tempers and accidents require different remedies, and that I am like to die, or hazard my health, if I obey not them contrary to the king's commands, here I should rather obey my physicians: partly, because else I should sin against God, who commandeth me the preservation of my life; and partly, because this matter more belongeth to the physician, than to the

* Bilsen, p. 399. saith, The election of bishops in those days belonged to the people, and not the prince, and though Valens by plain force placed Lucius there, yet might the people lawfully reject him as no bishop, and cleave to Peter their right pastor.

magistrate. Mr. Richard Hooker, Eccles. Polit. lib. viii. pp. 223, 224., giveth you the reason more fully^p.

Direct. xxv. 'Give not the magistrate's power to any other; whether to the people, on pretence of their 'majestas realis,' (as they call it,) or to the pope, or prelates, or pastors of the church, upon pretence of authority from Christ, or of the distinction of ecclesiastical government and civil.' The people's pretensions to natural authority, or real majesty, or collation of power, I have confuted before, and more elsewhere. The pope's, prelate's, and pastor's power of the sword in causes ecclesiastical, is disproved so fully by Bishop Bilson 'ubi supra,' and many more, that it is needless to say much more of it^q. All Protestants, so far as I know, are agreed that no bishop or pastor hath any power of the sword, that is, of coercion, or force upon men's bodies, liberties, or estates, except as magistrates derived from their sovereign. Their spiritual power is only upon consenters, in the use of God's Word upon the conscience, either generally in preaching, or with personal application in discipline. No courts or commands can compel any to appear or submit, nor lay the mulct of a penny upon any, but by their own consent, or the magistrate's authority. But this the Papists will few of them confess: for if once the sword were taken from them, the world would quickly see that their church had the hearts of few of those multitudes, whom by fire and sword, they forced to seem their members; or at least, that when the windows were opened, the light would quickly deliver poor souls from the servitude of those men of darkness. For then few would fear the unrighteous excommunications of mere usurpers^r. It is

^p Too many particular laws about little matters breed contention. Alex. Severus would have distinguished all orders of men by their apparel: sed hoc Ulpiano, et Paulo displicuit; dicentibus plurimum rixarum fore, si faciles essent homines ad injurias. And the emperor yielded to them. Lamprid. in Alex. Severus. Lipsius, ubi leges multæ, ibi lites multæ, et vita moresque pravi. Non multæ leges bonos mores faciunt, sed paucæ fideliter servatæ.

^q N. B. Quæ habet Andrews Tort. Tort. p. 310. Quando et apud vos dictio juris exterior, clavis proprie non sit: eamque vos multis sæpe mandatis, qui laicorum in sorte sunt, exortes sane sacri ordinis universi.

^r *Legæ Epist. Caroli Calvi ad Papam inter Hincmarum Rhemensem Epistolæ Cont. Papæ Usurpationes.* Isidor. Hispal. sent. iii. cap. 51. Cognoscant principes seculi Deo debere se rationem reddere propter ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina ecclesiæ per fideles principes, sive solva-

a manifold usurpation by which their kingdom is upheld. (For a kingdom it is rather to be called than a church.) 1. They usurp the power of the keys or ecclesiastical government over all the world, and make themselves pastors of those churches, which they have nothing to do to govern. Their excommunications of princes or people, in other lands or churches that never took them for their pastors, is an usurpation the more odious, by how much the power usurped is more holy, and the performance in so large a parish as the whole world, is naturally impossible to the Roman usurper. 2. Under the name of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they usurp the magistrate's coercive power in such causes as they call ecclesiastical. 3. Yea, and they claim an immunity to their clergy from the civil government, as if they were no subjects of the king, or the king had not power to punish his offending subjects. 4. 'In ordine ad spiritualia,' they claim yet more of the magistrate's power. 5. And one part of them give the pope directly in temporals a power over kings and kingdoms. 6. Their most eminent divines do ordinarily maintain, that the pope may excommunicate kings and interdict kingdoms, and that an excommunicated king is no king, and may be killed. It is an article of their religion, determined of in one of their approved general councils, (Later. sub. Innoc. III. Can. 3.) That if temporal lords will not exterminate heretics from their lands; (such as the Albigenses, that denied transubstantiation, mentioned can. 2.) the pope may give their dominions to others, and absolve their vassals from their fealty. And when some of late would have so far salved their honour, as to invalidate the authority of that council, they will not endure it, but have strenuously vindicated it; and indeed whatever it be to us, with them it is already enrolled among the approved general councils. Between the Erastians who would have no government, but by magistrates, and the Papists, who give the magistrate's power to the pope and his prelates, the truth is in the middle; that the pastors have a

tar, ille ab eis rationem exigit, qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam creditit. Leo Epist. ad Leonem Imp. Debes incunctanter advertere, regiam potestatem, tibi non solum ad mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesie præsidium esse collatam. See the judgment of J. Parisiensis, Franciscus Victoria, and Widdrington in Grot. de Imper. p. 23. Lege Lud. Molinæ Discourse of the Powers of Cardinal Chigi.

nunciative and directive power from Christ, and a discipline to exercise by the Word alone, on volunteers; much like the power of a philosopher in his school, or a physician in his hospital, supposing them to be by divine right.

Direct. xxvi. 'Refuse not to swear allegiance to your lawful sovereign.' Though oaths are fearful, and not to be taken without weighty cause, yet are they not to be refused when the cause is weighty, as here it is. Must the sovereign be sworn to do his office for you, and must he undertake so hard and perilous a charge for you, which he is no way able to go through, if his subjects be not faithful to him? And shall those subjects refuse to promise and swear fidelity? This is against all reason and equity.

Direct. xxvii. 'Think not that either the pope, or any power in the world, can dispense with this your oath, or absolve you from the bond of it, or save you from the punishment due from God, to the perjured and perfidious.' Of this see what I have written before against perjury.

Direct. xxviii. 'Do nothing that tendeth to bring the sacred bonds of oaths, into an irreligious contempt, or to make men take the horrid crime of perjury to be a little sin.' Sovereigns have no sufficient security of the fidelity of their subjects, or of their lives, or kingdoms; if once oaths and covenants be made light of, and men can play fast and loose with the bonds of God, which lie upon them. He is virtually a traitor to princes and states, who would bring perjury and perfiduousness into credit, and teacheth men to violate oaths and vows. For there is no keeping up human societies and governments, where there is no trust to be put in one another. And there is no trust to be put in that man, that maketh no conscience of an oath or vow'.

Direct. xxix. 'Be ready to your power to defend your governors, against all treasons, conspiracies, and rebellions.' For this is a great part of the duty of your relation. The wisdom and goodness necessary to government, is much personal in the governors themselves; but the

* Perjurii poena divina exitium, humana dedecus. Cicero. Agesilaus sent thanks to his enemies for their perjury, as making then no question of their overthrow. Perjuri numinis contemptores. Plutarch. Theodosius execrabatur cum legisset superbiam dominantium, præcipue perfidos et ingratos. Paul. Diaconus, l. 2.

† See the instance of loyalty in Maccleer against his own brother Gildo (a rebel) Paul. Diacon. lib. iiii. initio.

strength (without which laws cannot be executed, nor the people preserved) is in the people, and the prince's interest in them : therefore if you withdraw your help, in time of need, you desert and betray your rulers, whom you should defend. If you say, It is they that are your protectors : I answer, True ; but by yourselves. They protect you by wisdom, counsel, and authority, and you must protect them by obedience and strength. Would you have them protect you rather by mercenaries or foreigners ? If not, you must be willing to do your parts, and not think it enough in treasons, invasions, or rebellions, to sit still and save yourselves, and let him that can lay hold on the crown, possess it. What prince would be the governor of a people, that he knew would forsake him in his need ?

Direct. xxx. 'Murmur not at the payment of those necessary tributes, by which the common safety must be preserved, and the due honor of your governors kept up.' Sordid covetousness hath been the ruin of many a commonwealth. When every one is shifting for himself, and saving his own, and murmuring at the charge by which their safety must be defended, as if kings could fight for them, without men and money : this selfishness is the most pernicious enemy to government, and to the common good. Tribute and honour must be paid to whom it doth belong. "For they are God's ministers, attending continually on this very thing." And none of your goods or cabins will be saved, if by your covetousness the ship should perish.

Direct. xxxi. 'Resist not, where you cannot actually obey : and let no appearance of probable good that might come to yourselves, or the church by any unlawful means, (as treason, sedition, or rebellion) ever tempt you to it.' For evil must not be done, that good may come by it : and all evil means are but palliate and deceitful cures, that seem to help a little while, but will leave the malady more perilous at last, than it was before. As it is possible, that lying or perjury might be used to the seeming service of a governor at the time, which yet would prepare for his after danger, by teaching men perfidiousness ; even so rebellions and treasons may seem at present to be very conducive to the ends of a people or party that think themselves oppressed :

* Rom. xiii. 6, 7.

but in the end it will leave them much worse than it found them^x.

Object. 'But if we must let rulers destroy us at their pleasure, the Gospel will be rooted out of the earth: when they know that we hold it unlawful to resist them, they will be emboldened to destroy us, and sport themselves in our blood: as the Papists did by the poor Albigenses, &c.'

Answer. All this did signify something if there were no God, that can more easily restrain and destroy them at his pleasure, than they can destroy or injure you. But if there be a God, and all the world is in his hand, and with a word he can speak them all into dust; and if this God be engaged to protect you, and hath told you, that the very hairs of your head are numbered, and more regardeth his honour, and Gospel, and church, than you do, and accounteth his servants as the apple of his eye, and hath promised to hear them and avenge them speedily, and forbid them to avenge themselves; then it is but atheistical distrust of God, to save yourselves by sinful means, as if God either could not, or would not do it: thus he that saveth his life shall lose it. Do you believe that you are in the hands of Christ, and that men cannot touch you but by his permission; and that he will turn all your sufferings to your exceeding benefit? And yet will you venture on sin and hell to escape such sufferings from men? Wolves, and bears, and lions, that fight most for themselves, are hated and destroyed by all; so that there are but few of them in the land. But though a hundred sheep will run before a little dog, the master of them taketh care for their preservation. And little children that cannot go out of the way from a horse or cart, every one is afraid of hurting. If Christians behaved themselves with that eminent love, and lowliness, and meekness, and patience, and harmlessness, as their Lord hath taught them and required, perhaps the very cruelty and malice of their enemies would abate and relent; and "when a

^x *Bilson of Subject. p. 236.* Princes have no right to call or confirm preachers, but to receive such as be sent of God, and give them liberty for their preaching, and security for their persons: and if princes refuse so to do, God's labourers must go forward with that which is commanded them from heaven; not by disturbing princes from their thrones, nor invading their realms, as your holy father doth, and defendeth he may do; but by mildly submitting themselves to the powers on earth, and meekly suffering for the defence of the truth, what they shall inflict. So he.

man's ways please God, he would make his enemies to be at peace with him^y;" but if not, their fury would but hasten us to our joy and glory. Yet note, that I speak all this only against rebellion, and unlawful arms and acts.

Direct. xxxii. 'Obey inferior magistrates according to the authority derived to them from the supreme, but never against the supreme, from whom it is derived.' The same reasons which oblige you to obey the personal commands of the king, do bind you also to obey the lowest constable, or other officer: for they are necessary instruments of the sovereign power, and if you obey not them, the obedience of the sovereign signifieth almost nothing. But no man is bound to obey them beyond the measure of their authority; much less against those that give them their authority.

Direct. xxxiii. 'No human power is at all to be obeyed against God: for they have no power, but what they receive from God; and all that is from him, is for him. He giveth no power against himself; he is the first efficient, the chief dirigent, and ultimate, final cause of all^z.' It is no act of authority, but resistance of his authority, which contradicteth his law, and is against him. All human laws are subservient to his laws, and not co-ordinate, much less superior. Therefore they are 'ipso facto' null, or have no obligation, which are against him: yet is not the office itself null, when it is in some things thus abused; nor the magistrate's power null, as to other things. No man must commit the least sin against God, to please the greatest prince on earth, or to avoid the greatest corporal suffering^a. "Fear not them that can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but fear him, who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell: yea, I say unto you, fear him^b." "Whether we ought to obey God rather than men, judge ye^c." "Not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him that is invisible. Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance^d," &c. "Be it known unto thee, O

^y Prov. xvi. 7.

^z Rom. xiii. 1-4. xi. 36.

^a Si aliquid jusserit proconsul, aliud jubeat imperator, nunquid dubitatur, illo contempto, illi esse servendum? Ergo si aliud imperator, aliud jubeat Deus, quid judicatur? Major potestas Deus: da veniam O imperator. August. de Verb. Domin. Matt. Serm. 6.

^b Luke xii. 4.

^c Acts v. 29.

^d Heb. xi. 37. 35.

king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image," &c.

Object. 'If we are not obliged to obey, we are not obliged to suffer: for the law obligeth primarily to obedience, and only secondarily 'ad pœnam,' for want of obedience. Therefore where there is no primary obligation to obedience, there is no secondary obligation to punishment.'

Ans. The word 'obligation,' being metaphorical, must in controversy be explained by its proper terms. The law doth first 'constituere debitum obedientiæ, et propter inobedientiam debitum pœnæ.' Here then you must distinguish, 1. Between obligation 'in foro conscientiæ,' and 'in foro humano.' 2. Between an obligation 'ad pœnam' by that law of man, and an obligation 'ad patiendum' by another divine law. And so the answer is this: first, If the higher powers, e. g. forbid the apostles to preach upon pain of death or scourging, the dueness both of the obedience and the penalty, is really null, in point of conscience; however 'in foro humano' they are both due; that is, so falsely reputed in that court: therefore the apostles are bound to preach notwithstanding the prohibition, and so far as God alloweth they may resist the penalty, that is, by flying: for properly there is neither 'debitum obedientiæ nec pœnæ.' Secondly, But then God himself obligeth them not to "resist the higher powers," and "in their patience to possess their souls." So that from this command of God, there is a true obligation 'ad patiendum,' to patient suffering and non-resistance, though from the law of man against their preaching, there was no true obligation 'aut ad obedientiam, aut ad pœnam.' This is the true resolution of this sophism.

Direct. xxxiv. 'It is one of the most needful duties to governors, for those that have a call and opportunity (as their pastors) to tell them wisely and submissively of those sins which are the greatest enemies to their souls; and not the smallest enemies to their government, and the public peace.' All Christians will confess, that sin is the only for-

* Dan. iii. 18.

† Rom. xiii. 1—3.

‡ *Vetus est verumque dictum, Miser est imperator cui vera reticentur.* Grotius de Imp. p. 245. *Principi consule non dulciora, sed optima;* is one of Solon's sentences in Laert. de Solon. Therefore it is a horrid villany in the Jesuits, which is

feiture of God's protection, and the cause of his displeasure, and consequently the only danger to the soul, and the greatest enemy to the land. And that the sins of rulers, whether personal, or in their government, have a far more dangerous influence upon the public state, than the sins of other men. Yea, the very sins which upon true repentance may be pardoned as to the everlasting punishment, may yet be unpardoned as to the public ruin of a state: as the sad instance of Manasseh sheweth. "Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal^b." "Surely at the commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight for the sins of Manasseh according to all that he did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood) which the Lord would not pardonⁱ." And yet this was after Josiah had reformed: so Solomon's sin did cause the rending of the ten tribes from his son's kingdom: yea, the bearing with the high places, was a provoking sin in kings, that otherwise were upright. Therefore sin being the fire in the thatch, the quenching of it must needs be an act of duty and fidelity to governors: and those that tempt them to it, or sooth and flatter them in it, are the greatest enemies they have. But yet it is not every man that must reprove a governor, but those that have a call and opportunity; nor must it be done by them imperiously, or reproachfully, or publicly to their dishonour, but privately, humbly, and with love, honour, reverence and submissiveness.

Object. 'But great men have great spirits, and are impa-

expressed in Secret. Instruct. in Arcanis Jesuit. pp. 5—8. 11. To indulge great men and princes in those opinions and sins which please them, and to be on that side that their liberty requireth, to keep their favour to the society. So Maffæinus, lib. iii. c. 11. in vita ipsius Loyolæ. Alexander Severus so greatly hated flatterers, that Lampriidius saith, Siquis caput flexisset aut blandius aliquid dixisset, uti adulator, vel abjiciebatur, si loci ejus qualitas pateretur; vel ridebatur ingenti cachinno, si ejus dignitas graviori subjacere non posset injuriæ. Venit ad Attilam post victoriam Marcellus poeta ejus temporis egregius, compositumque in adulatiouem carmen recitavit: in quo ubi Attila per interpretem cognovit se Deum et Divina stirpe ortum vanissime prædicari, aspernatus sacrilegæ adulationis impudentiam, cum autore carmen exuri jusserat: a qua severitate subinde temperavit, ne scriptores cæteri a laudibus ipsius celebrandis terrerentur. Callimach. Exp. in Attila, p. 353.

^b 2 Kings xxiii. 25.

ⁱ 2 Kings xxiv. 3, 4.

tient of reproof, and I am not bound to that which will do no good, but ruin me.'

Answ. 1. It is an abuse of your superiors, to censure them to be so proud and brutish, as not to consider that they are the subjects of God, and have souls to save or lose, as well as others: will you judge so hardly of them before trial, as if they were far worse and more foolish than the poor, and take this abuse of them to be an excuse for your other sin? No doubt there are good rulers in the world, that will say to Christ's ministers, as the Prince Elector Palatine did to Pitiscus, charging him to tell him plainly of his faults, when he chose him to be the 'Pastor Aulicus^t.'

2. How know you beforehand what success your words will have? Hath the Word of God well managed no power? Yea, to make even bad men good? Can you love your rulers, and yet give up their souls in despair, and all for fear of suffering by them?

3. What if you do suffer in the doing of your duty? Have you not learned to serve God on such terms as those? Or do you think it will prove it to be no duty, because it will bring suffering on you? These reasons savour not of faith.

Direct. xxxv. 'Think not that it is unlawful to obey in every thing which is unlawfully commanded.' It may in many cases be the subject's duty, to obey the magistrate who sinfully commandeth him. For all the magistrate's sins in commanding, do not enter into the matter or substance of the thing commanded: if a prince command me to do the greatest duty, in an ill design, to some selfish end, it is his sin so to command; but yet that command must be obeyed (to better ends). Nay, the matter of the command may be sinful in the commander, and not in the obeyer. If I be commanded without any just reason to hunt a feather, it is his sin that causelessly commandeth me so to lose my time; and it yet may be my sin to disobey it, while the thing is lawful; else servants and children must prove all to be needful, as well as lawful, which is commanded them before they must obey. Or the command may at the same time be evil by accident, and the obedience good by accident, and 'per se.' Very good accidents, consequence or

^t Melch. Adam. in vit. Barth. Pitisci.

effects, may belong to our obedience, when the accidents of the command itself are evil. I could give you abundance of instances of these things.

Direct. xxxvi. 'Yet is not all to be obeyed that is evil but by accident, nor all to be disobeyed that is so: but the accidents must be compared; and if the obedience will do more good than harm, we must obey; if it will evidently do more harm than good, we must not do it.' Most of the sins in the world, are evil by accident only, and not in the simple act denuded of its accidents, circumstances or consequents. You may not sell poison to him that you know would poison himself with it, though to sell poison of itself be lawful. Though it be lawful simply to lend a sword, yet not to a traitor that you know would kill the king with it, no, nor to one that would kill his father, his neighbour or himself. A command would not excuse such an act from sin. He was slain by David, that killed Saul at his own command, and if he had but lent him his sword to do it, it had been his sin. Yet some evil accidents may be weighed down by greater evils, which would evidently follow upon the not doing of the thing commanded¹.

Direct. xxxvii. 'In the question, Whether human laws bind conscience, the doubt is not of that nature, as to have necessary influence upon your practice. For all agree, that they bind the subject to obedience, and that God's law bindeth us to obey them.' And if God's law bind us to obey man's law, and so to disobey them, be materially a sin against God's law; this is as much as is needful to resolve you in respect of practice. No doubt, man's law hath no primitive obliging power at all, but a derivative from God, and under him; and what is it to bind the conscience (an improper speech) but to bind the person to judge it his duty ('conscire') and so to do it? And no doubt, but he is bound to judge it his duty, that is, immediately by human law, and remotely by Divine law, and so the contrary to be a sin proximately against man, and ultimately against God. This is plain, and the rest is but logomachy.

Direct. xxxviii. 'The question is much harder, Whether the violation of every human penal law be a sin against

¹ It was one of the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables, *Justa imperia sunt, iisque cives modeste ac sine recusatione parento.*

God, though a man submit to the penalty?' (And the desert of every sin is death.) Master Richard Hooker's last book unhappily ended before he gave us the full reason of his judgment in this case, these being his last words: "Howbeit, too rigorous it were, that the breach of every human law, should be a deadly sin: a mean there is between those extremities, if so be we can find it out"^m——." Amesius hath diligently discussed it, and many others. The reason for the affirmative is, Because God bindeth us to obey all the lawful commands of our governors; and suffering the penalty, is not obeying; the penalty being not the primary intention of the lawgiver, but the duty; and the penalty only to enforce the duty: and though the suffering of it satisfy man, it satisfieth not God, whose law we break by disobeying. Those that are for the negative, say, That God binding us but to obey the magistrate, and his law binding but 'aut ad obedientiam, aut ad pœnam,' I fulfil his will, if I either do or suffer: if I obey not, I please him by satisfying for my disobedience. And it is none of his will, that my choosing the penalty, should be my sin or damnation. To this it is replied, That the law bindeth 'ad pœnam,' but on supposition of disobedience; and that disobedience is forbidden of God: and the penalty satisfieth not God, though it satisfy man. The other rejoins, That it satisfieth God, in that it satisfieth man; because God's law is but to give force to man's, according to the nature of it. If this hold, then no disobedience at all is a sin in him that suffereth the penalty. In so hard a case, because more distinction is necessary to the explication, than most readers are willing to be troubled with, I shall now give you but this brief decisionⁿ. There are some penalties which fulfil the magistrate's own will as much as obedience, which indeed have more of the nature of a commutation, than of penalty: (as he that watcheth not or mendeth not the highways, shall pay so much to hire another to do it. He that shooteth not so oft in a year, shall pay so much: he that eateth flesh in Lent, shall pay so much to the poor: he that repaireth not his hedges, shall pay so much:) and so in most ameracements, and divers penal laws; in which, we have reason to

^m Eccl. Polit. lib. viii. p. 224.

ⁿ On second thoughts this case is more fully opened afterwards.

judge, that the penalty satisfieth the lawgiver fully, and that he leaveth it to our choice. In these cases I think we need not afflict ourselves with the conscience or fear of sinning against God. But there are other penal laws, in which the penalty is not desired for itself, and is supposed to be but an imperfect satisfaction to the lawgiver's will, and that he doth not freely leave us to our choice, but had rather we obeyed than suffered; only he imposeth no greater a penalty, either because there is no greater in his power, or some inconvenience prohibiteth: in this case I should fear my disobedience were a sin, though I suffered the penalty. (Still supposing it an act that he had power to command me.)

Direct. xxxix. 'Take heed of the pernicious design of those atheistical politicians, that would make the world believe, that all that is excellent among men, is at enmity with monarchy, yea, and government itself; and take heed on the other side, that the most excellent things be not turned against it by abuse.'

Here I have two dangers to advertise you to beware: the first is of some Machiavelian pernicious principles, and the second of some erroneous unchristian practices.

For the first, there are two sorts of atheistical politicians guilty of them. The first sort are some atheistical flatterers, that to engage monarchs against all that is good, would make them believe that all that is good is against them and their interest. By which means, while their design is to steal the help of princes, to cast out all that is good from the world, they are most pernicious underminers of monarchy itself. For what readier way to set all the world against it, than to make them believe that it standeth at enmity to all that is good. These secret enemies would set up a leviathan to be the butt of common enmity and opposition.

The other sort are the professed enemies of monarchy, who in their zeal for popular government, do bring in all that is excellent, as, if it were, adverse to monarchy. 1. They would (both) set it at enmity with politicians. 2. With lawyers. 3. With history. 4. With learning. 5. With divines. 6. With all Christian religion. 7. And with humanity itself.

Object. I. 'The painters of the leviathan scorn all politics, as ignorant of the power of monarchs, except the atheistical inventions of their own brains. And the adversaries of monarchy say, The reading of politics will satisfy men against monarchy; for in them you ordinarily find that the 'majestas realis' is in the people, and the 'majestas personalis' in the prince; that the prince receiveth all his power from the people, to whom it is first given, and to whom it may be forfeited and escheat: with much more of the like, as is to be seen in politicians of all religions.'

Answer. 1. It is not all politics that go upon those principles: and one mistake in writers is no disgrace to the true doctrine of politics, which may be vindicated from such mistakes. 2. As almost all authors of politics take monarchy for a lawful species of government, so most or very many (especially of the moderns) do take it to be the most excellent sort of unmixed government. Therefore they are no enemies to it.

Object. II. 'For lawyers they say, That 1. Civilians set up reason so high, that they dangerously measure the power of monarchs by it; insomuch, that the most famous pair of zealous and learned defenders of monarchy, Barclay and Grotius, do assign many cases, in which it is lawful to resist princes by arms, and more than so°. 2. And the common lawyers, they say, are all for the law, and ready to say as Hooker, "Lex facit regem;" and what power the king hath, he hath it by law. The bounds are known, p. 218. He is 'singulis major, et universis minor,' &c.'

Answer. 1. Sure the Roman civil laws were not against monarchy, when monarchs made so many of them. And what power reason truly hath, it hath from God, whom none can over-top; and that which reason is abused unjustly to defend, may be well contradicted by reason indeed. 2. And what power the laws of the land have, they have by the king's consent and act: and it is strange impudence to pretend, that his own laws are against him. If any misinterpret them, he may be confuted.

Object. III. 'For historians, say they, Be but well-versed in ancient history, Greek and Roman, and you shall find them speak so ill of monarchy, and so much for popularity.

° Leg. quæ de Grotio post, p. 731.

and liberty, and magnifying so much the defenders of the people's liberty against monarchs, that it will secretly steal the dislike of monarchy, and the love of popular liberty into your minds ^p.'

Ans. It must be considered in what times and places the ancient Greek and Roman historians did live ^q. They that lived where popular government was in force and credit, wrote according to the time and government which they lived under; yet do they extol the virtues and heroic acts of monarchs, and often speak of the vulgar giddiness and inconstancy. And for my part, I think he that readeth in them those popular tumults, irrationalities, furies, inconstancies, cruelties, which even in Rome and Athens they committed, and all historians record; will rather find his heart much alienated from such democratical confusions. And the historians of other times and places do write as much for monarchy, as they did for democracy.

Object. IV. 'Some of them revile at Aristotle and all universities, and say, That while multitudes must be tasters and pretenders to the learning which they never can thoroughly attain, they read many dangerous books, and receive false notions; and these half-witted men, are the disturbers of all societies. Do you not see, say they, that the two strongest kingdoms in the world, are kept up by keeping the subjects ignorant. The Greek and Latin empires were ruined by the contention of men that did pretend to learning. The Turk keepeth all in quiet by suppressing it: and the pope confineth it almost all to his instruments in government, and keepeth the common people in ignorance; which keepeth them from matter of quarrel and disobedience ^r.'

Ans. I hope you will not say, that Rome or Athens of old did take this course. And we will not deny, but men

^p So Hollingshed maketh Parliaments so mighty as to take down the greatest kings, &c.

^q As Aug. Traj. the Antonines, &c. It is confessed that most historians write much for liberty against tyranny. But the heathens do it much more than the Christians.

^r Langius saith, that in his own hearing, Jodocus Præses Senat. Mechlin. Magna contentione tuebatur, neminem posse vel unius legis intelligentiam consequi, qui quicquam sciret in bonis literis, et addebat, vix esse tres in orbe qui leges Cæsareas intelligerent.

of knowledge are more subject to debates, and questionings, and quarrels, about right and wrong, than men of utter ignorance are. Beasts fall not out about crowns or kingdoms, as men do. Dogs and swine will not scramble for gold, as men will do, if you cast it among them: and it is easier to keep swine or sheep quiet, than men; and yet it is not better to be swine or sheep, than men; nor to be governors of beasts, than men. Dead men are quieter than the living, and blind men will submit to be led more easily than those that see; and yet it is not better to be a king of brutes, or blind men, or dead men, than of the living that have their sight. A king of men that have many disagreements, is better than a king of beasts that all agree. And yet true knowledge tendeth to concord, and to the surest and most constant obedience.

Object. v. 'But their chief calumniation is against divines. They say, That divines make a trade of religion, and under pretence of divine laws, and conscience, and ecclesiastical discipline, they subjugate both princes and people to their will, and set up courts which they call ecclesiastical, and keep the people in dependance on their dictates, and teach them to disobey upon pretence that God is against the matter of their obedience; and also by contending for their opinions, or for superiority and domination over one another, they fill kingdoms with quarrels, and break them into sects and factions, and are the chief disturbers of the public peace.'

Ans. We cannot deny that carnal, ignorant, worldly, proud, unholy pastors, have been and are the great calamity of the churches: but that is no more disgrace to their office, or to divinity, than it is to philosophy or reason, that philosophers have been ignorant, erroneous, divided, and contentious; nor than it is to government, that kings and other rulers, have been imperfect, contentious, and filled the world with wars and bloodshed. Nay, I rather think that this is a proof of the excellency of divinity: as

* Read Bishop Andrews Tort. Tort., Bishop Bilson of Christian Subjection, Robert Abbot, Jewel, Field, &c., who will fully shew that true church-power is no way injurious to kings. De regum autoritate, quod ex jure divino non sit Tortus probat: asseri enim scriptorum sententia communi: at nec omnium, nec optimorum. Andr. Tort. Tort. p. 384.

the reason of the foresaid imperfections and faultiness of philosophers and rulers, is because that philosophy and government are things so excellent, that the corrupt, imperfect nature of man, will not reach so high, as to qualify any man to manage them, otherwise than with great defectiveness; so also divinity, and the pastoral office, are things so excellent and sublime, that the nature of lapsed man will not reach to a capacity of being perfect in them. So that the faultiness of the nature of man, compared with the excellency of the things to be known and practised by divines, is the cause of all these faults that they complain of; and nature's vitiosity, if any thing must be blamed. Certainly, the pastoral office hath men as free from ignorance, worldliness, pride and unquietness, as any calling in the world. To charge the faults of nature upon that profession, which only discovereth, but never caused them, yea, which would heal them, if they are to be healed on earth, judge whether this dealing be not foolish and injurious, and what will be the consequents if such unreasonable persons may be heard. And therefore, though leviathan and his spawn, among all that is good, bring down divines, and the zealots for democracy have gloried of their new forms of commonwealths, as inconsistent with a clergy, their glory is their shame to all but infidels. Let them help us to take down and cure the ignorance, pride, carnality, worldliness and contentiousness of the clergy, and we will be thankful to them; but to quarrel with the best of men for the common pravity of nature, and to reproach the most excellent science and function, because depraved nature cannot attain or manage them in perfection, this is but to play the professed enemies of mankind.

Object. vii. 'These atheists or infidels also do spit their venom against Christianity and godliness itself, and would make princes believe, that the principles of it are contrary to their interest, and to government and peace: and they fetch their cavils, 1. From the Scripture's contemptuous expressions of worldly wealth and greatness. 2. From its prohibition of revenge and maintaining our own right. 3. From the setting it above all human laws; and by its authority and obscurity, filling the minds of men with scrupulosity. 4. From the divisions which religion occasioneth in

the world: and 5. From the testimonies of the several sects against each other.' I shall answer them particularly, though but briefly.

Object. 1. Say the infidel politicians, 'How can subjects have honourable thoughts of their superiors, when they believe that to be the Word of God, which speaketh so contemptuously of them?' As Luke vi. 24. "Woe to you that are rich; for ye have received your consolation." James v. 1—3. "Go to now ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you." Ver. 5, 6. "Ye have lived in pleasure on earth, and have been wanton— Ye have condemned and killed the just—." Luke xii. 21. xvi. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus is spoken to make men think of the rich as miserable, damned creatures. Ezek. xxi. 25. "Thou profane, wicked prince of Israel." Prov. xxv. 5. "Take away the wicked from before the king—." Prov. xxix. 12. "If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked;" the contempt of greatness is made a part of the Christian religion.'

Answ. 1. As if there were no difference between the contempt of riches and worldly prosperity, and the contempt of government? He is blind that cannot see that riches and authority are not the same; yea, that the over-valuing of riches is the cause of seditions, and the disturbance of governments, when the contempt of them removeth the chief impediments of obedience and peace. 2. And may not governors be sufficiently honoured, unless they be exempted from the government of God? And unless their sin must go for virtue? And unless their duty, and their account, and the danger of their souls be treacherously concealed from them? God will not flatter dust and ashes; great and small are alike to him. He is no respecter of persons: when you can save the greatest from death and judgment, then they may be excepted from all those duties which are

¹ Just such occasions as Papists bring against the Reformers, did the heathens bring against the Christians, as you may see in Ennapius in *Ædesio*. At egregii illi viri et bellicosi confusis perturbatisque rebus omnibus debellasse Deos incrementis quidem, sed ab avaritiæ crimine non puris manibus gloriabantur, sacrilegium et impietatis crimen laudi sibi assumentes. Iidem postea in sacra loca invexerunt Monachos, sic dictos homines quidem specie, sed vitam turpem porcorum more exigentes, qui in popatulo infinita et infanda scelera committebant, quibus tamen pietatis pars videbatur, sacri loci reverentiam proculcari. O partiality!

needful to their preparation. 3. And is it not strange, that God should teach men to condemn the power which he himself ordaineth? And which is his own? Hath he set officers over us, for the work of government, and doth he teach us to despise them? There is no shew of any such thing in Scripture: there are no principles in the world that more highly advance and honour magistracy, than the Christian principles, unless you will make gods of them, as the Roman senate did of the Antonines, and other emperors.

Object. 11. 'How can there be any government, when men must believe that they must not resist evil, but give place to wrath, and turn the other cheek to him that smiteth them, and give their coat to him that taketh away their cloak, and lend, asking for nothing again? Is not this to let thieves and violent, rapacious men rule all, and have their will, and go unpunished? What use is there then for courts and judges? And when Christ commandeth his disciples, that though the kings of the nations rule over them, and exercise authority, and are called benefactors, yet with them it shall not be so.'

Answer. These were the old cavils of Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian; but very impudent. As though love and patience were against peace and government. Christ commandeth nothing in all these words, but that we love our neighbour as ourselves, and love his soul above our wealth, and that we do as we would be done by, and use not private revenge, and take not up the magistrate's work: and is this doctrine against government? It is not magistrates, but ministers and private Christians, whom he commandeth not to resist evil, and not to exercise lordship, as the civil rulers do. When it will do more hurt to the soul of another, than the benefit amounteth to, we must not seek our own right by law, nor must private men revenge themselves. All lawsuits, and contentions, and hurting of others, which are inconsistent with loving them as ourselves, are forbidden in the Gospel. And when was government ever disturbed by such principles and practices as these? Nay, when was it disturbed but for want of these? When was there any sedition, rebellion or unlawful wars, but through self-love, and

* Rom. xii. 17, 19, 20. Luke vi. 28—30. Matt. v. 39—41. Luke xxii. 25, 26.

love of earthly things, and want of love to one another? How easily might princes rule men, that are thus ruled by love and patience?

Object. III. 'Christianity teacheth men to obey the Scriptures before their governors, and to obey no law that is contrary to the Bible; and when the Bible is so large, and hath so many passages hard to be understood, and easily perverted, some of these will be always interpreted against the laws of men; and then they are taught to fear no man against God, and to endure any pains or death, and to be unmoved by all the penalties which should enforce obedience; and to rejoice in this as a blessed martyrdom, to the face of kings; and those that punish them, are reproached as persecutors, and threatened with damnation, and made the vilest men on earth, and represented odious to all *.'

Ans. The sum of all this objection is, That there is a God. For if that be not denied, no man can deny that he is the Universal Governor of the world; and that he hath his proper laws and judgment, and rewards and punishments, or that magistrates are his ministers, and have no power but from him; and consequently, that the commands, and threats, and promises of God, are a thousand-fold more to be regarded, than those of men †. He is a beast, and not a man that feareth not God more than man, and that feareth not hell more than bodily sufferings: and for the Scriptures, 1. Are they any harder to be understood than the law of nature itself? Surely the characters of the will of God 'in natura rerum,' are much more obscure than in the Scriptures. Hath God sent so great a messenger from heaven, to open to mankind the mysteries of his kingdom, and tell them what is in the other world, and bring life and immortality to light, and yet shall his revelation be accused as

* Le Blanc in his Travels, p. 88. saith of some heathen kings, They are all jealous of our religion, holding, that the Christians adore one God, great above the rest, that will not suffer any others, and that he sets a greater esteem and value upon innocent, poor and simple people, than upon the rich, kings and princes, and that princes had need to preserve to themselves the affections and esteem of their subjects, to reign with greater ease.

† So Bishop Bilson of Subjection, p. 243 Princes be supreme; not in respect that all things be subject to their wills, which were plain tyranny, not Christian authority: but that all persons within their realms are bound to obey their laws, or abide their pains. So p. 242.

more obscure than nature itself is? If an angel had been sent from heaven to any of these infidels by name, to tell them but the same that Scripture telleth us, sure they would not have reproached his message, with such accusations. 2. And are not the laws of the land about smaller matters, more voluminous and difficult? And shall that be made a matter of reproach to government? And for misinterpretation, it is the fault of human nature, that is ignorant and rash, and not of the Scriptures. Will you tell God, that you will not obey him, unless he will make his laws so, as no man can misinterpret them? When or where were there ever such laws? God will be God, and Judge of the world, whether you will or not: and he will not be an underling to men, nor set their laws above his own, to avoid your accusations. If there be another life of joy or misery, it is necessary that there be laws according to which those rewards and punishments are to be adjudged. And if rulers oppose those who are appointed to promote obedience to them, they must do it at their perils: for God will render to all according to their works.

Object. iv. 'Doth not experience tell the world, that Christianity every where causeth divisions? and sets the world together by the ears? What a multitude of sects are there among us at this day; and every one thinketh that his salvation lieth upon his opinion? And how can princes govern men of so contrary minds, when the pleasing of one party is the losing of the rest? We have long seen that church-divisions shake the safety of the state. If it were not that few that are called Christians are such indeed, and serious in the religion which themselves profess, there were no quietness to be expected: for those that are most serious, are so full of scruples, and have consciences still objecting something or other against their obedience, and are so obstinate in their way, as thinking it is for their salvation, that all ages and nations have been fain to govern them by force as beasts, which they have called persecution².'

² The differences are oft among the lawyers which set the commonwealth on fire, and then they are charged on the divines, e. g. Grotius de Imper. p. 55. Si arma in eos reges sumpta sunt in quos totum populi jus translatum erat, ac qui proinde non precario sed proprio jure imperabant, laudari salva pietate non possunt, quemcumque tandem pretextum aut eventum habuerint. Sin alicubi reges tales fuere qui

Ans. There is no doctrine in the world so much for love, and peace and concord as the doctrine of Christ is. What doth it so much urge and frequently inculcate? What doth it contain but love and peace from end to end? Love is the sum and end of the Gospel, and the fulfilling of the law. To love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves, and to do as we would be done by, is the epitome of the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. 2. And therefore Christianity is only the occasion, and not the cause of the divisions of the earth. It is men's blindness and passions and carnal interests rebelling against the laws of God, which is the make-bait of the world, and filleth it with strife. The wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits: it blesseth the peacemakers and the meek. But it is the rebellious wisdom from beneath, that is earthly, sensual, and devilish, which causeth envy and strife, and thereby confusion and every evil work*. So that the true, genuine Christian is the best subject and most peaceable man on earth. But seriousness is not enough to make a Christian; a man may be passionately serious in an error; understanding must lead and seriousness follow. To be zealous in error is not to be zealous in Christianity; for the error is contrary to Christian verity. 3. As I said before, it is a testimony of the excellency of the religion that it thus occasioneth contention. Dogs and swine do not contend for crowns and kingdoms, nor for sumptuous houses or apparel; nor do infants trouble the world or themselves with metaphysical, or logical, or mathematical disputes; ideots do not molest the world with controversies, nor fall thereby into sects and parties. Nor yet do wise and learned persons contend about chaff, or dust, or trifles. But as excellent things are matter of search, so are they matter of controversy, to the

pacis, sive positivis legibus, et senatus alicujus aut ordinum decretis astringerentur, in hoc ut summum imperium non obtinent, arma ex optimatum tanquam superiorum sententia, sumi, justis de causis potuerint. Multi enim reges, etiam qui sanguinis jure succedunt, reges sunt nomine magis quam imperio— Sed fallit imperitus quod illam quotidianam et maxime in oculos incurrentem rerum administrationem, quæ sæpe in optimatum statu penes unum est, ab interiore reipublicæ constitutione non satis discernant. Quod de regibus dixi, idem multo magis de iis acceptum volo, qui et re et nomine non reges sed principes fuere, h. e. non summi, sed priui. p. 54.

* James iii. 15—17. Matt. v. 6—8.

most excellent wits. The hypocritical Christians that you speak of, who make God and their salvation give place to the unjust commands of men, are indeed no Christians; as not taking Christ for their sovereign Lord: and it is not in any true honour of magistracy that they are so ductile, and will do any thing, but it is for themselves, and their carnal interest; and when that interest requireth it, they will betray their governors, as infidels will do. If you can reduce all the world to be infants, or idiots, or brutes, yea, or infidels, they will then trouble the state with no contentions for religion or matters of salvation. But if the governed must be brutified, what will the governors be? 4. All true Christians are agreed in the substance of their religion; there is no division among them about the necessary points of faith or duty. Their agreement is far greater than their disagreement; which is but about some smaller matters, where differences are tolerable; therefore they may all be governed without any such violence as you mention. If the common articles of faith, and precepts of Christian duty be maintained, then that is upheld which all agree in; and rulers will not find it needful to oppress every party or opinion save one, among them that hold the common truths. Wise and sober Christians lay not men's salvation upon every such controversy; nor do they hold or manage them unpeaceably to the wrong of church or state, nor with the violation of charity, peace, or justice. 5. Is there any of the sciences which afford not matter of controversy? If the laws of the land did yield no matter of controversy, lawyers and judges would have less of that work than now they have. And was there not greater diversity of opinions and worship among the heathens than ever was among Christians? What a multitude of sects of philosophers and religions had they? And what a multitude of gods had they to worship? And the number of them still increased, as oft as the senate pleased to make a god of the better sort of their emperors when they were dead. Indeed one emperor, (of the religion of some of these objectors,) Heliogabalus, bestirred himself with all his power to have reduced all religion to unity, that is, he would have all the worship brought to his god, to whom he had been priest. Saith Lampridius in his life, "Dicebat Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Chris-

tianam devotionem, illuc transferendam," &c. And therefore he robbed, and maimed, and destroyed the other gods, "id agens ne quis Romæ Deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur." But as the effect of his monstrous, abominable filthiness of life was to be thrust into a privy, killed, and dragged about the streets, and drowned in the Tiber; so the effect of his desired unity, was to bring that one god or temple into contempt, whereto he would confine all worship. The differences among Christians are nothing in comparison of the differences among heathens^b. The truth is, religion is such an illustrious, noble thing, that dissensions about it, like spots in the moon, are much more noted by the world, than about any lower, common matters. Men may raise controversies in philosophy, physic, astronomy, chronology, and yet it maketh no such noise, nor causeth much offence or hatred in the world: but the devil and corrupted nature have such an enmity against religion, that they are glad to pick any quarrel against it, and blame it for the imperfections of all that learn it, and should practise it. As if grammar should be accused for every error or fault that the boys are guilty of in learning it: or the law were to be accused for all the differences of lawyers, or contentions of the people: or physic were to be accused for all the differences or errors of physicians: or meat and drink were culpable because of men's excesses and diseases. There is no doctrine or practice in the world, by which true unity and concord can be maintained, but by seriousness in the true religion. And when all contention cometh for want of religion, it is impudence to blame religion for it, which is the only cure. If rulers will protect all that agree in that which is justly to be called the Christian religion, both for doctrine and practice, and about their small and tolerable differences, will use no other violence but only to compel them to live in peace, and to suppress the seditious, and those that abuse and injure government or one another; they will find that Christianity tendeth not to divisions, nor to the hindrance or disturbance of government or peace. It is passion, and pride, and selfishness that doth this, and not religion; therefore let these and not religion be restrained. But if they will

^b Jactavit caput inter præciosos phanaticos et genitalia sibi devinxit, &c. Lamprid.

resolve to suffer none to live in peace, but those that in every punctilio are all of one opinion, they must have but one subject that is sincere in his religion, (for no two will be in every thing of the same apprehension, no more than of the same complexion,) and all the rest must be worldly hypocrites, that while they are heartily true to no religion, will profess themselves of any religion which will serve their present turns: and these nominal Christians will be ready to betray their rulers, or do any mischief which their carnal interest requireth^c.

Object. v. 'What witness need we more than their own accusations of one another^d? For the Papists, how many volumes have the Protestants written against them as enemies to all civil government: alleging even the decrees of their general councils, as Later. sub Innoc. III. Can. 3. And for the Protestants, they are as deeply charged by the Papists, as you may see in the "Image of both Churches," and "Philanax Anglicus," and abundance more. For Calvin and the Presbyterians and Puritans, let the prelates tell you how peaceable they are. And the Papists and Puritans say that the Prelatists are of the same mind, and only for their own ends pretend to greater loyalty than others. There are no two among them more famous for defending government, than Hooker and Bilson. And what Hooker saith for popular power, his first and eighth books abundantly testify: and even Bishop Bilson himself defendeth the French and German Protestant wars; and you may judge of his loyal doctrine by these words; p. 520, "Of Christian Subjection:" "If a prince should go about to subject his kingdom to a foreign realm, or change the form of the commonwealth from

^c Eunapius saith of his master Chrysanthius, that when Julian had made him, *Primarium pontificem totius illius ditionis, in munere tamen suo non morose ac superbe se gessit; junioribus urgendo haud gravis (sicut plerique omnes in unum consentientes, callide ferventerque faciendum censebant;) neque Christianis molestus admodum: quippe tanta erat morum in eo lenitas atque simplicitas, ut per Lydiam prope modum ignorata fuerit sacrorum in pristinum restitio. Eo factum est, ut cum priora alter cecidissent, nihil innovatum neque mutatio insignis accepta videretur, sed præter expectationem cuncta placide sapirentur. Moderation in a heathen was his benefit.*

^d *Vestra doctrina est, nisi princeps vobis ex animo sit, quantumvis legitimus hæres sit, regno excludi, alium eligi posse. Posse dixi? immo oportere. Hæc Clementina vestra fuit. Bishop Andrews of the Papists, Tort. Tort. p. 327.*

imperty to tyranny, or neglect the laws established by common consent of prince and people, to execute his own pleasure; in these and other cases which might be named, if the nobles and commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberty, regimen and laws, they may not well be counted rebels*.”

Answ. 1. If it be clear that Christianity as to its principles, is more for love, and concord, and subjection, than any other rational doctrine in the world, then if any sect of Christians shall indeed be found to contradict these principles, so far they contradict Christianity; and will you blame religion because men contradict it? or blame Christ's doctrine because men disobey it? Indeed every sect that hath something of its own to make a sect, besides Christian religion, which maketh men mere Christians, may easily be guilty of such error as will corrupt the Christian religion. And as a sect, they have a divided interest which may tempt them to dividing principles: but none more condemn such divisions than Christ. 2. And indeed, though a Christian as such is a credible witness; yet a sect or faction as such, doth use to possess men with such an envious, calumniating disposition, that they are little to be believed when they accuse each other! This factious zeal is not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish; and therefore where this is, no wonder if there be strife, and false accusing, and confusion, and every evil work. But as these are no competent witnesses, so whether or no they are favoured by Christ, you

* So pp. 381, 382. “ If others do but stand on their guard to keep their lives and families from the bloody rage of their enemies, seeking to put whole towns and provinces of them to the sword, against all law and reason, and to disturb the kingdoms in the minority of the right governors: or if they defend their ancient and Christian liberties, covenanted and agreed on by those princes, to whom they first submitted themselves, and ever since confirmed and allowed by the kings that have succeeded: if in either of these two cases the godly require their right, and offer no wrong, impugn not their princes, but only save their own lives, you cry, *Rebellious heretics, rebellious Calvinists, fury, frenzy, mutiny; and I know not what.* You may pursue, depose, and murder princes, when the Bishop of Rome biddeth you, and that without breach of duty, law, or conscience, to God or man, as you vaunt, though neither life nor limbs of yours be touched. We may not so much as beseech princes that we may be used like subjects, not like slaves; like men, not like beasts, that we may be convented by laws before judges, not murdered in corners by inquisitors. We may not so much as hide our heads, nor pull our necks out of the greedy jaws of that Romish wolf, but the foam of your unclean mouth is ready to call us by all the names you can devise.” So far Bilson.

may judge if you will read but those three chapters, Matt. v., Rom. xii., James iii. I may say here as Bishop Bilson in the place which is accused, p. 521. "IT IS EASY FOR A RUNNING AND RANGING HEAD TO SIT AT HOME IN HIS CHAMBER AND CALL MEN REBELS, HIMSELF BEING THE RANKEST." 2. For the Papists I can justify them from your accusation, so far as they are Christians; but as they are Papists let him justify them that can. Indeed usurpation of government is the very essence of Popery; for which all other Christians blame them; and therefore there is small reason that Christianity should be accused for them. 4. And for the Protestants, both episcopal and disciplinarians, the sober and moderate of them speak of one another in no such language as you pretend. For the episcopal, I know of none but railing Papists, that accuse them universally of any doctrines of rebellion; and for the practices of some particular men, it is not to be alleged against their doctrine. Do you think that Queen Elizabeth, to whom Bishop Bilson's book was dedicated, or King Charles to whom Mr. Hooker's book was dedicated, took either of them to be teachers of rebellion? It is not every different opinion in politics that proveth men to be against subjection. He that can read such a book as Bilson's for "Christian Subjection against Antichristian Rebellion," and yet deny him to be a teacher of subjection, hath a very hard forehead. For the controversies I shall say no more of them here, but what I have said before to Mr. Hooker. And as for Calvin and the Disciplinarians or Puritans as they are called, they subscribe all the same confessions for magistracy, and take the same oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as others do; and they plead and write for them; so that for my part I know not of any difference in their doctrine. Hear what Bishop Andrews saith, (who was no rebel,) in his "Tortura Torti," pp. 379, 380. "Calvinus autem ut papam regem; ita regem papam non probavit; neque nos quod in papa detestamur, in rege approbamus; at et ille nobiscum, et nos cum illo sentimus, eadem esse in ecclesia Christiana regis Jacobi partes, quæ Josiæ fuerunt in Judaica; nec nos ultra quicquam fieri ambimus——:" that is, "But Calvin neither liked a pope-king, nor a king-pope; nor do we approve of

that in the king, which we detest in the pope. But he with us, and we with him do judge, that King James hath as much to do in the Christian church, as Josias had in the Jewish church; and we go not about to get any more." And after, "Sub primatus nomine, papatam novum rex non invehit in ecclesiam; sic enim statuit, ut non Aaroni pontifici, ita nec Jeroboamo regi, jus ullum esse conflatum a se vitulum populo proponendi, ut adoret, (id est,) non vel fidei novos articulos, vel cultus Divini novas formulas procudendi:" that is, "The king doth not bring into the church a new papacy, under the name of primacy; for thus he judgeth, (or determineth,) that neither Aaron the priest, nor Jeroboam the king, had any right to propose the calf which they had made, to the people to be adored; that is, neither to hammer (or make) new articles of faith, or new forms of divine worship." And pp. 379, 380. "Quos vero Puritanos appellat, si regium primatum detestantur, detestandi ipsi. Profitentur enim, subscribunt, jurant indies; sed et illi quod faciunt ingenue faciunt, et societatem in hoc Torti, ipsumque adeo Tortum, tanquam mendacem hominem, (et alibi de aliis, et hic de se,) ac sycophantem egregium detestantur:" that is, "And for those he calleth Puritans, if they detest the king's supremacy, they are to be detested; for they daily profess, subscribe, and swear to it; and what they do, they do ingenuously; and they detest the society of Tortus in this, and Tortus himself, as a lying man, (elsewhere of others, and here of themselves,) and an egregious sycophant." By these testimonies judge what Protestants think of one another in point of loyalty.

5. And why are not all the other Christians taken into your enumeration? The Armenians, Abassins, and all the Greek churches; whom the Papists so frequently reproach as flatterers or servile, because they still gave so much to their emperors? Have you any pretence for your accusation as against them? Unless perhaps from the tumults which Alexandria in its greatness was much addicted to, which is nothing to the doctrine of Christianity, nor to the practice of all the rest.

Having answered these cavils of the late atheistical or infidel politicians, I shall next shew, though briefly, yet by plentiful evidence, that Christianity and true godliness is

the greatest strength of government, and bond of subjection, and means of peace, that ever was revealed to the world; which will appear in all these evidences following.

1. Christianity teacheth men to take the higher powers as ordained of God, and to obey them as God's ministers, or officers, having an authority derived immediately from God; so that it advanceth the magistrate as God's officer, as much higher than infidels advance him, (who fetched his power no higher than force or choice,) as a servant of God is above a servant of men; which is more than a man is above a dog^f.

2. Christianity telleth us that our obedience to magistrates is God's own command, and so that we must obey him by obeying them. And as obedience to a constable is more procured by the king's laws than by his own commands, so obedience to a king is far more effectually procured by God's laws than by his own. If God be more above a king, than a king is above a worm, the command of God must be a more powerful obligation upon every understanding person, than the king's. And what greater advantage can a king have in governing, than to have subjects whose consciences do feel themselves bound by God himself, to obey the king and all his officers?

Object. 'But this is still with exception, If it be not in things forbidden of God? And the subjects are made judges whether it be so or no.'

Answ. And woe to that man that grudgeth that God must be obeyed before him! and would be himself a God to be obeyed in things which God is against! The subjects are made no public judges, but private discerners of their duties: and so you make them yourselves; or else they must not judge whether the king or an usurper were to be obeyed; or whether the word of the king or of a constable, if they be contradictory, is to be preferred. To judge what we must choose or refuse is proper to a rational creature; even brutes themselves will do something like it by instinct of nature, and will not do all things according to your will; you would have us obey a justice of peace no further than our loyalty to the king will give leave; and therefore there is greater reason that we should obey the higher powers no

^f Rom. xv. 1—4.

farther than our loyalty to God will give leave^c. But if men pretend God's commands for any thing which he commandeth not, magistrates bear not the sword in vain, and subjects are commanded by God not to resist; if they punish them rightfully, God will bear the rulers out in it; if they punish them wrongfully or persecute them for well-doing, God will severely punish them who so wronged his subjects and abused the authority which he committed to their trust.

3. The Christian religion bindeth subjects to obedience upon sorer penalties than magistrates can inflict; even upon pain of God's displeasure, and everlasting damnation^b. And how great a help this is to government it is so easy to discern, that the simpler sort of atheists do persuade themselves, that kings devised religion to keep people in obedience with the fears of hell. Take away the fears of the life to come and the punishment of God in hell upon the wicked, and the world will be turned into worse than a den of serpents and wild beasts; adulteries, and murders, and poisoning kings, and all abomination will be freely committed, which wit or power can think to cover or bear out! Who will trust that man that believeth not that God doth judge and punish.

4. The Christian religion doth encourage obedience and peace with the promise of the reward of endless happiness ('*cæteris paribus*'); heaven is more than any prince can give. If that will not move men, there is no greater thing to move them. Atheism and infidelity have no such motives.

5. Christianity teacheth subjects to obey not only good rulers but bad ones, even heathens themselves, and not to resist when we cannot obey. Whereas among heathens, princes ruled no longer than they pleased the soldiers or the people; so that Lampridius marvelled that Heliogabalus was no sooner butchered but suffered to reign three years: "*Mirum fortasse cupiam videatur Constantine venerabilis, quod hæc clades quam retuli loco principum fuerit; et qui-*

^c Bishop Bilson *ubi supra*, p. 259. As bishops ought to discern which is truth before they teach; so must the people discern who teacheth right before they believe. Pp. 261, 262. Princes as well as others must yield obedience to bishops speaking the Word of God; but if bishops pass their commission, and speak besides the Word of God, what they list, both prince and people may despise them. See him further, pp. 259—262. proving that all have a '*judicium discretionis*.'

^b Rom. xiii. 2, 3.

dem prope triennio, ita ut nemo inventus fuerit qui istum a gubernaculis Romanæ majestatis abduceret, cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulæ cæterisque hujusmodi nunquam tyrannicida defuerit.¹”

6. Christianity and godliness do not only restrain the outward acts, but rule the very hearts, and lay a charge upon the thoughts, which the power of princes cannot reach. It forbiddeth to curse the king in our bedchamber, or to have a thought or desire of evil against him; it quenqueth the first sparks of disloyalty and disorder; and the rule of the outward man followeth the ordering of the heart; and therefore atheism which leaveth the heart free and open to all desires and designs of rebellion, doth kindle that fire in the minds of men, which government cannot quench; it corrupteth the fountain; it breaketh the spring that should set all a going; it poisoneth the heart of commonwealths^b.

7. Christianity and godliness teach men patience, that it may not seem strange to them to bear the cross, and suffer injuries from high and low; and therefore that impatience which is the beginning of all rebellion being repressed, it stayeth the distemper from going any further.

8. Christianity teacheth men self-denial as a great part of their religion¹: and when selfishness is mortified, there is nothing left to be a principle of rebellion against God or our superiors. Selfishness is the very predominant principle of the ungodly: it is only for themselves that they obey when they do obey; no wonder therefore if the author of leviathan allow men to do any thing when the saving of themselves requireth it. And so many selfish persons as there be in a kingdom, so many several interests are first sought, which for the most part stand cross to the interest of others: the godly have all one common centre; they unite in God, and therefore may be kept in concord; for God's will is a thing that may be fulfilled by all as well as one; but the selfish and ungodly are every one his own centre, and have no common centre to unite in, their interests being ordinarily cross and inconsistent.

9. Christianity teacheth men by most effectual argu-

¹ Cicero saith, that every good man was in his heart, or as much as in him lay, one that killed Cæsar.

^b 1 Pet. iv. 12.

¹ Luke, iv. 19. 33.

ments, to set light by the riches and honours of the world, and not to strive for superiority; but to mind higher things, and lay up our treasure in a better world, and to condescend to men of low degree. It forbiddeth men to exalt themselves lest they be brought low; and commandeth them to humble themselves that God may exalt them; and he that knoweth not that pride and covetousness are the great disquieters of the world, and the cause of contentions, and the ruin of states, knoweth nothing of these matters. Therefore if it were but by the great urging of humility and heavenly-mindedness, and the strict condemning of ambition and earthly-mindedness, Christianity and godliness must needs be the greatest preservers of government, and of order, peace and quietness in the world^m.

10. Christianity teacheth men to live in the love of God and man. It maketh love the very heart, and life, and sum, and end of all other duties of religion. Faith itself is but the bellows to kindle in us the sacred flames of love. Love is the end of the Gospel, and the fulfilling of the law. To love all saints with a special love, even with a pure heart and fervently, and to love all men heartily with a common love; to love our neighbour as ourselves; and to love our very enemies; this is the life which Christ requireth, upon the penalty of damnation; and if love thus prevail, what should disturb the government, peace or order of the world?

11. Christianity teacheth men to be exact in justice, distributive and commutative; and to do to others as we would they should do to us: and where this is followed kings and states will have little to molest them, when '*gens sine justitia est sine remige navis in unda.*'

12. Christianity teacheth men to do good to all men as far as we are able, and to abound in good works, as that for which we are redeemed and new made; and if men will set themselves wholly to do good, and be hurtful and injurious to none, how easy will it be to govern such.

13. Christianity teacheth men to forbear and to forgive, as ever they will be forgiven of God, and the strong to bear

^m Ungebantur reges non per dominum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores existerent, et paulo post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione, trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus. Gildas de exc. Brit.

the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves, but one another to their edification; not to be censorious, harsh, or cruel, nor to place the kingdom of God in meats, and drinks, and days, but in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; to bear one another's burdens, and to restore them with the spirit of meekness that are overtaken in a fault, and to be peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocrisy, and to speak evil of no man; and where this is obeyed, how quietly and easily may princes govern^a?

14. Christianity setteth before us the most perfect pattern of all this humility, meekness, contempt of worldly wealth and greatness, self-denial and obedience, that ever was given in the world. The eternal Son of God incarnate, would condescend to earth and flesh, and would obey his superiors after the flesh, in the repute of the world; and would pay tribute, and never be drawn to any contempt of the governors of the world, though he suffered death under the false accusation of it. He that is a Christian, endeavour-eth to imitate his Lord: and can the imitation of Christ, or of his peaceable apostles be injurious to governors? Could the world but lay by their serpentine enmity against the holy doctrine and practice of Christianity, and not take themselves engaged to persecute it, nor dash themselves in pieces on the stone which they should build upon, nor by striving against it provoke it to fall on them and grind them to powder, they never need to complain of disturbances by Christianity or godliness^c.

15. Christianity and true godliness containeth, not only all these precepts that tend to peace and order in the world, but also strength, and willingness, and holy dispositions for the practising of such precepts. Other teachers can speak but to the ears, but Christ doth write his laws upon the heart; so that he maketh them such as he commandeth them to be: only this is the remnant of our unhappiness, that while he is performing the cure on us, we retain a remnant of our old diseases, and so his work is yet imperfect: and as sin in strength is it that setteth on fire the course of nature, so the relics of it will make some disturbance in the

^a Rom. xiv. xv. 1. Gal. vi. 1—4. James iii. 15—17. Tit. iii. 2.

^c Luke xx. 18. Matt. xxi. 42, 44. Acts iv. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8. Zech. xii. 3.

world, according to its degree ; but nothing is more sure than that the most godly Christian is the most orderly and loyal subject, and the best member (according to his parts and power) in the commonwealth ; and that sin is the cause, and holiness the cure of all the disorders and calamities of the world.

16. Lastly, Consult with experience itself, and you will find, that all this which I have spoken, hath been ordinarily verified ^p. What heathenism tendeth to, you may see even in the Roman government (for there you will confess it was at the best). To read of the tumults, the cruelties, the popular inconstancy, faction and injustice ; how rudely the soldiers made their emperors, and how easily and barbarously they murdered them, and how few of them from the days of Christ till Constantine did die the common death of all men, and escape the hands of those that were their subjects ; I think this will satisfy you, whither men's enmity to Christianity tendeth : and then to observe how suddenly the case was altered, as soon as the emperors and subjects became Christian, (till in the declining of the Greek empire, some officers and courtiers who aspired to the crown did murder the emperors) : and further to observe, that the rebellious doctrines and practices against governors, have been all introduced by factions and heresies, which forsook Christianity so far before they incurred such guilt ; and that it is either the Papal usurpation (which is in its nature an enemy to princes) that hath deposed and trampled upon emperors and kings, or else some mad enthusiasts that overrun religion and their wits, that at Munster (and in England some lately) by the advantage of their prosperity, have dared to do violence against sovereignty ; but the more any men were Christians and truly godly, the more they detested all

^p Read the lives of all the philosophers, orators, and famous men of Greece or Rome, and try whether the Christians or they were more for monarchy. *Arceaius regum neminem magnopere coluit : quamobrem legatione ad Antigonom fungens pro patria, nihil obtinuit. Hesich. in Arces.* It is one of Thales's sayings in Diog. Laert. *Quid difficile? Regem vidisse tyrannum senem. Chrysippus videtur aspersionem regum modice fuisse. Quod cum tam multa scripserit (libros 705.) nulli unquam regi quicquam adscripserit. Seneca saith (Traged. de Herc. fur.) perilously, Victima haud ulla amplior potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi, Quam rex iniquus. Cicero pro Milon. Non se obstrinxit scelere siquis tyrannum occidat, quamvis familiarem. Et 5. Tusc. Nulla nobis cum tyrannis societas est, neque est contra naturam spoliare eum quem honestum est necare. Plura habet similia.*

such things; all this will tell you that the most serious and religious Christians, are the best members of the civil societies upon earth.

II. Having done with the first part of my last Direction, I shall say but this little of the second; let Christians see that they be Christians indeed, and abuse not that which is most excellent to be a cloak to that which is most vile. 1. In reading politics, swallow not all that every author writeth in conformity to the polity that he liveth under: what perverse things shall you read in the Popish politics, (Contzen, and abundance such!) What usurpation on principalities, and cruelties to Christians, under the pretence of defending the church, and suppressing heresies!

2. Take heed in reading history that you suffer not the spirit of your author to infect you with any of that partiality which he expresseth to the cause which he espouseth. Consider in what times and places all your authors lived, and read them accordingly with the just allowance. The name of liberty was so precious, and the name of a king was so odious to the Romans, Athenians, &c., that it is no wonder if their historians be unfriendly unto kings.

3. Abuse not learning itself to lift you up with self-conceitedness against governors! Learned men may be ignorant of polity; or at least unexperienced, and almost as unfit to judge, as of matters of war or navigation.

4. Take heed of giving the magistrate's power to the clergy, and setting up secular, coercive power under the name of the power of the keys: and it had been happy for the church if God had persuaded magistrates in all ages to have kept the sword in their own hands, and not have put it into the clergy's hands, to fulfil their wills by^a: for 1. By this means the clergy had escaped the odium of usurpation and domineering, by which atheistical politicians would make religion odious to magistrates for their sakes. 2. And

^a See *Bilson of Subjection*, pp. 525, 526. Proving from Chrysostom, Hilary, Origen, that pastors may use no force or terror, but only persuasion, to recover their wandering sheep. *Bilson*, *ibid.* p. 541. Parliaments have been kept by the king and his barons, the clergy wholly excluded, and yet their acts and statutes good: and when the bishops were present, their voices from the Conquest to this day were never negative. By God's law you have nothing to do with making laws, for kingdoms and commonwealths: you may teach, you may not command: persuasion is your part, compulsion is the prince's, &c. Thus *Bishop Bilson*. So p. 358.

by this means greater unity had been preserved in the church, while one faction is not armed with the sword to tread down the rest : for if divines contend only by dint of argument, when they have talked themselves and others weary they will have done : but when they go to it with dint of sword, it so ill becometh them, that it seldom doth good, but the party often that trusteth least to their reason, must destroy the other; and make their cause good by iron arguments. 3. And then the Romish clergy had not been armed against princes to the terrible concussions of the Christian world, which histories at large relate, if princes had not first lent them the sword which they turned against them. 4. And then church-discipline would have been better understood, and have been more effectual; which is corrupted and turned to another thing and so cast out, when the sword is used instead of the keys, under pretence of making it effectual: none but consenters are capable of church-communion: no man can be a Christian, or godly, or saved against his will; and therefore consenters and volunteers only are capable of church-discipline: as a sword will not make a sermon effectual, no more will it make discipline effectual: which is but the management of God's Word to work upon the conscience. So far as men are to be driven by the sword to the use of means, or restrained from offering injury to religion, the magistrate himself is fittest to do it. It is noted by historians as the dishonour of Cyril of Alexandria (though a famous bishop) that he was the first bishop that like a magistrate used the sword there, and used violence against heretics and dissenters.

5. Above all, abuse not the name of religion for the resistance of your lawful governors: religion must be defended and propagated by no irreligious means. It is easy before you are aware, to catch the fever of such a passionate zeal as James and John had, when they would have had fire from heaven to consume the refusers and resisters of the Gospel: and then you will think that any thing almost is lawful, which doth but seem necessary to the prosperity of religion. But no means but those of God's allowance do use to prosper, or bring home that which men expect: they may seem to do wonders for awhile, but they come to no-

thing in the latter end, and spoil the work, and leave all worse than it was before.

Direct. XL. 'Take heed of mistaking the nature of that liberty of the people, which is truly valuable and desirable, and of contending for an undesirable liberty in its stead.' It is desirable to have liberty to do good, and to possess our own, and enjoy God's mercies, and live in peace: but it is not desirable to have liberty to sin, and abuse one another, and hinder the Gospel, and contemn our governors. Some mistake liberty for government itself; and think it is the people's liberty to be governors: and some mistake liberty for an exemption from government, and think they are most free, when they are most ungoverned, and may do what they list: but this is a misery, and not a mercy, and therefore was never purchased for us by Christ. Many desire servitude and calamity under the name of liberty: "optima est reipublicæ forma," saith Seneca, "ubi nulla libertas deest, nisi licentia pereundi." As Mr. R. Hooker saith, lib. viii. p. 195, "I am not of opinion, that simply in kings the most, but the best limited, power is best, both for them and the people: the most limited power is that which may deal in fewest things: the best, that which in dealing is tied to the soundest, most perfect and indifferent rule, which rule is the law; I mean not only the law of nature and of God, but the national law consonant thereunto; happier that people whose law is their king in the greatest things, than that whose king is himself their law."

Yet no doubt, that the lawgivers are as such, above the law as an authoritative instrument of government, but under it, as a man is under the obligation of his own consent and word; it ruleth subjects in the former sense; it bindeth the 'summam potestatem' in the latter.

Direct. XLI. 'When you have done all that you can in just obedience, look for your reward from God alone.' Let it satisfy you that he knoweth and approveth your sincerity. You make it a-holy work if you do it to please God; and you will be fixed and constant, if you take heaven for your reward, (which is enough, and will not fail you;) but you make it but a selfish, carnal work, if you do it only to please your governors, or get preferment, or escape some hurt

† 1 Pet. ii. 16. Gal. v. 13. ‡ Pet. ii. 12. Gal. iv. 26. § Cor. iii. 17.

which they may do you, and are subject only in flattery, or for fear of wrath, and not for conscience sake. And such obedience is uncertain and inconstant; for when you fail of your hopes, or think rulers deal unjustly or unthankfully with you, your subjection will be turned into passionate desires of revenge. Remember still the example of your Saviour, who suffered death as an enemy to Cæsar, when he had not failed of his duty so much as in one thought or word. And are you better than your Lord and Master? If God be all to you, and you have laid up all your hopes in heaven, it is then but little of your concernment, (further than God is concerned in it) whether rulers do use you well or ill, and whether they interpret your actions rightly, or what they take you for, or how they call you; but it is your concernment that God account you loyal, and will judge you so, and justify you from men's accusations of disloyalty, and reward you with more than man can give you. Nothing is well done, especially of so high a nature as this, which is not done for God and heaven, and which the crown of glory is not the motive to.

I have purposely been the larger on this subject, because the times in which we live require it, both for the settling of some, and for the confuting the false accusations of others, who would persuade the world that our doctrine is not what it is; when through the sinful practices of some, the way of truth is evil spoken of^a.

A fuller resolution of the Cases, 1. Whether the Laws of Men do bind the Conscience? 2. Especially smaller and penal Laws?

The word 'conscience' signifieth either, 1. In general according to the notation of the word, The knowledge of our own matters; 'Conscire;' the knowledge of ourselves, our duties, our faults, our fears, our hopes, our diseases, &c. 2. Or more limitedly and narrowly, The knowledge of ourselves and our own matters in relation to God's law and judgment; 'Judicium hominis de seipso prout subjicitur judicio Dei,' as Amesius defineth it.

2. Conscience is taken, 1. Sometimes for the act of self-

^a 2 Pet. ii. 2.

knowing. 2. Sometimes for the habit. 3. Sometimes for the faculty, that is, for the intellect itself, as it is a faculty of self-knowing. In all these senses it is taken properly. 4. And sometimes it is used (by custom) improperly, for the person himself, that doth 'conscire;' or for his will (another faculty).

3. The conscience may be said to be bound, 1. Subjectively, as the 'subjectum quod,' or the faculty obliged. 2. Or objectively, as 'conscire,' the act of conscience, is the thing 'ad quod,' to which we are obliged.

And upon these necessary distinctions I thus answer to the first question.

Prop. 1. The act or the habit of conscience is not capable of being the subject obliged; no more than any other act or duty: the act or duty is not bound, but the man to the act or duty.

2. The faculty or judgment is not capable of being the object, or 'materia ad quam,' the thing to which we are bound. A man is not bound to be a man, or to have an intellect, but is made such.

3. The faculty of conscience (that is, the intellect) is not capable of being the immediate or nearest 'subjectum quod,' or subject obliged. The reason is, Because the intellect of itself is not a free-working faculty, but acteth necessarily 'per modum naturæ' further than it is under the empire of the will; and therefore intellectual and moral habits are by all men distinguished.

4. All legal or moral obligation falleth directly upon the will only: and so upon the person as a voluntary agent; so that it is proper to say, 'The will is bound,' and 'The person is bound.'

5. Improperly and remotely it may be said, 'The intellect (or faculty of conscience) is bound, or the tongue, or hand, or foot is bound;' as the man is bound to use them.

6. Though it be not proper to say, 'That the conscience is bound,' it is proper to say, 'That the man is bound to the act or habit of conscience, or to the exercise of the faculty.'

7. The common meaning of the phrase, that we are 'bound in conscience,' or that 'conscience is bound,' is that 'we are bound to a thing by God,' or 'by a divine obligation,' and that it is 'a sin against God to violate it;' so

that divines use here to take the word 'conscience' in the narrower theological sense, as respect to God's law and judgment doth enter the definition of it.

8. Taking conscience in this narrower sense, to ask, 'Whether man's law as man's do bind us in conscience,' is all one to ask, 'Whether man be God.'

9. And taking conscience in the large or general sense, to ask, 'Whether man's laws bind us in conscience,' subjectively is to ask, 'Whether they bind the understanding to know our duty to man?' And the tenor of them will shew that; while they bind us to or from an outward act, it is the man that they bind to or from that act, and that is, as he is a rational voluntary agent; so that a human obligation is laid upon the man, on the will, and on the intellect by human laws.

10. And human laws while they bind us to or from an outward act, do thereby bind us as rational free agents, knowingly to choose or refuse those acts; nor can a law which is a moral instrument any otherwise bind the hand, foot or tongue, but by first binding us to choose or refuse it knowingly, that is, conscientiously, so that a human bond is certainly laid on the mind, soul or conscience, taken in the larger sense.

11. Taking conscience in the stricter sense, as including essentially a relation to God's obligation, the full sense of the question plainly is but this, Whether it be a sin against God to break the laws of man? And thus plain men might easily understand it. And to this it must be answered, That it is in two respects a sin against God to break such laws or commands as rulers are authorized by God to make:

'Having spoken of this controversy, in my "Life of Faith," in which I thought we were really agreed, while we seemed to differ, which I called 'A pitiful case,' some brethren (who say nothing against the truth of what I said) are offended at me as speaking too confidently, and calling that so easy which Bishop Sanderson and so many others did make a greater matter of; I retract the words, if they be unsuitable either to the matter or the readers: but as to the matter and truth of the words, I desire the reader but to consider how easy a case Mr. P. maketh of it, Eccl. Pol., and how heinous a matter he maketh of our supposed dissent: and if after all this it shall appear, that the Nonconformists do not at all differ from Hooker, Bilson and the generality of the Conformists in this point, let him that is willing to be represented as odious and intolerable to rulers and to mankind, for that in which we do not differ, proceed to backbite me for saying that it is a pitiful case; and pretending that we are agreed.

1. Because God commandeth us to obey our rulers: therefore he that (so) obeyeth them not, sinneth against a law of God. God obligeth us in general to obey them in all things which they are authorized by him to command; but their law determineth of the particular matter; therefore God obligeth us (in conscience of his law) to obey them in that particular. 2. Because by making them his officers, by his commission he hath given them a certain beam of authority, which is Divine as derived from God; therefore they can command us by a power derived from God: therefore to disobey is to sin against a power derived from God. And thus the general case is very plain and easy, How man sinneth against God in disobeying the laws of man, and consequently how (in a tolerable sense of that phrase) it may be said, that man's laws do or do not bind the conscience (or rather, bind us in point of conscience;) or by a Divine obligation. Man is not God; and therefore as man, of himself can lay no Divine obligation on us. But man being God's officer, 1. His own law layeth on us an obligation derivatively Divine (for it is no law which hath no obligation, and it is no authoritative obligation which is not derived from God). 2. And God's own law bindeth us to obey man's laws.

Quest. 11. 'But is it a sin to break every penal law of man?'

Ans. 1. You must remember that man's law is essentially the signification of man's will; and therefore obligeth no further than it truly signifieth the ruler's will.

2. That it is the act of a power derived from God; and therefore no further bindeth, than it is the exercise of such a power.

3. That it is given, 1. Finally for God's glory and pleasure, and for the common good (comprehending the honour of the ruler and the welfare of the society ruled). And therefore obligeth not when it is, (1.) Against God. (2.) Or against the common good. 2. And it is subordinate to God's own laws, (in nature and Scripture) and therefore obligeth not to sin, or to the violation of God's law^u.

^u It is not Mr. Humphrey alone that hath written that laws bind not in conscience to obedience which are against the public good. The greatest casuists say the same, excepting the case of scandal: he that would see this in them may choose but

4. You must note that laws are made for the government of societies as such universally ; and so are fitted to the common case, for the common good. And it is not possible but that a law which prescribeth a duty which by accident is so to the most, should meet with some particular subject to whom the case is so circumstantiated as that the same act would be to him a sin : and to the same man it may be ordinarily a duty, and in an extraordinary case a sin. Thence it is that in some cases (as Lent fasts, marriages, &c.) rulers oft authorize some persons to grant dispensations in certain cases ; and hence it is said, that necessity hath no law.

Hereupon I conclude as followeth.

1. It is no sin to break a law which is no law, as being against God, or not authorized by him, (as of a usurper, &c.) See R. Hooker, Conclus. lib. viii. .

2. It is no law so far as it is no signification of the true will of the ruler, whatever the words be : therefore so far it is no sin to break it.

3. The will of the ruler is to be judged of, not only by the words, but by the ends of government, and by the rules of humanity.

4. It being not possible that the ruler in his laws can foresee and name all exceptions, which may occur, it is to be supposed that it is his will that the nature of the thing shall be the notifier of his will, when it cometh to pass ; and that if he were present, and this case fell out before him, which the sense and end of the law extendeth not to, he would say, This is an excepted case.

5. There is therefore a wide difference between a general law, and a personal, particular mandate ; as of a parent to a child, or a master to a servant ; for this latter fully notieth the will of the ruler in that very case, and to that very person. And therefore it cannot be said that here is any exception, or that it is not his will ; but in an universal or general law, it is to be supposed that some particular excepted cases will fall out extraordinarily, though they cannot be named ; and that in those cases, the ruler's will dispenseth with it.

these two special authors, *Bapt. Fragos. de Regimine Reipublicæ*, and *Greg. Saryus* in his *Clavis Regia*, and in them he shall find enow more cited. Though I think some further cautions would make it more satisfactory.

6. Sometimes also the ruler doth by the mere neglect of pressing or executing his own laws, permit them to grow obsolete, and out of use; and sometimes he forbearth the execution of them for some time, or to some sort of persons; and by so doing, doth notify that it was not his will that at such a time, and in such cases they should oblige. I say not that all remissness of execution is such a sign; but sometimes it is: and the very word of the lawgiver may notify his dispensation or suspending will. As for instance, upon the burning of London, there were many laws (about coming to parish-churches, and relief of the poor of the parish, and the like,) that the people became incapable of obeying; and it was to be supposed, that the ruler's will would have been to have excepted such cases if foreseen; and that they did dispense with them when they fell out.

Sometimes also the penalty of violating a law, is some such mulct or service, which the ruler intendeth as a commutation for the duty, so that he freely leaveth it to the choice of the subject which he will choose. And then it is no sin to pay the mulct, and omit the action; because it crosseth not the lawgiver's will.

8. Sometimes also the law may command this principally for some men's sake, which so little concerns others, that it should not extend to them at all, were it not lest the liberty of them should be an impediment to the obedience of others, and consequently of the common good. In which case, if those persons so little concerned, do but omit the action secretly, so as to be no scandal or public hurt, it seemeth that they have the implicit consent of the rulers.

9. Sometimes particular duties are commanded with this express exception, "Unless they have just and reasonable impediment." As for coming every Lord's day to church, &c.; which seemeth to imply, that (though in cases where the public good is concerned, the person himself shall not be judge, nor at all as to the penalty; yet that (in actions of an indifferent nature in themselves, this exception is still supposed to be implied, "unless we have just and reasonable impediments," of which in private cases, as to the crime, we may judge.

10. I need not mention the common, natural exceptions: as that laws bind not to a thing when it becometh naturally

impossible; or 'cessante materia, vel capacitate subjecti obligati,' &c.

11. Laws may change their sense in part by the change of the lawgiver; for the law is not formally to us his law that is dead and was once our ruler, but his that is alive and is now our ruler. If Henry the eighth make a law about the outward acts of religion, (as for coming to church, &c.) and this remain unrepealed in King Edward's, Queen Mary's, Queen Elizabeth's, King James's days, &c., even till now; as we are not to think that the lawgivers had the same sense and will, so neither that the law hath the same sense and obligation; for if the general words be capable of several senses, we must not take it as binding to us in the sense it was made in, but in the sense of our present lawgivers or rulers, because it is their law.

12. Therefore if a law had a special reason for it at the first making, (as the law for using bows and arrows,) that reason ceasing, we are to suppose the will of the lawgiver to remit the obligation, if he urge not the execution, and renew not the law.

13. By these plain principles many particular difficulties may be easily resolved, which cannot be foreseen and named, e. g. the law against relieving a beggar bindeth not, when he is like to die if he be not relieved; or in such a case as after the burning of London, when there was no parish to bring him to. A law that is but for the ordering of man's charity, (to soul or body, by preaching or alms,) will not disoblige me from the duties of charity themselves, in cases where Scripture or nature proveth them to be imposed by God. A law for fasting will not bind me, when it would be destructive to my body; even on God's sabbaths duties of mercy were to be preferred to rest and sacrifices.

14. If God's own laws must be thus expounded, that "When two duties come together, and both cannot be done, the lesser ceaseth at that time to be a duty, and the greater is to be preferred," man's laws must also be necessarily so expounded: and the rather, because man's laws may be contradictory when God's never are so, rightly understood.

15. Where the subject is to obey, so far he must discern which of the laws inconsistent, is to be preferred: but in the magistratical execution, the magistrate or judge must determine.

E. g. One law commandeth that all the needy poor be kept on the parish where they were born or last lived. Another law saith, that Nonconformable ministers of the Gospel, who take not the Oxford oath, shall not come within five miles of city or corporation (though they were born there) or any place where they have been preachers. In case of necessity what shall they do? *Ans.* Whither they shall go for relief, they must discern as well as they can: but whither they shall be carried or sent, the magistrate or constable must discern and judge.

Also whether he shall go with a constable that by one law bringeth him to a place, which by the other law he is forbid on pain of six months imprisonment in the common gaol to come to? *Ans.* If he be not voluntary in it, it is not his fault: and if one bring him thither by force, and another imprison him for being there, he must patiently suffer it.

16. But out of such excepted cases, the laws of our rulers (as the commands of parents) do bind us as is afore explained; and it is a sin against God to violate them.

17. Yea, when the reason of the law reacheth not our particular case and person, yet when we have reason to judge, that it is the ruler's will that all be bound for the sake of some, and the common order and good will be hindered by our exemption, we must obey to our corporal detriment, to avoid the public detriment, and to promote the public good.

CHAPTER IV.

Directions to Lawyers about their Duty to God.

GENTLEMEN, you need not meet these Directions with the usual censures or suspicions, that divines are busying themselves with the matters of your calling, which belong not to them, and which they do not understand: you shall see that I will as much forbear such matters as you can well desire. If your calling be not to be sanctified by serving God in it, and regulating it by his law, it is then neither honourable