CONTROL CONTRO

## A SERMON PREACHED AT

Hampton Court before the Kings Maiestie,

On Tuesday the 23.0f September,
ANNO 1606.

By IOHN BUCKERIDGE, D. of Divinitie.



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# A SERMON PREACHED AT

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#### Rom. 13.5.

Quapropter necesse est subijei, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam.

Wherefore you must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience.



Hese wordes are a conclufion of this discourse of the Apostle concerning the obedience of Christians towards their superiors; The processe of which Scripture

is grounded vpon many reasons: 1. ab Authore, from the first sounder, and Author of all power, Omnis potestas est à Deo; All power is of God, to whom in himselfe, and in his ordinance all creatures must be subject: wherein although it sometime happen, That Potens,

2 the

D. Discheringe Dermon

the Ruler is not of God, as the Prophet saith,

They have raigned and not by me: And likewise

modus assumendi, the maner of getting kingdomes is not of God alwayes, because it is
sometimes by sinfull meanes: yet potestas, the
power it selfe is ever from God. The 2. dbo.

no Ordinis, from the good of Order: and the
Lord calls himselfe, The God of Order, not of
consuston. And, Ordo est miniscuin que bonum,
Order is the good of every creature: with
whom it is better not to be, then to be out of
order: And, potestates que sunt à Deo, ordinate
sunt, The powers that are of God, are ordeined or ordered. The 3. is, à malo culpe, to

3. ned or ordered. The 3. is, à malo culpæ, to disobey God in his ordinance is a sinne, He that resisteth, resisteth the ordinance of God.

The 4. is, a malo pana, they that disobey, acquirunt, not onely accipiunt, do not onely receive for their deserts, deservedly, but willingly pull vpon themselves damnation; temporall, in which God is more quicke to revenge the wrong and Treasons committed against his Lieutenants, and Viceroyes, then the greatest sinnes against himselse; And also eternal, Numb. 16.32. as is manifest in Chore, Dathan and the rest,

Numb. 16.32. as is manifest in (hore, Dathan and the rest, that went downe quicke to hell; And, non est

damnatio

damnatio fine peccato, ther's no damnation but for sinne. The 5. is, abono societatis, from the good of Peace, Protection, Iustice, Religion and the like, which man receives by gouernment, He is Gods minister for their good: If he be a good Prince, causa est, Hee is the cause of thy good, temporall and eternall; If an euill Prince, occasio est, He is an occasion of thy eternall good, by thy temporall euill. Si bonus, nutritor est tuus; Si malus, tentator tuus est; If he be a good King, he is thy nourse, receiue thy nourishment with obedience; If he be an euill Prince, he is thy tempter, receive thy trial with patience; so ther's no resistance, either thou must obey good Princes willingly, or endure euill tyrants patiently. The 6. is, à signo, from a signe, tributa penditis, or præstatis, not datis: You pay tribute & custome, and Subsidies of duetie and Iustice; You give them not of courtesie; and they are stipendium Regis, not præmium, they are the Kings stipend or pay, not his reward: Ministri Dei funt, in hoc ipsum servientes; They are Gods ministers serving for that purpose; Not to take their owne ease and pleasure, but to gouerne others; Waking when others sleepe,

and taking care, that all men else may live without care.

All these Arguments the Apostle in the wordes of this text, concludes with an Ideo, Wherefore: Because all powers are of God:

2. Because all powers bring with them the good 3. of order: Because it is a sinne to disobey: Be-

and eternall is the punishment of this sinne:

5. Because government is the meanes to enjoy

all the benefits of life; Because Kings are hired by tribute and custome by governing to serve their servants and subjects; Ideo necessitate subditiestote, Therefore you must be obedient of necessitie, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Wrath is forum externum, that externall court, that contaynes all outward arguments, à præmio & pæna, from reward and punishment of God and man. Non fine causa gladium portat: he caryes not the fword in vaine, he is to reward or punish. And this is the servants and hirelings argument, which keeps base affections within compasse, and prepares the way to charitie it selfe, Vt Seta filum introducit, as the needle or briffell brings in the thred: wherein although he that obeyes

obeves for wrath, hath not the vertue of obedience, and so bene non agit; quia ex voluntate non agit, He doeth not well, because he doeth not with his will, or from the heart; yet quia bonum agit, timor seruilis bonus est, Because the act of obedience is good and a politicall vertue, this seruile feare for wrath is good, proceeding sometimes from the holy ghost, and of great consequence in Church and Common wealth.

Conscience is that forum internum, that inward Court wherein God fits, and either by the principles of reason, or by the lawes of the holy ghost, gouernes and judges all our actions done or to be done, and either accuseth, or excuseth, It is Iudicatorium rationale, not an Bern. de Doms affectionate or wilfull, but a reasonable Judge. Interiori, ca. 28 It is Liber anima, ad quem emendandum scripti funt omnes libri, It is the booke of the soule, for the examining and amending whereofall bookes were written: In which are registred all our thoughts, Wordes, and deeds: what wee haue done, what we must receive, and whither wee must goe, to heaven or hell; and when wee must leave all other bookes, this booke will not leaue vs, but bring vs to Gods tribunall,

tribunall, where it shall be laid open, and iudgevs. Hee est private lex hominis: this is everie mans private law: against which whosoever doeth any thing, sinnes. And therefore in some cases, Conscientia etiam erronea ligat: An erroneous conscience doeth bind.

The processe of this conscience is by way of Syllogisme. The proposition is framed by the Synderesis of the soule, which cannot be deceived; All good is to be done, all euill is to be anoyded. The Assumption is the discourse of reason: and therfore many times is erroneous. This is good, or this is euill. The conclusion is the collection of coscience. Therefore this is to be done, or that is to bee auoyded. Wherein because the discourse of reason being erroneous, makes an erroneous conscience; therefore that the lawes of men be not exorbitant, it shall be needfull to prescribe certaine rules or causes, that must concurre in all lawes, Ciuil and Ecclesiastical, that they may bind the conscience.

First there must be materia debita, a due matter, that is iust and lawfull, or els indifferent in it selse: for in things simply good or euill, which are commanded or forbidden by

God

God and Nature, No man hath power to crosse the will of God. And in these things mans power is declaratory and executory, not soueraigne of it selfe; In things indisterent there is a power to comand for circumstances of time, place, order, and the like, and there is a necessitic of obedience, and that for conscience sake, else man hath no power to command any thing of himselfe; And yet it is the sinue of disobedience, not onely to do that which is euill, but that also which is forbidden.

The 2. is forma debita, a due forme, an equal proportion of honors & burdens, according to the difference & degrees of seueral Estates, conditions, and qualities, as also a due order of proceeding in Law-making, without tumult or consusion, without malice, spleene, or reuenge. The 3. is Efficiens debitum, a due essicient, or a sufficient power to whom the care of Law-making is delegated. For as the sentence of him that is no Judge, is no sentence; so the Law of him that is not authorized to decree Lawes, is no Law. The 4. is simis debitus, a due end, Publicke good, and not private: for as a Tyrant herein differeth B

from a King, that the Tyrant intendeth his private good, & the King proposeth the publicke: so euill Lawes ayme at private and bad ends, and good Lawes propose the most publicke and best ends, the increase of good Religion, and safety of the Common wealth. And these causes concurring, the matter being lawfull or indifferent; the forme due, the efficient potent, and the end publicke and good, the Lawes of man must be obeyed, not onely for wrath but for conscience, which is the greatest Obligation on earth: For Nemo humanam potestatem contemnit, nisi qui prius diui= nam contempsit, No man contemnes the pow-

Thus we see, All must obey: Euill men for seare, and good men for conscience. Now Subjection in this Text, is a transcendent, and hath no proper place to be spoken of, because it is to bee spoken of in every place; And therefore let vs consider two points: The persons are two, Subjects that must obey, and Higher powers, that must goderne and command. The necessitie will bring vs to the circuit

cuit and causes, in which we must obey.

The subjects are set downe in the first verse, with a note of universality, Omnis anima, Let euery soule be subject; Not only heathen, but Christians, and Clearkes also: they have no exemption, but by the grace and priviledges of Princes. Omnis anima, quia ex animo Let every soule bee subject, and subject with the will and heart, and inward affection of the soule, as S. Paul often teacheth, Non ad Ephel. 6.6. oculium, but ex corde, Not with eye-seruice, but from the heart. So that in Naturam totam peccat, qui potestatibus resistit, he sinnes against all Nature, body and soule, that resisteth the higher powers; And qui dicit Omnem, excludit nullam, He that faith, Euery foule, exempteth no soule: The soule of the Priest, and Ecclesia afticall person, as well as the soule of the Layman must be subject to the higher powers For why? S. Paul in this Epistle wrote as well to the Clearks & Priests, or Bishops of Rome, (if there were any then resident at Rome,) as to the people. And our Saujour when hee Matth. 22,21, faid, Date que sunt Cesaris, Cesari: Giue to Cælar, the things that are Cælars, spake as well to the high Priests, Scribes and Pharilees, 123012

Chryfoft, in Rom. 13 hom. 23.

as to the people. (hryfostome faith vpon this place, Sine Apostolus, sine Enangelista, sine Propheta, siue quisquis tandem sueris : Be thou an Apostle, an Euangelist, a Prophet, or wholoeuer thou art, thou owest this subjection: His reason is, Neg enim pietatem subuertit ista subiectio, For this tubiection doth not overthrow true godlinesse. In which exposition concurre Theodoret, Theophylast and Oecumenius vpon this place. S. Gregory in an Epistle to the Emperor Mauritius in the person of Christ, faith, Sacerdotes meos manuitue commife, I have committed my Priestes to thy hand. And in another Epistle he saith, That God made han ruler, not onely ouer Souldiers, but also ouer Priests, Dominari enim non folim militibus, fed Bernard, Epist. etiam sacerdotibus concessit. And S. Bernard long after writing ad Archiepiscopum Senouensem in France, alledgeththis place, Lettenery foule be subject to the higher powers; And addeth further, Siomnis anima, to restra : quis vos excepit ab universitate ? It every soule be subject, then is your soule: For who hath exempted you from this vainerfalitie? And if a man furuey all ancient Histories, heeshall finde that this exemption is much yonger

then.

Gregorius E-

pift. 1.2. cap. 100.0 103.

then their times. The Apolle S. Panhap. Act 15.15. pealed to Cafar, as to his lawful superior. The Martyrs, and Confessors; and godly Bishoppes, neuer pleaded this exemption as gainst their perfecutors, vntill the Bishiop of Rome, like the luy that growing by the wall, eateth out the wall, so he growing by the Roman Empire, had eaten out the Empire, and then hee did exempt himselfe and his Cleargie, from the higher powers ordayned of God. The water of the min men guil

For so they are higher, and indeed highest Powers next under Go Dithat is the next thing to be considered in the persons, Powers they are, and therefore gouerners, for potestas is regiminis: the power is the power of gouerning, And civil powers they are, which then were Genriles and Infidels, though now Christians and that appeareth by two circumitances they beare the fword; and they receive tribute: Neither of which belongs to the Priests office. And they be higher powers the word is with a comparative in property of preposition, the same that S. Peter huth, with infigure. Regitanquam excellenti: to the King as 1 Pet 2-13. to the superior, merito fortasse inferiori, but digi-Buthop

Tr. M. K.

S. + 141.

nitate

nitate & authoritate superiori: inferiour per-

aduenture to some in graces and vertues, but in dignitie and authoritie superior to all; for all men are under them, and therfore they are superior to almortal men, carying that sword, quo omnes corrigendi, with which all men are to be corrected. And therefore the style of Supremacie, or Supreme governour is wan ranted out of the letter or this Text. And Kings and Emperours, as they have their calling immediat from GoD, so they admitt no superior on earth but God, to whom onely they must make their accompt. And so much Tertullianacknowledged Colimns imperatorem rot hominem à Deo secundum & solo Deoinino. rem, We Christians honour out Emparour as the second man after God, and minor to none but to God. Super Imperatorem non est nisi for Parm. lib. 3. The Emperatorem, faith Optatus; The Emperour admits no duperiour but that God that made the Emperour. And in that place hee accuseth Donatus, that hee esteemed himselse as Go Dand nota man. Dum fe Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, dum fe Episcopus Romanus, or, Dum Presbyterium, he might have faid, either while Donatus the Bishop milate

Tertull, ad Scapul.

Bishop of Rome, or the Presbytery, one Pope, or many Popes doeth extoll himselfe aboue the Emperor: non verendo eum qui post Deum, not reuerencing nor fearing him; who next after God is reuerenced and feared of all men. Theodofius Images were cast downe in Antioch, whereupon (brysostom saith, Liesus est, Chrysost. ad qui non habet parem super terram, summittae et hom. 2. caput omnium super terram hominum. The Emperour is wronged who hath no equall vpon earth, the height and head of all hien. Wherein let no man miltake: when wee call Emperours and Kings Supreme governours, wee doe not extoll them aboue GoD, or his Law or word: Ministri Dei sunt, as the Apostle fayeth, they are Gods ministers: and therefore subordinate to him that fent them. And Ad. 4.19. if they commaund any thing against Goo, their authoritie comes too short !in fuch things it is better to obey Go D then man. And yet in these things though wee may not obey, yet we may not refult but fuffer, as Iulia ans fouldiers would not facrifice at his command, August in pfal, yet when he led them against an enemie, they obeied most readily : Distinguebant dominatemporas lent & Domino aterno, or tame subditi erant prop-

August. De verbis Dom. Sec. Matth. hom, 6.

ter Doninum aternum, etiam domino temporali, as S. Augustin faith, They made a difference betweene their temporall Lord and their eternall Lord, and yet for their eternall Lords sake, they were subject to their temporall Lord: for as among men, if the Proconsul command thee any thing, and the Emperour command the contrary, thou doest well to obey the Emperour, and not the Proconsul: So if the Emperour command as ny thing, and God commaund the contrary, thou doest well to obey God, and not the Emperour. In these cases saith S. Augustin, Timendo Potesta. tem, contemne potestatem, in that thou fearest Gods power, feare not mans power. So then they are supreame, because they admitt no mortall man as superior vpon earth, yet they pre not supreame aboue God nor aboue Christ, for all their authoritie is deriued from God and Christ, And as it is à Deo, from God and Christ, so it is propter Deum, and propter (bristum, for God and for Christ, not against God nor against Christ, for the trueth, not against the trueth. As Nabuchodonosors Law was to be disobeied that he made for an Idol, fo the Law that he made for the true GOD was to be obeyed. And as in civill causes by

Dan.3.6,19.

all mens confession they are supreame, and yet not aboue God nor Christ : So in causes Ecclesiasticall they are likewise supreame on earth, yet not aboue God nor Christ: they are ministri Dei no Papæ, non presbytery. They are Gods immediate ministers of whom they holde in Capite: not mans, not the Popes, not the Presbyteries, to draw their swords at their command. Now that their authoritie is not confined to the second Table of causes Ciuill, but extends it selfe to the first Table, and causes Ecclesiastical, wil appeare in this word, Necessitate subditi estote: you must of necessity be subject: for this is not Necessitas externa, an externall necessitie, onely of force and compulsion for wrath, propter iram; but also Necessitas interna, an internal necessitie, of loue and duery, propter conscientiam: And according to the Schoole, there is Duplex necessitas, a double necessitie. There is necessitas natura, the necessitie of nature: as the fire is necessarily hot by nature; and if it cease to be hote, it ceaseth to be fire. And there is necessitas pracepti & finis, the necessitie of the precept and the end: for all precepts are necessarily to be kept in respect of the end. So that a ficke

ficke man should recouer his health, it is necessarié necessitate finis that hee obserue the precepts of Phisicke and keepe a good diet: So S. Paul saith: Necessitas mihi incumbit, A necessitie is laide vpon me, and woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel: there is a necessity not of nature, but of precept, his calling, and the end, faluation: So subjection to higher powers is necessarie in Christians, Necessitate pracepti & finis, by the necessitie of the ende: peace, and tranquillitie, and Religion in this life, and life everlasting after death: and by the necessitie of the precept, Honour thy father and mother: in which number all Kings and Fathers of Countries, and Princes must haue the honour of reuerence to their Persons, of obedience to their Lawes, of patience to their punishments, of maintenance to their Estates, and of fidelitie to their Crownes. Now because Government, and Obedience are relatives of equall extent; so farre must we obey as their commission is to gouerne: And the precept of their Authoritie extends not onely to civill causes in the second Table, but also to Religion in the first. And this precept according to the difference of times, is three-

fold:

Exod.10.12.

1.Cor.9.16

fold: Naturall, Legall, and Euangelicall. In the Law of nature it can be no question, but causes Civil and Ecclesiasticall belonged both to one man, fince the calling of King and Priest was vnited in one man: The Prince of the family was both chiefe Magistrate, and Priest, & had the supremacie in both: Which Aristotle well observed, when he said, Qua ad Arist politib. Deorum cultum pertinent commissa sunt Regibus. Things pertayning to Gods worship are committed to Kings as a part of their charge: In which respect he saith, Imperator erat Rex, & Iudex, rer úmque divinarum ei cura commissa est, The King was in warre an Emperour, in peace a Judge, and in divine causes an Overseer; And this was practised by all Nations, Asyrians, Medes, Persians, Grecians, Romanes, Iewes and Gentiles, Pagans and Christians: All which did establish Religion by their publicke Lawes, and maintained it by the Magistrates sword. Instinian said, Nos maxima Nouel Conflict. · follicitudine, The true Religion of God, and 6 the honest conversation of Priests is our greatest care. Rex seruit Deo, aliter qua bomo, aliter quâ Rex, (saith S. Augustine) The King doth August Episte Serue God as a man, and as a King; As a man hee so. Serueth

Serueth God by living holily, As a King he serveth God by making (Ecclefiasticall) Lawes with convenient rigour and severitie, that shall commaund that which is inft, and forbid that which is contrary. His examples are Ezechias and Iofias that destroyed Idoles, and reformed the more ship of God . And also among the Heathen , first Nabuchodonosor, who being instructed by the miracle of the fiery Fornace, made a Law for the wor-Thipping of Daniels God:next Darius, who by occasion of a like miracle made a Decree that almen should feare and tremble before the God of Daniel: And last of the King of Ninince, who at lonas preaching proclaimed a fast, and commanded all the citie, man and beast to fast, and to cry mightily to God, and to turne from their wicked wayes: And these three did this, not out of a propheticall Spirit, as some pretend, that Dauid, and Salomon, and losias did; But as belonging to their function Royall by the light of Nature. Wherein if any shall say, That seruitude is the punishment of sinne, and so this proceedeth out of nature corrupted, not pure, I answere: Peccatum seruitutem fecit, Natura subiectionem induxit: Sinne brought in tyrannie and flauerie. Cursed be Cham, a seruant of ser-

Dan.3.29.

Dan.5 26.

Iona. 2.6.

Gen. 9.25.

uants shall he be. But order of superioritie and subjection is the instinct of purest nature: For in heauen there is order among bleffed Angels, and some are higher, and some lowers and they obey one another, if not ex pracepto, yet ex consilio : if not by precept and command, yet by counsell and direction. And in the state of innocencie, there was superioritie and subjection not onely betweene man and all other creatures, but betweene man and woman: and had they lived in Paradile, till they had bene father and sonne, there should haue bene patria potestas: and being many families, there must necessarily have bin Regia potestas: Else the best and most happy life must have beene without the greatest happinesse of life, and that is Order. And this superioritie and subiection remained not onely in the prophane and wicked, but also in the line of the godly and the Church, vntill the Law of Nature, which was dayly adulterated and corrupted by the affections and traditions of men, was written by Moses in Tables of stone: which is the second precept of this Subjection.

And this Law of Moses did renue the Law

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of

Deut.17.18,

of the kingdome, and ordained that the King should have a booke of the Law written by the Priests, and deliuered him at his Corona. tion, in which he is commaunded to reade all the dayes of his life, that hee may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this law, and these ordinances to do them; And in this law there bee many Precepts that concerne the King, as hee is a man, and many that concerne him, as a King; And in this ordinance the king is made Custos les gis Diuina, The guardian of Gods Law, and the whole Law is committed to his charge; The first Table, that concernes Gods worship and causes Ecclesiasticall, aswell as the second Table that concernes civill conversation, and causes secular. By vertue of which Commisfion, when the kingdome & Priesthood were divided in Moses and Aaron, Moses the civill Magistrate exercised a Supremacie ouer Aaron the high Priest, in causes Ecclesiasticall, whom hee reprooued for making the golden calfe: and in his time the breach of the Sabboth by gathering of sticks was punished by the Civill sword.

Exod.31.21.

Numb.15.32.

Ioshua a Prince and no Priest, as Moses is

faid to be, succeeded Moses in this charge, and by this Commission he a circumcised the sons a losue.5.2. of Ifrael, berected an Altar of stone, read the b losue 8.30. Law, did d execution on him that concealed 34; d losue.7.24, the things dedicated to Idoles, e caused the 25. people to put away strange gods, and renued 23,25. the couenant betweene God and the people. And these are causes Ecclesiasticall.

Dauids whole study was for causes Ecclesiafticall, after he had freed Ifrael from all enemies: then did he compose Psalmes to be sung by Asaph and his brethren, then did hee set 1. Paral. 16. orders for the Temple, appointed Priests, Le-1.paral.23. uites, singers, and other inferior seruitors, and 1. paral, 24. assigned to them their dignities, courses, and 1.paral 26. offices.

Salomon by this Comission built the Temple and dedicated it, he deposed Abiathar the 1. Reg 6. high Priest, and placed Zadok in his roome. I 1. Reg. 2.3.9. hope this is a matter and argument of great supremacy.

Matooke away the Altars of strange gods, 2. Paral 14 the high places and groues: hee put downe 2. Paral 15.8. his mother because shee had made an Idoll: 12,13,14,15. he tooke an oath of Iuda and Beniamin, that who soeuer would not serue the Lord, should

bee flayne. This was sharpe Law in a cause meerely Ecclesiasticall.

2. Taral 17.6, Iehosaphat sent his Princes to teach in the Cities of Iuda, and with them Leuites, and

2. Paral. 19.4. Priests: himself went from Beersheba to mout Ephraim and brought al the people againe to

2.Paral.19.8. the God of their fathers: hee fet of the Leuites and Priests and chiefe of the families of Israel, for the judgement and causes of the Lord, and this is as a Kings high Commission.

opened the doores of the House of the Lord, and brought the Priests and Leuites in, hee commanded them to sanctifie themselves, & to offer burnt offrings, which they did according to the Kings commandement.

Here Priests are obedient to the Kings commaund in their owne duties and charge. Hee

2. Paral. 30.1, the words of *Dauid*; there he enioyned a Li-6,12. 2. Paral. 31.2. turgie: He commanded all Israel and Iuda to keepe the Passeouer; here is *omnia cum Impe* 

2. Paral 31.1. rio: He appointed the courses of Priests and Leuites by turnes, hee tooke away the hie places, broke downe the Images, and brake the

brasen

brasen Serpent made by Moses, because the 4 Reg. 14.4.

people burnt incense vnto it.

Manasses that had set vp Altars, groues, and 2. Paral 33-3, Images before his captiuitie, after his repentance and returne, he tooke away the strange gods and the Image that hee had put in the house of the Lord, and the like, and restored the worship of God; and there hee commanded Iuda to serue the Lord.

The last example I will trouble you with, is Iosias; he purged Iuda and Ierusalem from 2. Paral 34.3, high places, groues, and Images: he gathered 4,19,30,31,32, all Israel, reade the Law, renewed the Couenant, and caused all Israel to stand to the Couenant, and hee compelled them to serue the Lord: he kept the famous Passeouer, and re- 2. Paral. 35.1, duced the Priests and Leuites to their courses 2,3,10,18. fet by Dauid and Salomon. These and many more are the Actes of famous Kings in the time of the Law, done by their Royall authoritie, not at the appointment and command of the Priests: that had bene onely Potestas Fa= Eli non Iuris: A power of Execution, and not a power of Iurisdiction, if the Priests had first commanded the King, and then the King had commaunded the people: But the Kings did make dei ly

make Orders and Decrees, and commanded the Priests as well as the people, and reformed the Priests, as well as the people. Yea, Salos mon did depose Abiathar the high Priest: and they forced and compelled both Priest and people to serue the Lord, and to abolish idolatrie and superstition: And therefore this is a power of Iurisdiction ouer persons Ecclesia-

sticall in causes of Religion.

If it be said that these Kings did this by the direction of the Prophets, and most of these Kings had their peculiar Prophets and Seers; this is nothing to the question: for no man euer denyed direction to Kings. They have Counsailers for causes Civill, and Prophets, Priests and Bishops for causes of the Church. And the question is not, Quâ directione, but, quâ authoritate: Not by what direction; they must direct themselves by their best helpes: but by what Authoritie; not a derived or delegated Authority from the Priest, but by that original Commission, Necessitate pracepti, by the necessitie of the precept, in which they are made guardians of the whole Law.

If it be further faid, these Kings did this by an extraordinary and Propheticall power,

which

which is but onely said and neuer prooued; the confutation is ready: If this had beene done by a Propheticall power, why are those Kings registred as glorious and good Kings, that walked in the wayes of Dauid, and tooke care of Gods Religion: And on the other side, those Kings that omitted these duties of Religion, not onely noted and disgraced, but condemned for the omission of that which according to this opinion concerned not their office? Had the supreme care of Religion in these Kings beene onely a Counsaile and no Precept, no man should have been disgraced and condemned for it; for no man is to bee condemned for the omission of a Counsaile. And therefore the Scripture condemning many Kings for the omission of this dutie, and registring Nahuchodonosor, Darius, and the King of Nineue for their great care in this charge; this is not a Counfaile, but a precept in the Lawe, that Kings must take charge of the whole Law, and causes Ecclesiasticall as well as Temporall.

When the Donatists pleaded that Kings Optatus contra were to meddle with Civill causes of the second Table, and not with Ecclefiafticall causes

of the first, Optatus held it to be a madnesse in

Donatus: Ille solito furore accensus in hec verba prorupit, Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia? Donatus enflamed with his accustomed turie, brake foorth into these words, What hath the Emperour to doe with the Church? But, fayth Optatus, the Apostle taught vs to pray for Kings. Non enim est Respublica in Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia in Republica, i. in Imperatore Romano: The Commonwealth is not in the Church, but the Church is in the Commonwealth, that is, in the Romane Emperour. And S. Augu-August. Epist, stine rejecteth the plea as ridiculous, Nolite cu= rare in regno vestro, à quo tueatur vel oppugne= tur Ecclesia: Take you no care in your Kingdoms who oppugneth the (hurch, and who defendeth it; who is religious, and who sacrilegious: This is as much as if you should say, Take no care who is chast and who is unchast. Cur enim adulteria legibus puniuntur & sacrilegia permittuntur? As it adulteries were to be punished, and facriledge permitted. The force of the Argument is this, If the King be to punish by Giuill punilhment in the fecond Table, murther, theft, adulterie, and the like; much more in the first Table, Atheisme, Idolatrie, Sacriledge, Here-

fie, Schisme, and the like: else these sinnes 27.

must goe vnpunished in this life.

But it will be faid, Indeed the kingdome was about the Priesthood in the Law: but in the Gospel, the Priesthood is about the kingdome, And therefore though kings in the Law medled with Ecclesiasticall persons and causes, necessitate pracepti; yet in the Gospel their authoritie is confined onely to causes Civill: the Church that was governed 300. yeeres before any king was Christian, hath no need of their supremacy, there is no precept of obedience in the Gospel which imposeth this necessitie. Indeed if the Gospel were either a Revocation or limitation of their Commission granted in the Law, it were somewhat.

But when the rule holdes, that Euangelium
non tollit pracepta natura e legis, sed perficit:
The Gospel doth not take away the precepts
of nature, and the morall Law, but perfect
them: The comission of Kings granted in the
Law, standeth good to the worlds end: And
Christ came ot tolleret peccata non iura mundi, sohn. 1.29.
not to take away the Lawes and societies, but
the sunes of the world: And hee renued the
D 3 precept,

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Matt. 22.21.

precept, Date que sunt Cesaris, Cesari: Giue to Cæsar the things which are Cæsars by the Law of Nature and Moses: And the Apostles doe often and almost every one of them in their writings double the precept, As Saint Peter, and Saint Iude, and Saint Paul in many Epistles. One place shalferue for all.1. Tim.2. he ordeineth that Christians shall pray for Kings and men in Authority. The reason is, That wee may liue a quiet and peaceable life vnder them, And the compasse is: in many & or Rein के ज्यार्थमाः in all godlines and honestie. Therefore godlines and honestie belongeth to the Kings charge; And so the same precept with the same extent remaineth in the Gospel that was giuen in the Lawe. In the 2. Psalme it is prophesied, that Christian kings should serue the Lord Christ in feare, and reioice to him in reuerence: and they must serue him not onely as men, but as kings; and kings as they are

is euill, Non solum in is que pertinent ad huma= nam societatem, verum etiam in is quæ ad Diui= nam religionem, Not onely in things pertaining

r. Tim. 3.2.

I.Pet.2.23. lude 8.

Pfal.2.11.

August. contra kings, (saith S. Augustine out of this place,) crescon. 116. 3. Jerue the Lord, if in their kingdomes they com= cap. 5 I.

mand that which is good, & prohibite that which

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to humane societie, but also in matters concerning Divine worship. And Esai prophecied that in Isai 49.23. the Gospel Kings should bee noursing fathers and Queenes shoulde bee noursing mothers of the Church, and they must nourish by their milke: and internall milke of the worde and Sacraments, they cannot give: they can neither preach the worde, nor administer the Sacraments no more then Vzziah could 2. Paral. 26. burne incense, or offer sacrifice to God: Neither can they give commission or power to any man to preach or minister the sacraments, which is an authoritie deriued from God by imposition of hands; Ite, pradicate: Permittere, Marc. 16,15. 🛂 🤡 licentiam dare possunt, non authoritate. Their authority is a permission or licence to preach in their dominions, not a power of milsion or ordination: And therefore fince they cannot giue the internall milke of the word and Sacraments; they must give the externall milke of discipline and gouernement. And although the Church were gouerned for the first three hundred yeeres before any Emperour or king became a publique professed Christian: yet as S. Augustine saith, Aliud su= August. Epist. it tunc tempus, & omnia suis temporibus agun-

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tur. The times were different, and all things haue their time. And therefore assoone as Constantine became a Christian, he assumed this supremacie: he put downe idolatry, hee established Christian religion, composed differences of Bilhops, suppressed heresie and Schismes, called Councels, and gaue his suffrage in them, hee heard causes of religion, & judged them in his owne person, he made lawes, decrees, edicts and orders for religion. Eusebius de vi-And this faith Eusebius, hee did tanguam communis Episcopus à Deo constitutus, as a common Bithop or ouerseer ordeined of God. And concerning these that boldly and vnaduisedly were inflamed with the memorie and prayse of those Arrian Bishops: pestium illarum is Constantines words, those plagues and Theodoret.lib. 1 firebrands of the Church, Illius statim audacia, ministri Dei, hoc est, mea executione, coercebitur. The boldnesse of such, (Bishops and others) fhall be brought in order by the fword or execution of Gods minister, that is, my selfe. concil. Toletan. And the fixt Toletan Councell speaking of

6.cap. 14.

ta Constan.

cap. 19.

lib. 1. cap. 37.

Chintillanus the king, saith: Nefas est in dubium deducere eius potestatem, cui omnium guber= natio superno constat delegata iudicio. It is an hainous

hainous offence to call his power into question, to whom it is apparant that the gouernement of all is delegated by the divine Decree.

To reduce these things to certaine heads: The first worke of this supremacy is reformatio Ecclefie, The reformation of the Church, by abolishing Idolatrie, superstition and heresie, and placing of true Religion: practifed by Constantine, and all the godly Emperours his fuccessors: A matter so evident both in the Law & the Gospel, that it needeth no proofe; And they which withstand, and cry downe the Supremacie of Kings, were the men that first told Kings that they had a supremacie in causes Ecclesiasticall, and ought to reforme the Church, and make way for Gods owne kingdome, and Christs owne Scepter: which when they had effected by the Civill sword, and grew potent and strong, and able to stand of themselves; Then these Equinocating companions began to deale plainely, and to tell Kings that they had nothing to do in causes Ecclefiastical; As those that when they have -beat the child, burne or cast away the rod: as who vsing temporall Authority as a ladder to clime vp to the height of their ambition, fling it away and breake it in pieces, as if they that reformed

reformed for them, might not also reforme

them, and bring them into Order.

The second worke of this Supremacie, is Conuocatio Synodorum, the calling of Councels and Synods: as the foure first generall Councels were called by foure Emperors: The Nicene Councell against Arrius, by Constantine: The Councell of Constantinople against Macedonius, by Theodosius the elder: The Councel of Ephelus against Nestorius, by Theodosius the yonger: The Councell of Chalcedon against Eutiches, by Martian. I might adde the Councell of Sardis by Constans and Constantius, & many more, for many hundred yeeres after Christ. But I note rather the weake allegation of Cardinall Bellarmine, That all cil. l. 1. cap. 13. these Councels and many more, were called

by Emperours, but authoritate Papa, by the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome (or the Presbyterie, if there were any fuch thing then in. being, ) as if in those times Emperours had bene vassals to the Bishops of Rome; whereas Leo magnus made supplication to Theodosius the yonger, supplicationi nostra dignetur annuere, that the Emperor would call a Coun-

cell in Italy. But the Emperour called it at E. phesus, And the Bishops of Italy could not

Leo Epist.9.

come in time: and Eutiches heresie was there countenanced by the meanes of Dioscorus Bi-Thop of Alexandria. Then Leo made a fe- Epiff. 24. cond supplication, and alledged the sighes and teares of all the Cleargie, for to obtaine a Councellin Italy. He sollicited the Princesse Epist. 26. Pulcheria, to further his supplication to the Emperour: He wrote to the Nobles, Cleargie Epift. 23. and people of Constantinople, to make like supplication to the Emperour: yet he could not obtaine it in the time of Theodosius. When Martian succeeded (by the fauour of Pulche= ria) à Councell was granted, not in Italy, but at Chalcedon; Then Leo made a fresh suite, Epist. 43. That the Emperour would command the Bishops of the Councell, that the faith of the Nicene Councell might stand in full force vnaltered, which the Emperour did at his request, And the Emperours Oration to that Oratio Marriapurpose is extant. Now, if supplication, in- "cale." tercession of friendes, sighes and teares of Priests be the authority of the Pope, then the Pope vsed his authoritie, and commaunded the Emperour to call Councels. But in the Epis. 590 subscription you shall see his authoritie, Because (saith Leo) I must by all meanes obey your facred and Religious will, I have fet downe

downe my consent in writing to those Constitutions. Here you see it is plaine, Councels

Hieron. in Apologia contra

Ruffinum.

Socrates lib. 5.

were called by Emperours at the Popes supplication and entreatie: And therefore when Ruffinus alleadged the Canon of a Councell against S. Hierome, his answere was, Doce quis eum Imperator iuserit conuocari, shew what Emperour commanded this Councell to be called. I will therefore ende this point with Socrates words, Who giving a reason why in his Church-story he made so often mention of Emperours, saith, Propterea quod ex illo tempore quo Constantini esse cæperunt, negotia Ecclesie ex eorum nutu pendere visa sunt, atque adeo maxima concilia de eorum sententia, & conuocata fuerunt, & adhuc conuocantur, Since Emperours became (like Constantine) fathers of the Church, the causes of the Church have depended vpon their will: And therefore the greatest Councels have bene, and yet are called by their authoritie.

Eusebius de vita Constanvini.lib.2. cap.20.cap.21. sap.24.cap.44.

The third worke is promulgatio legum, the promulgation of Church Lawes and Edicts, commanding or forbidding things, expedient or hurtful for the Churches gouernment: whereof the Church stories are full. Constantine made many Lawes concerning Confel-

fors and Martyrs, Christians and Heathen. Eusebius mentioneth two Lawes; one that abolished idolatrie, images, sacrifices and diuinations; an other concerning building & enlarging of Churches at the Emperors charge. Theodofius made a Lawe against the Arrians: Theodoret.li.5. the maner of it is worth the repeating. Amphilochus Bishop of Iconium had beene a long futer in vaine, at last hee vsed this stratageme: hee came into the Court and saluted the Emperour, but would not salute the Emperours sonne Arcadius newly created Casar. Theodosius thinking hee had not seene his sonne, shewed him his sonne and bid him salute and kisse him. Amphilochus answered, It is enough to honour the father. Theodofius interpreting it as a contempt of his sonne, grew very angrie, whereupon Amphilochus discouering himselse said, Art thou offended O Emperour that I reverence not thy sonne, and thinkest thou that God is not offended with the Arrians the blashhemers of his sonne? The Emperour ouercome with these words, Legem scribit, made a Lawe presently forbidding the assemblies of the Arrians. I should tire my selle and your patience, if I should enter particulars: onely I must referre you to the titles of the Civil law, E 3

De summa Trinitate, & side Catholica: de sacrosanctis Ecclesis: de Episcopis & clericis, de hareticis, &c. which were promulgated by Instinian, Theodosius, Valentinian, Honorius, Arcadius, and other godly and Religious Emperours. There is a Collection of Ecclesiasti-

Leg. Francia per Anfegifum collecta.

Arcadius, and other godly and Religious Emperours. There is a Collection of Ecclesiasticall Lawes made by Charles the Emperour, Lodouicke and Lotharius: gathered by Anlegifus Anno 827. Of Charles his Lawes there be 168. And of the Lawes of Lewes and Lotharius 157. In the Preface, the Emperour Charles professeth, Quapropter & nostros missos ad vos direximus, qui ex nostri nominis Authoritate und wobiscum corrigerent, qua corrigenda effent: Therefore we have directed our Commissioners vnto you, (Heere you see Kings high Commissioners and visitors are ancient) that shall joyne with you to redresse those things which neede reformation, according to our Canonicall Constitutions, in our name, and by vertue of our Authoritie.

And these Lawes were of that sorce in those dayes, that when Mauritius the Emperour that made a Law, that Nemo publicis administrationibus implicatus ad Ecclesiasticum officium perueniret, That no man intangled with publique charge, should bee aduanced

Gregorius Epist. lib.1. cap. 100.69

to an Ecclefiasticall office, S. Gregory approued this part of the Law, because many vnder this colour did mutare seculum, not relinquere. And further, the Law forbade any Souldier to enter a Monastery till his warrefare was expired. S. Gregory though hee wished not any to flie the warres, or not pay their debts, vnder the name of a Cloister; yet because hee faw it hindered many from the warrefare and service of God, wrote an humble Letter to Mauritius, and another to Theodorus the Em- Ego dignus pieperours Physician, to intreat the renocation mulus. of this Law invented by Iulian, in a very submisse Stile: Ego quidem iussioni vestra subiectus, I your feruant and subject to your command, haue fent this Lawe to many parts of the world, and now I write my opinion to your Maiestie: Vtrobique ergo quod debui exolui, qui & Imperatori obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo quod sensi, non tacui: In both I haue done my duety; I haue perfourmed my obedience to the Emperor, and I have not concealed what I thought fit for Gods cause. And S. August. August. Epist. fayth of this power of Lawes, Hoc inbent Im- 166. peratores quod & Christus iubet, quia cum bonum iubent, nemo iubet nisi per eos Christus: When Emperours command that which is good, it

is Christ and no man else that commandeth

by them.

The fourth worke of this Supremacie, is receiuing of Appeales, and giving Decisions, Restitutions, and Deprivations, and other punilhments of Bishops for causes Ecclesiasticall. Wherein although Constantine at the first in modestie, and a desire to suppresse the calumniations of Bishops, and being not yet so fully instructed in Christian faith, tooke the papers and Articles of the Bishops and burnt them in the Nicene Councill; yet being better instructed, and seeing the necessitie of his Authoritie in these causes, he judged Cecilia. nus cause himselse. Donatus procured (ecilianus to be condemned by 70. African Bishops for certaine crimes objected against him: As also that hee was ordered by one Falix, who as it was pretended had burnt the Scriptures. And in a tumult they fet vp another Bishop of Carthage against him: then they appealed to Constantine, and defired him to assigne them Judges: Constantine by his Commission Eusebius line. extant in Eusebius, delegated and authorized Meltiades Bishop of Rome, Marcus a Clergie man of Rome, yet no Bishop, and Rheticius, Maternus, and Marinus three French Bishops,

Vide Optatum lib. 1. & Aug. Epift. 162.6 166.

cap.5.

to heare the cause, who gave sentence for (ecilianus. Vpon a second Appeale, Constantine made a second Delegacy to Chrestus bishop of Eusebins U.zo. Syracuse, & certaine Bishops of France met at Arle, who likewise gaue sentence with Cecilianus. Vpon the third Appeale, Constantine appointed Elianus a Civill Magistrate to examine Falix, who acquited Falix also. Then the Emperour called both parts before him, and gaue finall sentence for Cecilianus, and made a seuere Law against the Donatists; by which Lawe many Donatists were brought home to the Catholique Church. In which passage, I pray you obserue: 1. That Meltiades not as supreme Iudge of all Controuersies, but as delegated by Constantine, did judge of Cecilianus cause: And S. Augustin defendeth August. Epist. him from vsurpation vpon the 70. African 162. Bishops, because the Emperor so appointed it. Next the Bishops of France did judge the same cause after Meltiades without anywrong to the Sea of Rome: no man in that age found fault with it. And thirdly it is apparant that Constantine was superiour to Meltiades, and both made him his Delegat, and judge of his sentence and judgement, which S. Aus August. contra gustine calleth vitimum judicium, the last judg- cap. 6.

ment, oltra quod causa pertransire non potest, and that the cause had gone as farre as it could goe. And whereas the Donatists pleaded that a Bishop should not be purged indicio Proconsulari, by the Proconsuls iudgment; August. Epist. S. Augustine answeres, The Bishops sought it not, but the Emperour enioyned it; Adenius curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus erat,

71.

Extat hec collatio apud Opsum.

resilla maxime pertinebat, To whose charge, of which he must make accompt to God, this matter did chiefely appertaine. There was a conference held by the appointment of the Emperour Honorius: the Judge defigued by the Emperour was one Marcellinus, (to whom Augustine after writ his Bookes De Ciuitate Dei, ) at which S. Augustine was present, and others, who disputed against Petilianus, Emeritus, and Gaudentius, and other Donatifts: which was gathered by Marcellus: And S. Augustine hath written the seueral dayes Collations. Marcellinus gatte sentence against the Donatists, and it was confirmed by the Emperout Honorius, all which is extant. Theodosocrates lib. 5. fins called a Councell of all forts, Nactarius and Azilius made the confession of Confubstantialitie: Demophilus delivered up the Ar-

rian faith: Eunomius the Eunomian faith: E-

sap. 10.

leulius

leusius the Macedonian faith. Tum solus & separatus precatur Deum, saith Socrates, Then the Emperor alone, separate from all company made his prayers to GoD, to direct him in the Trueth, and then he read the seuerall faiths: and condemned and rent all the reft, that rent and divided the Trinitie, and commended and approued that faith of the Con-Substantialitie of the Father & of the Sonne. I must here omit infinite other matters of facts and punishments, and many objections, and conclude with a question that Theodofius proposed to these severall forts assembled, which he did by the counsaile of Sisinius; What accompt (faith Theodosius) make you socrat. lib. 5. of the Doctors and Histories of the Church, cap 10. that are vinpartiall, and lined before these questions were moued? If it be answered, as then it was, Habemus tanquam magistres, We esteeme them as our futhers and masters; the cause is cleare, they give withesse on our side; If they reiect them, it is a matter of great deliberation, whether a man would be of fuch a Church, whereof neuer any man was before themselves. In which case it seemeth more then reasonable, That in a reformation, wee should conforme our selves, Ad regulam Antiquo=

11.

## D. Buckeridge Sermon, &c.

A. T.

tiquorum, to the rule of the Ancient, Scriptures, Apostles and fathers, (bry/ostome, Na= zianzen, Basill, Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory & the like, rather then after the New cut of those, who have not about the life of a man on their backs, fixtie or seuentie yeeres. And surely the rule of Charitie is, That since all the Question is of the Churches Regiment, not so much who should feede and rule the Church, for so must both Prince and Priest, but who should rule & gouerne most; we should every one lay downe all contentious humors, and ioyne hand and heart to feed and gouern Gods inheritance, and striue rather in deeds then words, who shall most carefully doe that duty which God hath laid vpon him necessitate pracepti by this triple necessitie of his precept. That so we may be all partakers of the end, peace and tranquillitie,

and religion in this life, and life euerlafling in the kingdome of heauen, which God graunt, Amen.

