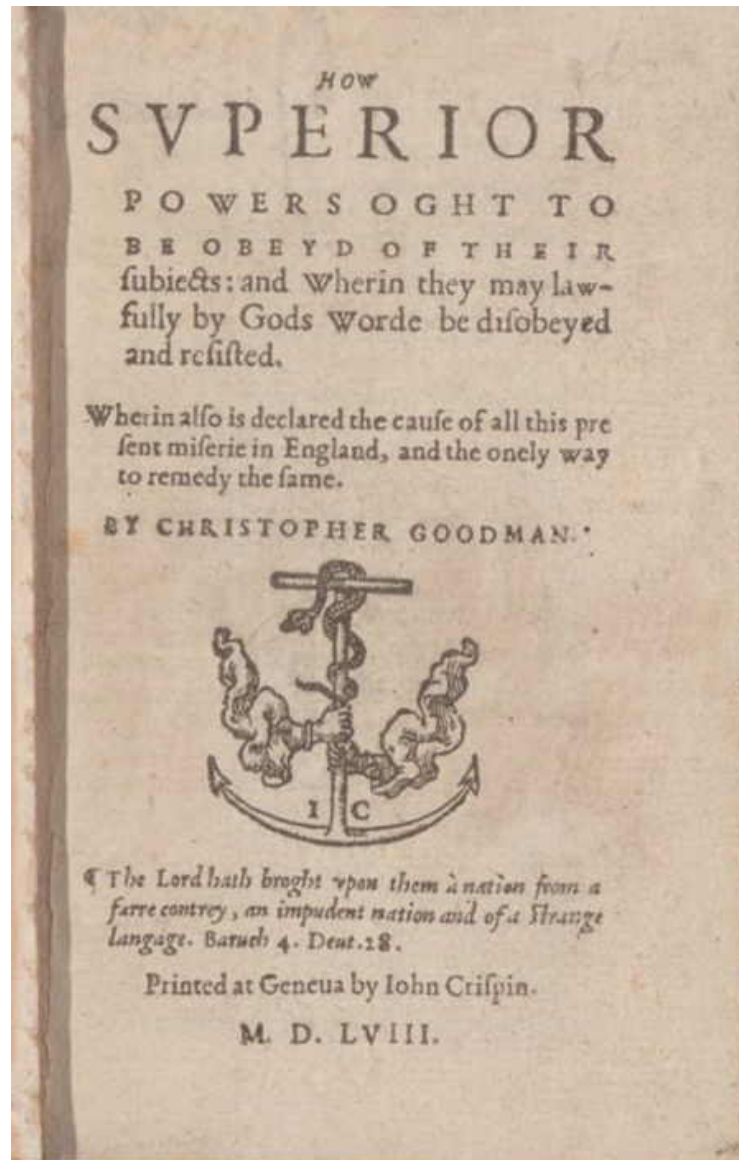


CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN,
*How superior powers ought to be obeyd of
their subiects and wherin they may lawfully
by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted*
(1558)



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Christopher Goodman, How Superior Powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects: and Wherin they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same (Printed at Geneua by Iohn Crispin. 1558). 10/30/2024. <http://davidmhart.com/liberty/Books/1558-Goodman_SuperiorPowers/Goodman_HowSuperiorPowers1558-ebook.html>

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Editor's Note: The marginalia have been turned into endnotes.

Editor's Introduction

To make this edition useful to scholars and to make it more readable, I have done the following:

1. inserted and highlighted the page numbers of the original edition
2. not split a word if it has been hyphenated across a new line or page (this will assist in making word searches)
3. added unique paragraph IDs (which are used in the "citation tool" which is part of the "enhanced HTML" version of this text)
4. retained the spaces which separate sections of the text
5. created a "blocktext" for large quotations
6. moved the Table of Contents to the beginning of the text
7. placed the footnotes at the end of the book
8. reformatted margin notes to float within the paragraph
9. inserted Greek and Hebrew words as images

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[3]

**VVILLIAM VVHITINGHAM TO ALL THEM that loue to knowe the
trueth and folowe it: Grace and peace.** 



IGNORANCE the mother of error and professed ennemie to Gods Trueth, hath two daughters by whose flatteries and subtile practises she blyndeth mens eyes, obscureth the Trueth, and withdraweth vs from the way of knollage: Custome, and Negligence. Wherof the first so bewitcheth vs, that although we wallowe and walter in darcke blyndenes, yet as it were by dreaming we seme to walke in the bright sunne shyning: so that Custome and compaignie may farre soner drawe vs to perdition, then Trueth and reason bring vs to the vnderstanding of our error. The other being a domestical seruante and wel acquaynted with our maners, by crafty flatterie doth ouercome vs. For the fleshe is prowde and swelleth against God, she glorieth in her owne wisdom, she loueth her owne counsel, she deliteth in her owne imaginatiō and policie: and albeit we knowe that slothful Negligence is an impediment and blocke in our nature to stoppe vs from Trueth: yet willingly we gyue place to her [4] flattering persuasions, and suffre her to trayne vs to wilful destruction. So that betwixt Custome and Negligence we rather holde with damnable Ignorance, and wisse to be plunged in abominable errors, then by diligent study and serching of the Trueth learne to knowe our duetie to God, ad what he requireth of vs to do towards our neighbour. Then if we wolde auoyde these euils, we must loue and embrace the cōtrary vertues: and if Custome be wicked and withhold vs from God, we must spedely reiect her and cleaue vnto God: and if Negligence haue noseled vs in the denne of Ignorance, we must purchase by diligence to proffit in the schole of knollage. For the acheuing wherof (whē M. Christopher Goodman one of our ministers, according to the course of the text, expounded bothe faithfully and cōfortably this place of the Actes of the Apostles, [1] *Iudge whether it be iuste before God to obey you rather then God*) certeyne learned and godly men moste instantly, and at sondry tymes required hī to dilate more at large that his Sermon, and to suffre it to be printed, that not onely we here present, but our bretherne in England and other places might be persuaded in the trueth of that doctrine concerninge obedience to the magistrat, and so glorifie God with vs. Whiche request he admitted not easely, til at lēgth wel wayinge how many perished in their ignorance [5] for lack of meanes to attaine to the knollage of the trueth: and also conferringe his articles and chief propositions with the best learned in these partes (who approued them) he cōsented to enlarge the said Sermō and so to print it, as a token of his duetie and good affection towards the Church of God: and then if it were thoght good to the iudgement of the godly, to translate the same into other lāgages that the proffit ther of might be more vniuersal. Ther is no doute but many ouercome with olde Custome, or yelding to negligēt Slothfulnes wil ether dispraise this proffitable worke, or neglect it. For euel Custome deliting in Ignorance wil straight way flie to her wonted argumēt: What is this newe doctrine? [2] and whēce is it? Negligence on the other part crieth maliciously: We haue bookes ynough: what nede we yet to be set to schole? Thus Satan with double subteltie deludeth the worlde, keping his euer so fast tyed in the bandes of blynde Ignorance, that they can nether stirre hand nor fote: they are blynde and can not se what is good: and thogh it be offered, yet are they insensible and can not fele it. The trueth of Gods worde is to them moste odious: but

mans dreames and deuils doctrines are in greate estimatiō and reuerence. Their false prophets and papistical priests haue so charmed them, that Ignorance is holden for knollage, error for [6] trueth, superstition for religion, disobedience for obedience, the Masse for the Lordes Supper, Purgatorie for Christs blood, workes for faith, Belial for God, and as S. Paul saieth, [3] If they bring you into slauerie, ye endure it: if they deuoure you, ye suffre it: if they spoile you of your goods, ye are content: if they preferre them selues and thrust you downe, ye forbear it: if they smite you on the face, yet ye can susteine it. And thus the children of Satan had rather rot in their barbarous ignorance, then by submitting thē selues to the mercies of God, aspire to the perfect vnderstanding of his heauenly will reueiled vnto vs by his worde. But thou the sonne of God, shewe thy duetie and loue towarde thy merciful Father, endeuour to knowe his wil, declare thy affection towardes his Scriptures, be zealous of his glorie, reuerence his ministers, and receaue thankfully his graces geuen to his Church by them. Proue diligently and trie by the touchstone who speake the wordes of God in pure simplicitie as in Gods presēce, [4] and who cehoppe and change the same, making marchandise therof to traffique according to mans pleasure. Nether do we desire onely that you shulde be persuaded in this trueth because we our selues so beleue: but we exhort you, [5] that as the Samaritās dyd not onely beleue in our Sauour Christ because of the womā report which broght the newes, [7] but forasmuche as they them selues heard him, and knewe that Christ was the Sauour of the worlde: so whē you shal wel examine these things by the rule of Gods worde, you wolde not so much by our report as by your owne iudgement and knowlage credit the trueth. Remēbring that the worthy people of Beroe were cōmēded by the holy Gost, [6] because they tryed by Gods worde whether the ministers preachīg agreed with the same or no. Seing then by these examples we are bonde to seke the wil of God manifested vnto vs in his Scriptures, what excuse shal we alledge for our pretended ignorance? Beholde here, thou hearest the Eternal speaking by his minister, in whose mouthe he hath put his worde, and whose lippes must kepe the Lawe ād the vnderstāding therof, as wryteth the Prophet Malachie. [7] Beware therefore that thou neglect not him that brīgeth the worde of God, but quickly gyue eare ād obey. For if thou desirest to knowe thy duetie to thy Prince, and his charge likewise ouer thee, read this booke and thou shalt wel vnderstāde both: If thou wishe for Christiā libertie, come and se how it may easely be had: If thou woldest loue God aboue man, here thou shalt knowe how to obey God rather than mā. Let the Apostles of Christ here be thy schole maisters, and then the more thou learnest: the lesse occasiō shalt thou haue to repent. Obedience is necessarie where [8] God is glorified, but if God be dishonored thy obedience is abominable in the sight of God, be it neuer so beautiful in mans eyes. Gods worde is our guyde to leade vs in our doings: when it commandeth vs to obey God, we must disobey man in the contrary: for no man can serue two maisters: and when our heauēly maister cōmandeth obedience to man, it is euer to be vnderstand, in the Lord. So that obedience to Gods Lawes by dissobeyīg mās wicked lawes is muche commendable, but to disobey God for any duetie to mā is all to gether damnable: as in the discourse of this booke thou shalt fully be assured, if God open thyn eyes to se the trueth, ād moue thy heart to embrace it. The Spirit of God, which is the scholemaistre to leade vs into all trueth, lighten your hartes, gyue you myndes to vnderstande, and courage to execute his holy wil, to the setting forth of Christes kingdome, the proffit of his Church and confusion of Satans power and Antichrists. Amen. From Geneua this first of Ianuarie. 1558.

THE PREFACE. ↩



AS there is nothīge to be cōpared to true obediēce, in preseruīge the cōmō welth of townes, cities, and kingdoms: or in maynteyninge true religiō, [8] Christiā peace & cōcorde (for therby euery mā is instructed how to render vnto God his due honour & glorie: & to man that, whiche his office requireth) Euē so is ther nothinge more hatefull to God, nether more hurtefull to mā, then so to be bewitched with Satans false illusions, that they are not able to put difference betwyxte obedience & disobedience: but as men without all iudgemēt and naturall sense, take thone for thother, beinge in them selues playne contrarie, whiche is the onelie cause of all disorder and lamentable confusion, where with the whole worlde is bothe this daie, and hath bene also frō the beginning, most miserably defaced and oppressed. For when vile man, replenished with pride, vayne glorie, and grosse ignorance, will measure obedience with the crowked lyne of his owne corrupte iudgement, [10] and not with the infallible trueth of Goddes holie worde, he must nedes preferre his owne decrees, phantasies, and ordināces, to the cōfortable Lawes and liuelie preceptes of God his creator. Then in place of iustice, he receaueth iniustice, for right wronge, for vertue vice, for lawe will, for loue hatred, for trueth falshod, for playne dealing dissimulation, [9] for religion superstition, for true worshippe detestable idolatrie: and to be shorte, for God Sathan, for Christ Antichrist, and with him suche plages of God, and disorder amonge mē, as are this daye set before oure eyes to beholde in all places throughout the vniuersal worlde, and haue bene likewise euen from the beginninge. When Adam was placed in paradise, [10] beinge a creature moste perfecte, and abunding in all wisdom and heauenlie knowledge, and wolde at the persuasion of his wif measure obedience rather by his owne reason, [11] then by the worde & sentence of God before pronounced: behold, he was not onelie spoyled of wisdom & knowledge, becomminge a verie foole, in comparison of that, whiche [11] he was before: but also sodaynlie destitute of all other singuler giftes, as of innocencie, and immortalitie, was confōuded at the voyce of the Lord, asshamed at his owne nakednesse, and felt the dredfull indignation and curse of God, whiche he had procured, not onelie to him self, but broght the same also vpon all his posteritie after him. [12] When the whole worlde was so corrupted in their owne wayes in the dayes of faithfull Noha, no regarde was at all to the obedience of the liuinge Lorde, nor yet to the godlie admonitions of iust Noha: [13] but euerie man was so drowned in his owne lustes, [14] that the space of an hundreth & twenty yeares was not sufficiēt to moue them to repentance. And therefore could they not escape the strange and horrible iudgement of God, whiche immediatlie after folowed moste iustlie. And although in that wicked generation abonded all kinde of wickednesse, as well agaynst God as man, in so muche as the earthe then might be compted a verie hell, yet from whence proceded all this rebellion against Goddes mightie maiestie, but onelie for that they [12] measured all thinges after their owne corrupt reason, [15] and not by his holie Lawes and preceptes? Whiche they had now receaued of their forefathers, hearde of Noah, yea, and had them ingrafted naturally in their hartes. The probation wherof might easilie be deduced from all ages euen to oure tyme by innumerable and euidēt examples, if it were nedefull in so playne a matter. For who is so blynde that maye not se how man sheweth his

rebelliōn, [16] neuer so muche, as when he woulde be moste obedient in his owne sight and iudgement? not measuringe the same by the streght lyne and true touchestone, whiche is the Lawe and worde of God, but suffringe him self to be led by his owne corrupte iudgemēt and affectiōs.

This turned the Wisdome of the Gentiles into mere folishnesse, inuētinge shamefull idolatrye for true worshipp, [17] as witnessethe the Apostle.

[18] This blynded the Ieues with hypocrisie and cloked holynesse, makinge the Lawe of the liuinge Lorde to geue place to their inuented traditions by man. [19] Out of this stinkinge puddle of [13] mans brayne haue issued forthe so great diuersitie of opinions and dangerous herisies, wherwith the Church of God hathe bē at all tymes horriblye tormented. Finallie from hence hathe Antichriste filled his pestilente cupp of all sortes of deadlie poyson, [20] where of he hathe made the whole earthe almost, and her kinges and Princes, not onelie to drinke: but to be most vilelie ouercome and dronken. In whose defence they haue armed them selues against the Lorde ād Christe his Son: [21] whō notwithstanding with impudent mouthes they professe, where as in verie dede they persecute him moste cruellie in his Saints by all means possible, [22] fightinge, as men in a rage, vnder the banner of that filthie beast. And yet these men in the middle of their furie, without all obedience & ordre, subuertinge the Lawes of God and of nature, will be called notwithstandinge the defenders of the faithe, mayntayners of true religiō, autours of peace, teachers of obedience, ād most discrete gouernours of common weales and policies. To the intent therfore that these disguised personnes [14] (whiche abuse the whole worlde) may appeare in their owne liuely shape, and be knowen as they are in dede, I haue thocht it good, [23] hauinge occasion by this worthie answer of Peter and Iohn, and beinge hereto of diuers godlie persons prouoked, somewhat to wryte of true obedience: to wit, what God him self requiereth of vs, and what he commandethe to be geuen also to men. Wherby (God willinge) the disguised clokes, and craftie pretences of obedience, vsed and practised by the vngodlie worldlings, shalbe discouered: who haue soght alwayes, and yet do seeke vnder the pleasant name of obedience, onlie to mayntayne their ambition, pride and libertie: wherby we shall learne also how in tymes past we haue bene shamfullie abused in yelding to the willfull wil of man, in obeying his vngodlie commandements, and fearinge man more then God: and finallie how it behoueth vs to repent oure former ignoraunce, and with diligence to redresse the same, hauinge more lighte and fuller knowledge.

[15]

PETER AND IOHN ANSWERED VNTO thē, and said: Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather thē God, iudge you.

Act. 4.

CHAP. I. ↩

¶To whome this answere was geuen, and vpon what occasion, how litle the malice of the Iues preuailed agaynst the Apostles, in sekinge to stopp the Gospell by their craftie fetches and chastisynges.



TO the end we may haue more sensible feelinge of all these things, [24] let vs diligentlie consider this answere of S. Peter & Iohn: aswell to whō it was made, as vpon what occasion. After that these ii Apostles, through the malice of the Priests, the Gouvernoure of the Tēple and the Sadduces, [25] were violentlie throwne into prison the night before, for preaching to the people at Ierusalem in the porche of Salomon, the resurrection from death in the Name of Iesus: and the next [16] daye folowīge were set forthe, ād presented to the whole Senate and Concile of Ierusalem, where was assembled all the chief Rulers and Elders of the people of Israell, Annas also the hie Priest, and Caiaphas, ād Iohn, and Alexandre, men of great reputation, with others of the kinred of the high Bisshopp, to be examined of thē, in whose name or power they had cured the lame criples (who beinge aboute 40 yeres olde, and lame from his birthe was daylie brought to the porche of Salomō to begge his almes) Peter replenished with the holie Spirit, āswere withe great boldnesse, that they wrought that miracle in the Name and power of Iesus Christ the true Nazarit, Whome the Ieues had crucified, and God had raysed from the death: in so muche as the mouthes of the whole Concile were stopped & had nothings to saye against them, but as men astunnished wondred at the constant boldnesse of Peter and Iohn in their answere. Then (saith S. Luke) did the whole Concile, that is, all these forenamed Magistrates by common consent [17] straytelie charge the Apostels Peter and Iohn, [26] hereafter not so muche as once to speake to anie man, muche lesse to preache in the Name of Iesus: thinking by this means to stoppe the course of the Gospell, ād hinder the glorie of Christ, whō they before had crucified as a malefactor and blasphemour of Gods Name. And althoghe they were destitute of all reason and Scripture to answere the Apostels, who had all redie cōfounded the: yet through auctoritie and ponishmēte, whiche they threatned, they thoght craftelie to put the Apostles to silence, and so at length to obtayne the victorie. As we see this daye the Papistes their successors, expresse enimies of the Gospell, [27] ād sworne soldiars of Antichriste, euery where practise, who beinge overcome with the manifest Scriptures, and their blasphemous mouthes stopped with the truthe of Gods worde, fight notwithstanding maliciouslie agaynst Christe with power, auctoritie, threatnyngs, [28] horrible ponishmentes, and cruell murther, resemblinge that old serpēt, whose broude they are, whiche was a murtherer [18] from the begynninge.

But when the whole assembly had craftelie cōsulted, and wrought all that they coulde agaynst the faithfull seruātes of God: [29] they were neuer the lesse disapoynted of their purpose. For the glorie of Christe more brightelie shyned, and the truthe of his Gospell was better knowen ād farther published, and their falshod and raginge madnesse more espied, and abhorred of the godlie. For what extreame madnesse was this to set them selues agaynst God, so to truste in their owne power as though they were able to resyste and overcome the power of the all mightie, [30] whiche is the Gospell of oure Sauour Iesus Christe (as witnesseth the

the Apostle) To thinke that the threatnings of mē, shulde more preuayle with the Apostels of Christe, then the threatnings of God ād his horrible iudgementes apoynted for the disobediēt? [31] Coulede not the Iewes distroye Christe and his doctrine, whiles he was mortall and liued amongst them in the fleshe, to whom they did almoste what they list, an yet would after [19] thinke to bringe it to passe, when he was risen agayne by his mightie power, and made immortal? Yf they coulede not keape him in the graue for al their diligent watche, when he was dead and buried: thinke they it possible to pluke him downe from heauē, from the righthande of his father, where he fitteth and reigneth in euerlastīge glorie? Oh vayne and foolishe men: he hath overcome al readie the whole world, and cast forthe of it the Chief Prince & Ruler Satan, who is no more able to preuayle agaynst his truthe and seruauntes. [32] Are you more subtile or stronger then Satan, who is your lorde and maister so longe as you fight agaynst Christe the Sonne of God? Coulede not so mightie a Prince with stande his power, and you leawde souldiars of his, wil thīke to optayne the victorie? Deathe, whiche no man can escape, coulede not holde him, neither the power of hell praeuayle agaynst him: and yet would you haue him at your commandement, moste maliciouslie and traitrouslie sighthightinge against his hōnor, who soght [20] by all means, and yet doth, to do you good and saue you? But ô miserable and vile wretches, double is your condemnation in the sight of God, which not contented to forsake Christe your selues, do so maliciously with your threatenings labour to frustrate others of his moste comfortable graces. [33] Full wel doth our Sauour Christ paynt forth your raginge enuie, sainge, Wo be to you Scribes, Pharisies, and hypocrites, because you shutt the kingdome of heauen before men, not entering your selues, neither wil you suffer such as come, to enter.

CHAP. II. ↩

¶ How the papisticall Church and Conciles can not but erre, and how they beinge compared to the Iewes, are no lesse deniers and blasphemers of Christ, then the Iewes.



I wil not here rehearse what iuste occasiō of repentance was offered to this whole assemblie of the Iewes [34] (if their hartes had not bene hardened) as wel by the playne and sensible [21] doctrine taught by the Apostels, whiche they could not improue with all their learninge: [35] as by the mightie powere of God declared in so manie and wonderful miracles wrought by them in the name of Christe to cōfirme his Gospel and resurrection, whiche the Iewes notwithstanding stubbornly did reiecte: Nether yet wil I speake of the strange defection and notable falling awaie from God amongst them in Ierusalem, [36] whiche at that tyme (in the iudgement of mā) appeared to be the onelie Church of God, to whom appartayned the promises, who of al other nations had the Lawe, and Prophetes to instructe them, who onelie professed the true and euerliuinge God: and yet amongst them all that were assembled, was not so muche as one man to stande vpon Christes parte with the Apostels, but cōsented and agreed with one accorde, that in the Name of Christe they shulde preache no more to the people. Onelie this I woulde put you in remembrance of, before we proceade anie further, how vayne and vncertayne the doctrine of the blasphemous Papistes is, whiche [22] is grounded vpon no other foundation, [37] then vpon the auctoritie of their Church, their Councils, and decrees of men. And here in dare I make the papistes them selues iudges, [38] whither their Church be of more auctoritie or antiquite, then was the Church of the Iewes whiche was the first of all, ād auctorised by God immediatlie: Or whither their Councils at the appoyntment of the Romishe Antichriste, were more orderlie called and assembled, then was this Council holden at Ierusalem by the appoyntmēt of the Chief priest and Bishopp? As for their Church, the Iewes had the manifeste worde and promesse of God: yea, there was no other Church, then visible vpon the earthe, besides that whiche the Apostels then began to buylde vpon the true conerstone Iesus Christe: where as the papistes haue not so muche as one worde or promesse to proue that they are (as they impudentlie bragge) the Church of God, but manie rather moste playnlie prouinge them to be the verie Synagoge of Satan, and liuelie members [23] of Antichriste. Yf then this, whiche seemed the true Church of God, ād auctorised by him, so shamefullie erred: maruel it is that the papisticall Synagoge and members of Satan shuld be founde establishers of the veritie, which alwayes since they haue bene raysed vp from hell, haue sought nothing but the vtter subuersion therof? Nether can they defende them selues by anie auctoritie to assemble, or by anie learninge, or outwarde shewe of holynesse: [39] seīg in none of these poyntes they may be compared to this assemble, wher of S. Luke maketh mētion. For here was the highe Prieste Annas, here was Caiaphas, here were the temporal Magistrates, the gouerners of the Temple, the Seniors of Ierusalem, the learned Scribes, and Pharisies. And what could e anie man wishe fore in the iudgment of man, that there was not, to make a lawfull Council? And yet thou seest the counclusion was agaynst the Lorde ād his anoynted Sōne. Wilt thou then hope for anie better at the papistes assembles and Councils,

who in persecuting Christe continuallie, [24] and his holie worde, shewe them selues open enemies to bothe? Doest thou here beholde the Iewes, whiche professed the true liuinge God, without all apische maumetrie and Idolls, forbidden in their Lawe: neuerthelesse malitiouslie to consulte agaynste their true Messias: and will not yet cease to credit the papistes, sayng, That their Churches and Concils can not erre, [40] where as they dishonor the liuinge Lorde, hauing their Temples replenished with all kinde of idolatrie: yea, when their owne consciences do condemne them, that there was neuer the like impietie committed in all Israel, as their filthie Concils haue taught and commended? But thou wilt say perchaunce, that there is no cōparison betwixt the Iewes, playnelie denying Christ, [41] and the papistes whiche do confesse him: and therupon wilt conclude, that the papistical Concils may not so easilie erre, as those whiche were holdē of the Iewes at Ierusalem, againste the Apostels and their doctrine. As concerninge their Concils, I may not answere [25] now: for that were an infinite worke to reapeate all their absurdities. Yf any mā wolde but once reade them ouer, he sholde nede no other persuasion to abhorre them, and to cōfesse this my saying most true in all the Concils holden by the Romishe Antichriste. [42] But to cōpare them with the Iewes in denying of Christe, thou shalt proue them more blasphemous. For the Iewes after a sorte did cōfesse their Christ and Messias in wayting for him dayly to delyuer them, and saue them from the miserie wherin they were, and now are, ād from al their enimies accordinge as God promised: but when they wolde not acknowledged him, whom their fathers did persecute and crucifie, and whom the Apostels taught to be risen and ascended, they playnlie denied Christe. They beleued that he shulde be their Captayne and delyuerer, but after an other sorte, then by his deathe and passion: and to an other ende, then to suffer in this worlde the shame of the Crosse.

Euenso do the papistes confesse Christe, but in effecte withe the Iewes [26] deny him. [43] They confesse Christe whiche is come in the fleshe, borne of the virgin Marie, crucified for the synnes of the worlde, &c. Whiche all hitherunto is wel, and agreethe with vs. But for as muche as they are not with him contented, but wil haue an other Christe besides him: [44] they are manifest deniers of Christe. For (as writethe the Apostel) There is but one God, one Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Iesus Christe, whiche gaue him selfe to be the redemption for all. Now when the papistes beleue not onlie in this Christe and Sauour, [45] which came in the fleshe, and was borne of the virgine, but also in that Christe, whom they imagine to come, and to be in the worlde in the forme of bread, and borne aboute with the handes of man, not able to go him selfe: when they beleue not onelie vpon Christe crucified, and hanged vpon the Crosse, but in the coniured Idoll, hanging by a corde ouer the alter: not onlie in Christe glorified vpon the right hande of the father, who liueth and reigneth for euer, but in [27] their rownde cake, which (they say) is consecrated, when with out sense and feeling it lieth closed in their box, [46] subiecte to mowlinge, wormes, and corruption, reserued & kept to be worshipped as their God, but to their condemnation for euer. More ouer when they haue other aduocates then Christe, other sacrifices for synne, other merites and means of saluation: it helpeth them no more to proue that they are Christians, thus impudentlie denying him and his office, then it helpeth the Iewes, in saying they beleue in the true Messias to come, which is all readie come, [47] and reueled to the world. Ye so muche the more is their condemnation, for that vnder the Name of Christe, whom they dare not deny, they worke preuie treason agaynste him, to subuerte the trueth of his Gospel, and whole fruite of his death and passion: which is our redemption from death, and hope of euerlasting life, purchased by that perfecte oblation, which was offred once for all, [48] as a sufficient sacrifice for the synnes of the [28] the whole worlde.

CHAP. III. ↩

¶What inconuenience had commē to the Churche of God, if the Apostels had obeyed the commandement of the Concil, and what euills haue commen lately vpon England through the preaching of vnlawful obediēce and yielding to vngodly Rulers.



LEt vs leaue the vngodlie papistes with their wicked decrees and Concils, [49] as mē that passe the Iewes in all maner of wilful stubbornesse and cruel persecution of the trueth, as the horrible slaughter of thousandes of martyrs, which with in these few yeres in Englande alone do witnesse: and returne to the Apostels, Peter and Iohn, to examine what answere they framed to these men of auctoritie, and Rulers, gathered to gether of all sortes, as you haue harde, as wel of the Cleargie as of the Laitie, of suche as thē had the onlie gouernement of Ierusalem vnder the Romayns, to whom they were then tributaries, [29] which charge and threatning of the whole Concil, done with so great aduisement and consultation, oght not lightlie to be esteemed, especiallie, of the seruantes of God, [50] and their subiects, as the Apostels then were. They were charged and threatned to preache no more in the Name of Christe crucified. An heauy commandement doutlesse to Peter and Iohn, especiallie if it might haue taken place: seing it was all together contrarie to their vocation and charge geuen vnto them by their maister Christ, to preache his Gospell throughout all the worlde, [51] and to begyn at Ierusalem, for which cause they were called and chosen from amongst all others, and had bene of longe tyme instructed of their maister Christ in the knowledge of all his holie Scriptures, ād replenished with wonderful giftes of the holie Goste, to cure all deseases, to cast out diuels, to drinke poyson, to tread vpon serpentes, and to distribute the holye Spirit, and all those to be as it were seales and cōfirmatiōs of their doctrine, whiche all had bene to no porpose, yf this commandement and threatninge [30] of the Magistrats shuld haue bene obeyed, [52] & the Apostels yelded to their auctoritie. Then the foundation of the Churche shuld haue ben shaken, and the whole assemble discouraged: for the two Chief Captayns gyuinge ouer, who durste haue presumed further?

And truelie, if the Apostels at that tyme had bene no further instructed, then the moste parte of men are in these our dayes, and especiallie haue bene, and yet be in our miserable countrie of Englande: they would haue bene in great perplexitie, and sore afrayde to haue made this, or the like answere sayng: [53] Iudge you whither it be lawful before God to obeye you, rather then God. For the moste parte of men, yea and of those whiche haue bene both learned and godlie, and haue geuen worthie testymonie of their profession to the glorie of God: haue thought and taught (by the permission of God for our synnes) that it was not lawful in anie case to resist and disobeye the superior powers: [54] but rather to laye downe their heades, and submitte them selues to all kindes of punishmentes and tyrannye, [31] thinkinge them selues sufficientlie discharged before God of their vocation and duetie, hauing onlie the commandement of the superiour power to the contrarie, were it neuer so vngodlie ād cleāe againste all natural reason: [55] wherby manye hauinge commandement to preache no more Iesus christ to the people, without anie trouble of conscience haue kept silence, and

thought thē selues sufficientlie discharged: nether cōsidering that they were made stewards of Godes holye mysteries, and that not at the appointment of man, or for them selues, but by the ordināce of our Sauour Christ Iesus, and to be faithful distributors to others. Nether yet marking this present answeere of Peter and Iohn, whom they might safely haue folowed with better assurance: who in suche case, [56] haue lefte this lesson for all men, rather to obaye God then mā. Others, hearing the Name of God blasphemed by the false doctrine of the wicked and shaueling priestes, durste not once open their mouthes to speak one worde in their maisters behalff and his infallible truethe: but stopt [32] theyr mouthes as dōme dogges, ād durste not barke against the rauēnīge wolff when they knew and saw him cōming. Many not minding to obiecte them selues to anie daunger, regardinge more their owne safetie, then the preseruatiō of their flocke, [57] wolde not abide the wilde beaste commyng, but moste shamefullie fledde before the daunger came, shewing them selues playne hirelings, and no true pastores: leauinge the selie shepe of God to be deuoured, and that because they had entred in to the folde before to feede of the flocke, to eate the fleshe, and deuoure the people of God as bread, [58] rather then to do their dueties.

[59] But all these and suche like are here condemned and conuicted of euel, which fearing man more then God, gaue eare and obedience to man, rather then to God. Wherof, besides the iuste shame that came vpon them selues, and the displeasure of God powred generally vpon all (for as muche as we all were betrayes of our maister, thoghe not all a like) iust occasion of offence and of like disobediēce to God, was ministred [33] to all sorts of men, of what vocation so euer they were. [60] For when they sawe the teachers and leaders of others to set vp obedience of man rather then of God, and the same confirmed by their owne example: those whiche knewe no other, thought it their parte to do the like also in their vocation and office. And suche as were playne enimies to God, [61] the wicked papistes or dissolute persons, laughed in their sleues: seing bothe them and their wicked proceedings therby promoted and furthered. Where as to defend their kyngdome of darckenes, ambitiō and idle belies, there is no kyng so godly, no contrey so peaceable, nor no kyngdome so stronge, which through their deuilishe entreprises and wicked persuasions, they haue not studied vtterly to subuert and destroy. As the example of that desperat Moncke, [62] who to poison king Iohn, wittingly and willingly poysoned him self. O malicious deuil. Likewise the oration of that moste traiterous and pestilent Cardinal Pole, [63] doth yet witenes to all the papists shame and confusion: wherin he goeth [34] about to perswade the wicked Emperour rather to tourne his power ād armie agaīst Kyng Hēry the eight ād Englād, this doggs owne cōtrey, thē against the infidels, Turckes, and Sarracenes: blasphemouslie termīg the worde of God ād Gospel of saluation to be the Turckesh sede. O impudēt mouth: ô blasphemous beast, which saist in thi heart, Ther is no God. And yet to all your shame ād vtter destructiō of your cōtrie, you haue receaued him as a God, whome before in your lawful kyngs dayes, you moste iustely condemned as a traitour and very sonne of Antichrist. The Counsellers, whose office is to brydle the affectiōs of their Princes ād Gouernours, in geuīg such counsele as might promote the glorie of God, ād the welthe of their cōtrie by this persuasion of obediēce, haue hitherto sought, and yet apearingle do, how to accōplishe and satisfie the vngodly lustes of their vngodlie ād vnlawful Gouernesse, wicked Iesabel: who for our synnes, contrarie to nature and the manyfeste worde of God, is suffred to raigne ouer vs in Goddes furie, ād haue therby moste wickedlie betrayed Christe, their cōtrie, and thē selues (so muche [35] as lieth in thē) to become slaues to a strange and foren nation, the prowde Spaniards. The Nobles also, which (thoghe vnworthilie wil be so called) hearing no other preaching, [64] but that they must obeye their Prince, neither knowing whō, wherin, nor how farre, haue in like maner, as men disguised vpon a stage, turned their nobilite to open shame amongst all nations, whiche now beholde their follie, and wōder ther at: seinge they are made instrumētes of impietie, and destroyers of their natieue cōtrie, which firste were ordayned in Realmes to stande in defence of trewe religion, lawes, and welth of their nation, and to be a shyld (to their power) agaynst their enimies in tyme of warre, and a brydel at home to their Princes in

tyme of peace: neither to suffer them in this sorte to rage agaynst God, and vtterlie to conteme the holsome lawes of the Realme, to satisfie their filthie luste and vayne glorie, nor so cruelie to murder, and agaynst nature to deuoure the people of God, their subiects, whom they are charged by their office to succoure and defende, and haue therfore a [36] feareful compt to make for donige the contrarie.

[65] The Iustices likewise in Townes and Cities, as Maieres, Shryffs, Baylyfes, Constables, Iealers and all suche inferior officers, folowing the same exsample of vnlawful obedience, whose office and charge it is to minister iustice without respecte of persōs, [66] to defende the symple and innocēt, and to punishe all transgressors and malefactors, blasphemours of Goddes holie Name, violent oppressers of innocentes, as be the bloudthurstie papistes: are nowe become ministers of iniustice, and tyranny, made tormentours of their owne naturall Countrye men, most blouddie butchers of their brethren, and mercillesse murderers of the childrē of God: and that in suche cruel sorte, as neuer was hearde of before since the deathe of Christe, where anie profession of his Name hathe bene. In so muche that they are made a spectacle and gasinge-stock to all countries and nations, amongst whom is anie feare of God or ciuile policie, whiche woulde not haue beleued it to be possible, if their eares [37] and eyes were not this day sufficient wittnesses. For to vnderstand that the papistes were cruell butchers and vnsatiable bloudsuckers, [67] had bene no newes at all, they haue bene such from the beginninge. But when they bothe heare and see those that professe the Gospel, and woulde be counted Christes shepe, [68] turned for feare of displeasure, or losinge of their office in to the nature of bloudthurstie woulues, to execute agaynst God and their conscience, the vngodlie commandements of the papistes: to be at commandement, not onlie to their vnlawful Quene, but also to euery shauen Sir Iohn, to imbrue their handes with them in innocent bloude: this makethe all men to wonder and be astonished.

To conclude, [69] the residue of the comon people, seing their superiours of all degrees ād estates, by whom they shulde be gouerned with godlie lawes, and to whom they ought obedience in the feare of God onelie, thus couardly to forsake their obedience to God, and vtterlie conteme the office wherwith he had charged them, to satisfie the vnlawful [38] commandements of their wilful Gouvernesse: thinke it in no case their parte to deny to her like obedience: but with bodies and goodes, [70] at home ād abrode, to fulfill and mayntayne her will ād tyranny, not withstandinge their owne conscience doth condemne thē, and the worde of God dothe playnelie testifie, that it is euell and vngodlie which they are commanded to do. Being deceaued by misunderstanding this place of Paule and such like: [71] It behoueth euery soule to be subiecte to superior powers, because there is no power but of God. For the powers that are, be ordinances of God: ād therfore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

But how litle this and other like obiectiōs make for their purpose, we shall God willinge vnderstande, after that we haue better examined this present answere of Peter and Iohn: who are not cōtrarie to Paul, nor Paul to them, rightly cōsidered. For thoghe this answere was made of Peter ād Iohn in their owne cause to the Magistrates ād Rulers of Ierusalem: yet is it no lesse generall then the saynge of. S. Paule: and partayneth to al [39] conditions of men, as wel Magistrates and Rulers, as inferior persons and subiectes: teaching them bothe their office moste rightlie: the one, what to commande, and how to rule: the other, whom to obeye, and wherin to be subiecte, as in their places folowinge shall eidentlie appeare.

CHAP. III. ↩

The trueth of this answere was so sensible, that the verie aduersaries could not withstand it.



ANd firste to returne to the answere, [72] we may be assured that it is certayne ād an vndouted true the, that in all things, and of all men, ād in all places, God is to be obeyed before mē. In so muche as the Apostels were not afrayed to cōmite the iudgement therof vnto their extreame enemies: whom they knewe right well, would haue geuen contrarie sentence, if their answere had not bene withe out all controuersie. As thoghe they would haue sayed. After that we haue bene [40] charged with this office to preache to all people and nations, ād that by God him selffe, to whom all powers are subiecte, and all men are bownd to obeye, whose iudgementes none can escape, and whose wrathe no fleshe is able to abyde: [73] whiche with the breathe of his mouthe, moueth the heauens, and makethe the mightie mountaynes to shake and tremble, and dryueth all powers (be they neuer so stronge) to dust ād powder. We are contēted to make you iudges, which charge vs to the contrarie: whither this dreadful God may approue our doings in obeyēge you beīg men, and his creatures, yea earthe, verie dust and ashes in comparison of his Maiestie? Whither man, of what auctoritie so euer he be, is able to discharge vs in the presence of oure God, if in holding our peace at your commandement, [74] we transgresse the expresse commandemēt of God? That is, not to preache Iesus Christ crucified: who hath chose vs to the same ēd, indued vs with knowledge, reuealed vnto vs his secret counsels, the mysterie of our redemption, and armed vs with all giftes [41] of the holie Gost, necessarie for the accomplishment of so waightie an entrepryse. We nede not herein to vse many wordes or reasons: nor to desier anie arbiters to define this matter: be you your selues iudges. Which kinde of speaking, men commonlie vse, when the matter is eident and out of doubt, knowne to all men, be they of neuer so slender iudgement, and nede no further reasons, or Scriptures to proue it. The like kinde of reasoninge, the Apostle vseth agaynst the Corinthians: [75] who permitted their wemē to praye bareheaded in the Congregation, which he condemned as an vndecent custome, not becommynge the Sayncts of God. For amongst other reasons, he likewise makethe them selues iudges in the matter, sayeng: Iudge ye amonge your selues, whither it be cumlie for a womā to praye bareheaded in the Congregation. Cōcludinge, that verie nature dothe teache the contrarye. In like maner this answere is so true and sensible (that rather God is to be obeyed then man) that there cā be none so malicious or ignorante, whom verie nature will not [42] compel to confesse it, if he had no further knowledge. Nether had these men, for all their great a doo, lōge consultacion, hie learninge and wisdome (desierous also to take occasion agaynst the Apostels) anie thinge to saye for the cōtrary. But as Gods enemies are accustomed, when their mouthes are stopt, either with raylinges, or threatnings, to expresse their rage: so did they with Peter & Iohn, [76] dimitting them at the last with bitter wordes and menaces: and they departed notwithstandinge from the Concile, by the means of this answere, conquerours.

CHAP. V. ↩

¶To obeye man in anie thinge agaynst God, is Vnlawfull ind playne disobedience.

NOw for as muche as we are assured of the trueth ād certantie of their answeere, [77] wherof none can iustlie doute: let vs somewhat further consider what thinges are p̄cipallie here in conteyned. First we maye hereof iustlie conclude, that to obeye man in anie thinge contrary to God, or his precepts thoghe he be in hiest auctoritie, or neuer [43] so orderly called there vnto (as these men, wherof Luke speaketh, were) is no obedience at all, but disobedience.

Secondlie, that it is not a sufficient discharge for vs before God, whē we denye to accōplyshe their vnlawful demādes and threatnings, except we do the cōtrarie euey man in his vocation and office, as occasion is offred, and as his power will serue. Whiche thīges playnlie vnderstāde, as they shal geue a clere light in this controuersie: so do I not doute by this present answeere and facte of Peter and Iohn, to proue moste manifestlie, that althoghe we were destitute of other examples, yet this might appeare sufficient. As touchinge the firste, [78] that there is no obedience agaynst God which is not playne disobedience: the Apostles say, Iudge you whither it be right or iust in Godds sight to obeye you rather thē God: which is as muche as thei would saye, It is not iuste nor lawful. Thē if it be not lawful and iust in Goddes sight, who iudgeth things truelie ād as thei be in dede, it must nedes folowe that all maner of obediēce agaynst God ād his worde, is playne disobeidiēce, and [44] the workers therof likewise condemned as rebels. Why? Bycause it is vniust and vnlawfull before God: And all true obedience is lawful, which must not be measured by the will of mā, but by the iuste Lawes and ordinances of the liuinge Lorde. [79] So that after God hathe once pronounced anie thinge that he would haue done, either in his Lawe or otherwise: there is no man that may or can dispence therewith, seeme it of neuer so litle importance in the iudgement of men. He that commandeth the contrarie, is a rebell: and he that obeyeth likewise. Neither dothe this appertayne to the Apostles and ministers onlie in their office, but is a generall argument for all sortes, estates, and degrees of men: for as muche as God hathe like auctoritie of all, and all owe vnto him first and principall obedience: and secondly vnto men for him, and in him onlie: except they wil be enimies to God, and deny him to be their Lorde. For so muche it is in effecte, when we preferre men to God, obedience to man, before the obedience to God. It is not the auctoritie of the Prince, or the feare of his [45] punishmēt, that cā excuse in his presence: who cōmādeth his people generalie, [80] high and lowe, riche and poore, man ād womā, to heare his voyce, and to obserue his statutes. Nether to declyne vpon the right hand, nor vpon the lefte: nether to adde anie thinge therto, or to take anie thinge from it: but to do that onlie, whiche the liuinge Lorde commādeth. And if we be the shepe of the Lordes foulde, it is not sufficiēt for vs to heare the voyce of our pastor, ād to folowe him, except we also deny to heare, muche more to folowe anie other: that is, which calleth not with the voyce of the true pastor. [81] And as there ought to be no creature of like auctoritie amongst vs, as our soueraygne Lorde and God, whose creatures we be, and the workemanship of his owne hādes: euen so, there is none like to him in dignitie, or may be cōpared to him in power, none like to him in riches, or so able to rewarde his subiectes, beinge Lorde of heauē and earthe, disposer of all things present and to come: distributer not onlie of all corporall and earthlie blessings to those that feare and serue him: [46] but also powreth vpon them all spirituall and heauenlie graces in great abundance. Moreouer, as by his auctoritie, power, dignitie, riches and liberalitie, he maye of right demande of vs obedience: so must we persuade our selues in not rēdring the same to him willinglie, that none cā deliuer vs from his horrible punishementes and destruction, whiche he threatneth

vpon all such as wilfully transgresse his holie preceptes, [82] ād declýne from his Lawes. Nether wil he regarde by what means, or by whose cōmandement we transgresse his lawes. For that can be no excuse for vs, thoghe he be Kinge, Quene, or Emperour that commandeth or threatneth vs. For what is kinge, Quene, or Emperour compared to God? Is the punishment of earthe, [83] ashes, of vile man, whose breath is in his nostrilles, more to be feared then the plages of God, who hath power both of body and soule to destroye thē euerlastingly? Was it any earthly power that broght the waters vpon the vniuersall worlde, [84] and drowned all mankinde for synne, viii persons excepted? Did man destroye Sodome and Gomorrhē [47] with fier and brymstone? [85] Came the plages of Egypt, the drowninge of Pharao, the ouertrow of the Cananites, the subuersion of Ierusalem, by the power of man? If these be the workes of man and not of God, feare man and not God: [86] but if there be none of these euells which cometh vpon anie Citie, or contrie, wherof the Lorde is not the worker: beware that the feare of mans punishment, cause thee not to fall in to the handes of this mightie reuēger, whiche is an horrible thinge, as the Apostle writeth. [87] Princes therfore, and all powers vpon thee arth, are not to be compared vnto God, whose Lieutenants onlie they shuld be, and are no longer then he wil, in whose handes their hartes are, [88] to moue and turne at his pleasure. And for that cause it is their duetie to seke all means possible, wherbie the glorie of God might be aduanced, by whom they are them selues so highlie exalted aboute their brethern, and in no cause to minister occasion of rebellion agaynst his mightie Maiestie: but rather to be examples to others (ouer whom they are constitute) of all Godlie liffe and lawfull obedience. [48] In consideration wherof, God him selfe appoyntīg his people to haue a kinge, which, when they shulde come in to the lande of promesse (for that was the first promotion that God ordeyned amongst his people, [89] which yet came not to suche pride to desire an Emperour) did with great circumspection, as well appoynt them what maner of man they shulde chose, as the lawes by the whiche he shuld rule others, and be obeyed of them. When thou comest (saiethe the Lorde by Moyses) to the lande which thy Lorde geueth thee, and shalt possesse it, thou shalt with out doute, put or constitute a kinge to thee: but whō thy Lorde thy God shall chose. Moreouer he saith, from the middle of thy brethern shalt thou appoynt a Kīge ouer thee. For thou mayst not appoynt a strāger, which is not thy brother. Which lawe, as it proceded from the wisdomē of God, who thought it necessarie for his people: euen so is our miserable ignorance and vnspeakeable ingratitude to be lamented, which nether do vnderstand the goodnesse of God in these lawes, not yet will vouchesaffe to consult [49] with his heauēly wisdomē: all men rather sckinge to chose and procure them selues Princes and kinges after their owne phātasie, ād by vngodlie fetches and policies, then to folowe the appoyntment of the Almighty: preferringe theyr owne wittes to the wisdomē of God, whiche neuer fayleth them that folowe it. In comparison of whom all others at lēgh, shall shewe them selues to be meere fooles. [90] Yf we wilbe the people of God, let vs then searche and diligentlie folowe the Lawes of God, especiallie in so weightie matters, as the election of kinges and Princes, by whom Realmes and nations are either preserued if they be Godlie, or vtterly destroyed, and shamefullie oppressed if they be vngodlie. The first poynt or cautiō that God requireth of his people to obserue, is, [91] that they chose suche a kinge, as the Lorde dothe appoynt, and not as they phantasie. And what one is he or how shuld he be knowē? The people of Israel (you will saie) had their kīges appoynted them by the mouthe of God and anoynted of his Prophets: as [50] Dauid, and his sonne Salomon. For Saule, thoghe he was appoynted ād anoyeted in Goddes furie, yet was he not of the Lordes chosinge after this meaning of Moyses, who willethe them to appoynte a kinge that the Lorde shal chose: to wit, of his fauour and goodnesse, suche a one as shall obserue the Lawes folowing, [92] as we shall see here after. Two means had the Israelites to knowe their kinge, whither he was of God electe or no. The firste, by the expresse commandement and promesse made to some especiall man, wherof they neded not to doute: as was made to Dauid, ād to Salomō his sonne expresslie. The secōde is by his worde, which he hath now left to all men to be the ordinarie means to reueale his will and appoyntment.

Which (if we vnfaynedly folowe in our doings) we nede no more to doute, then if God shulde now speake vnto vs out of the heauens, as then he did to the Israelites. The worde then geueth vs these notes to know whither he be of God or not, whom we woulde chose for our kinge. Firste (as was sayd) if he [51] be a man that hathe the feare of God before his eyes, and zeluslye with Dauid, and Iosias, dothe studie to set forthe the same, hatinge vnfaynedlie al papistrie and idolatrie. For this cause God willeth that he shuld be chosen from amongeste his brethern, and shulde be no stranger: bycause suche then had not the feare of God, but were idolaters, to whom no promesse of anie kingdome was made, and who also would leade the people to idolatrie. Also in that his exercise is appoynted, [93] the worde, Lawes & statutes of God, it is manifeste that he is not chosen of God, except he be such a one: and oght not to be anoynted or elected as their kinge and Gouvernour, what title or right so euer he seeme to haue therūto, by ciuile policie, except he be a promoter & setter forthe of Godds Lawes and glorie, for whiche cause chieslie, this office was ordeyned.

The nexte rule to be obserued is, that he shulde be one of their brethern, meaninge of the Israelits: partlie to exclude the oppression and [52] idolatrie, whiche commeth in by strangers, as our Contrie now is an example: and partlye, for that strangers cannot beare such a natural zeale to straunge realmes and peoples, as become the brethern: [94] but chieffie to auoyde that monster in nature, and disordre amongest men, whiche is the Empire ād gouvernement of a woman, sayinge expreslie: From the myddle of thy brethren shalt thou chose thee a kinge, and not amongst thy sisters. For God is not contrarie to him self, [95] whiche at the begynninge appoynted the woman to be in subiection to her housbande, and the man to be head of the woman (as saithe the Apostle) who wil not permitte so muche to the womā, [96] as to speake in the Assemblie of men, muchesse to be Ruler of a Realme or nation. Yf women be not permitted by Ciuile policies to rule in inferior offices, to be Coūsellours, Pears of a realme, [97] Iustices, Shireffs, Bay liues and such like: I make your selues iudges, whither it be mete for them to gouerne whole Realmes and natiōs?

If the worde of God can not persuede [53] you, by which she is made subiect to her housbande, muche more to the Counselle and auctoritie of an whole realme, which worde also appoynteth your kinges to be chosen from amonge their brethern, and not from their sisters: who are forbidden as persons vnmete to speake in a Congregacion, be you your selues iudges, and let nature teache you the absurditie therof.

And thus muche haue I of pourpose noted in this matter, to let you see to all our shames, how farre ye haue bene led besydes your commun senses and the manifest worde of God, in electing, [98] anoynting, and crowninge a woman to be your Quene ād Gouvernesse, and she in verie dede a bastarde, and vnlawfully begotten. But be it that she were no bastarde, but the kinges daughter as lawfullie begotten as was her sister, that Godlie Lady, ād meke Lambe, voyde of all Spanishe pride, and strange bloude: yet in the sicknesse, and at the deathe of our lawfull Prince of Godlie memorie kynge Edwarde the sixt, this shulde not haue bene your [54] firste counsele or question, who shulde be your Quene, what womā you shul de crowne, if you had bene preferers of Goddes glorie, and wise coūselours, or naturallie affected towardes your countrie. But firste and principallie, who had bene moste meetest amengest your, brethern to haue had the gouvernement ouer you, and the whole gouvernement of the realme, to rule them carefullie in the feare of God, [99] and to preserue them agaynst all oppression of inwarde tyrants and outwarde enemies. Wherbie you might haue bene assured to eskape all this miserable & vnspeakable disordre, and shamefull confusion, whiche now by contrarie counsele is broght worthely vpon vs. I knowe ye will saye, the Crowne is not intayled to the heyre males onelie, but appartayneth aswel to the daughters: [100] and therefore by the Lawes of the Realme, you coulde not otherwise do. But yf it be true, yet miserable is this answeere of suche as had so longe tyme professed the Gospel, and the lyuelie worde of God. Yf it had bene made of pagās and heathens, whiche knew not God by his [55]

worde, it might better haue bene borne with all. But amongest them that beare the Name of Godds people, with whō his Lawes shulde haue chief auctoritie: this answere is not tollerable to make the constant and vndouted Lawe of God, whiche ought to be the lyne of all ordinaunces, to geue place to the vayne and vngodlie decrees of men, as experience hath now taught you. Moreouer, in anynting her as if she had bene a man, was no lesse absurditie, vsinge thervnto suche greasinges ād shālesse Ceremonies, ād that in the face of all the people: as thoghe Moyses lawe yet were in force, [101] and Christ our Sauour not comē: which hath put an end to all suche outwarde Ceremonies: whose annoyntings were spirituall. For as he was replenished with all graces of the holie Gost, and that with out measure, and aboute all his felows, kings, Priests, and Prophetes: so hathe he left no other annoyntinge to be vsed of his seruants: but of the same sorte, that is, [102] spirituall. And yf Moyses with his Ceremonies were now in full auctoritie, as he was before Christe: Yet were it [56] not lawful by him to anynte anie woman, [103] to ani maner of office or dignitie, seing that this Ceremonie was neuer appoynted to anie other but onelie to Priests, kinges, and Prophetes. How durste you then be so bolde and impudent ô Papists, (for this was your entreprise) to transgresse the order of God in the Lawe of Moyses by anyntfge a womā? And also to contemne the libertie of the Gospell, in reducinge and bringing agayn the Iewishe Ceremonies, from whiche by Christe we are deliuered? But it is no maruell if you be all waies like your selues, stubberne and rebellious enimies to God and contemners of Christe. And therefore leauinge you to your selues, we will retourne to Goddes appoynted limites in his Lawe, for the lawfull election of kinges and Princes. Ye haue hearde the two firste cautions or rules, that is, how he muste be of Godds appoyntment, and not of mans. [104] And also from amongst your brethren and not of your sisters, and why. The thirde caution that God specifieth in this election is, that he be none such as hath great number [57] of horses: meaning, as trusteth in his owne power, and preparation of all thinges, for defence of him selfe, ād to ouercome his enemies. For vnder this name of horses, he comprehendeth all ingeynes and furniture of warre: suche a one, as trusteth in them, and makethe not God his arme and bockler, with faithfull Dauid, is not meete to be kinge of the Lordes people. [105]

For by such means shulde they be broght to Egypte agayne, to their olde miserie and slauerie, if they delited in their horses, from whence the Lorde woulde haue them kepte, and not in anie case to returne. As no doute, he woulde haue had vs miserable Englishe men, warelie to haue kepte vs in that libertie of Iesus Christe and our consciences, wherin so mercifullie he had broght vs: and not by placeinge an infidel woman ouer vs, to returne to our olde vomite, muche more viler thē the slauerie of Egypte, I meane the seruitude of that Romishe Antichriste. [106]

Other obseruations he geueth also, not to seke manie wiues, nor to heape vp muche golde: but chifflie that he haue [58] an example of Goddes Lawes prescribed vnto him, to reade in them all the dayes of his life, that he maye learne to feare the Lorde and to keepe his cōmandements, and not to lifte him self vp aboute his brethren: meaning, he shulde rule with all holynesse and humblenesse, as did Moyses and Dauid. And therby, dothe God promise that his dayes, and the dayes of his children shall be prolonged in the middle of Israell.

Of the whiche we may iustlie conclude, that by the ordinance of God, no other kinges or Rulers, ought to be chosen to rule ouer vs, but suche as will seeke his honor and glorie, and will commaunde and do nothing contrarie to his Lawe. [107] Wherewith they are no lesse, ye muche more charged, then the common people: because their charge is double: that is, not onelie to feare God them selues, but to see that their people feare him also, to whom they owe in that case all humble obedience and reuerence. For they be (as was sayed) Goddes subiectes and Lieutenantes, for whose cause they must be reuerenced, doinge their duetie. But if they will [59] abuse his power, liftinge them selues aboute God and aboute their brethren, to drawe them to idolatrie, and to oppresse them, and their contrie: then are they

nomore to be obeyed in any commandements tending to that ende: but to be cōtemned as vile Sergeantes in comparison of the high Iudge and Magistrate, who oght to do nothing, but as he is commaunded to do by the Iudge ād superior power according to the lawe. Other wise, if he lift him selfe aboue the chief Iudge, loking to be honored and obeyed more then he: who would not abhorre suche a Sergeant, ād not onelie to withstande his cōmandement, but to accuse him as a rebellious traytor, and banishe him from a mongest them? And yet here is but rebellion agaynst man, who is but mortall. What oght we thē to do vnto that kinge or Prince, that lifteth him selfe vp agaynst the Maiestie of God, [108] who is immortal, to whome belongeth all power, dominion and honor? Is he anie more in comparison of God, then the Sergeant in respecte of the Iudge? Shall the Sergeant be punished as a traytor, and this man honored as a kinge, which doth no [60] parte of the office therunto belonging? Or rather is not his crime and treason greater, and deseruith so muche more, as God is more excellent, compared to anie worldlie power, then is anie kinge or Prince compared to the moste vileste Sergeant?

Moreouer, whence hathe he this honor? Of him selfe? Is anie man naturallie borne a kinge, Or hathe he it of God? And if of God, wherto, but to vse it with God, ād not agaynst him. Seing then it is not iuste in Goddes sight to obeye man rather then God: neither that their is anie dispensacion of man that cā dispēce with his holie cōmandements, [109] neither the auctoritie of Prince, nor feare of punishment can excuse vs. Seing also, that kinges are institute to rule in Goddes feare and Lawes, as subiectes and Sergeants to God, and not agaynste his Lawes, and aboue him: it muste nedes followe (as we firste sayed) that all obedience geuen to suche, wicked Princes agaynste God, is playne rebellion in his iudgemente. And in that case to obeye God, and disobeye man, is true obedience, how so euer the [61] worlde iudgeth. For as none will condemne Peter and Iohn of disobedience, because they woulde not herein obeye their ordynarie Magistrates: nomore will anie which haue right iudgement, condemne the like resistance in others, which alike is lawfull to all.

Or ells shulde the Israelites be excused, [110] by cause they obeyed their wicked kinge Ieroboam in worshippinge his calues in Dan, and Bethel.

Then shuld that cruell butcher Doeg, [111] in killinge Ahimalech with LXXXV Priests or Leuites, and the whole towne of Nob, at the commandement of vngodlie kinge Saul, [112] haue bene preferred to the reste of all his seruantes and souldiars. And the souldiars also of cruell Herode shuld be blamelesse in murtherīg ād sheading the bloude of so many infantes in Bethlehem at Herods commandement. Then shulde the wicked Iewes be gyltlesse of Christes deathe ād his Prophets, whom they consented to murther by the persuation of their Rulers. And the counterfayte Christians this day, which euerie where (but especiallie in our miserable countrie) imprison, [62] famishe, murther, hange, and burne their owne countriemen, and deare children of God, at the commandement of furious Iesabel, and her false Priestes and Prophetes, the blouddie Bisshopps and shaelynges, shulde be giltlesse in all their doinges. But all these doth God (who is a Ielious ād righteous God, and cannot abide his honor to be geuen to any other, [113] nor suffer the bloude of the innocent longe to crie vnto him for vengeance) condemne as blasphemers, idolatres, and cruell murtherers: which saithe: Thou shalt haue no other Goddes but me. Thou shalt not kill. And if God dothe make this, disobedience (as thou mayst playnely see) what commandement of man can alter his sentence, before whom there is no obedience in euil thinges? Yea, if the whole multitude, from the hiest to the lowest, wolde agree and consent to do euel, [114] yet muste not thou followe them saith the Lorde. For if thou do (notwithstanding the commandement of thy Prince, or example of all others) thou art with them a rebell, and a rebell agaynst thy Lorde and God: from whose [63] wrathe and heauie indignation, no man can defende thee in the dreadfull daie of his visitacion, which is at hande.



CHAP. VI. ↩

How it is not inough to denye wicked commandemēts of all kinde of Rulers, except we withstand them also, euery man accordinge to his vocation, in doing the contrary.



AS by this answere afore mentioned, we haue bene taught not to geue place to the vnlawfull commandemētes of Magistrates, in what auctoritie so euer they be, because it is nothing but rebellion in the iudgement of God: euen so may we learne by the same answere and example of the Apostles, how God requiereth more at our handes, that is, to withstande their preceptes, in doing the contrary: euery man accordinge to his office and estate wherin God hath placed him. For as man thinketh him self not fullie [64] obeyed, [115] when we abstayne from those things which he forbiddeth, except moreouer we do the contrary, which he commandeth: euenso may we muche more thinke, that God is not fullie obeyed, when we will not do the vngodlie commandements of men, except also we applye our selues with all diligence to do the contrary. So did Peter and Iohn make answere, denying to do as they were comaunded by the Magistrates. And as they denyed in wordes, so did they, ād the rest of the Apostles in effecte, as the course of the historie doth witnesse. [116] Who went all to gether to the Temple after they were dismissed, and preached openlie in the face of all the people Iesus Christe crucified, not with standing all the afore named threatnynges and menacings, yea afterwarde, when they had bene imprisoned and then by the Angel of God deliuered, and whipped moste vilely, as if they had bene slaues: yet were they nothing therby discouraged, but continued in one mynde and answere, sayng as they did before with one voyce and consent: God muste be obeyed before [65] man, and boldlie preached their maister Christ, contemning all displeasures which they for his Names sake sustened, [117] remembring well his sure and comfortable promesses who said: Blessed are you when men reuile you and sklander you, [118] and speake all euill againste you, lying, for my sake: be glad and reioce, for greate is your rewarde in the kingdome of heauen. For so did they persecute the prophetes before you.

Thus see we thē, how the trueth of this doctrine is not proued onely by the firste examination of Peter and Iohn: [119] but also confirmed the second tyme by the rest of all the Apostels agreeinge therin, and suffringe vile scourginge for the same: not onely boldlie affirminge it in the presence of all the Magistrates at Ierusalem, but as constantly approuinge it in their doinges: when contrarie to their commandemētes, they ceased not more diligently to publishe the doctrine of saluation: reioysinge and praysinge God, who had made them worthie to suffer for his Sōnes sake, their Lorde and maister. O worthy and manful souldiars, O moste trustie and payneful [66] seruantes: neither feringe the prowde lokes and malicious threatnynges of the whole Senate and power of Ierusalem: [120] nor shrinking in their office, for all their cruel punishments. But the more they were forbidden, and the oftener they were punished: the stouter, stronger, and mightier were they to fight against their enemes with the spiritual sworde, wherwith they were charged in their maisters quarel: beinge assured allwayes of this, that he who gauē thē auctoritie to preach, woulde geue thē strenght also for

the performance therof, as he had promesed, saying: [121] I will be with you to the end of the worlde. And he beinge with thē, (as the Apostle saithe) what should they care who were against them? [122] A worthie example ād mirour for all such to beholde as are called of God to be his messengers and disposers of his holie mysteries, how faithful they oght to be in the distribution of the same, [123] omitting no maner of occasions, obeying no contrarie commandements, nor fearing the cruel threatninges of men.

[67]

God hath geuen them the charge of moste pretious iewels, and inestimable riches: not to be hid in a corner, or retayned with them selues: [124] but rather (as the Apostle exhorteth) to styrre vp the gyfte of God, which is in them, and not to neglect it, [125] to preache the worde of God, and to be instant in season and out of season, to conuince, [126] reprove, and exhorte with all softnesse and learning. [127] For this is that sharpe and two edged sworde wherewith God hath not onely armed them agaynste their enimies: [128] but to fight also manfullie for others agaynste all powers worldly and spiritual, with this mightie and spiritual sworde the worde of God.

For otherwise, if Christe him self had ceased to preache his Fathers will, for which cause partly he was sent in to the worlde, for feare of threatninges, conspiracies, commandements, and punishments of men: where had bene this comfortable doctrine of saluation? When shulde he haue suffred death, for our redemption and delyuerance?

How shuld the Apostles and all [68] other faithfull martyrs, which by their deathes in all ages, haue geuen glorie to Christ, [129] haue left behinde them so worthie monumentes, and comfortable writinges, besides the notable examples of constancie in sealinge vp their doctrine with the sheading of their bloud, if they had yealded or shronke in executinge their office for feare of anie power. And in oure miserable Countrie, where Antichrist this day is againe for oure synnes exalted, if commandemēts of tyrantes shuld haue taken place in all men, as it did with many hirelinge preachers, some moste shamefullie denying their Maister Christe, taking vpon them the marke of the beaste, ministring poyson for foode to their flocke, some in makinge a spoyle and praye of their flocke, and as cowardes takeyng them to their feete, leauing the poore lambes of God with out all comforte, to be deuoured of the wilde rauenous beastes, some also in playng on both partes with the halting Israelites, [130] thinke to serue God and Baal: if in all others (I saie) as in these, the vngodlie decrees of men shulde haue [69] taken place: how coude we haue had these worthie examples of so many hundreth martyrs, who haue glorified Christe moste constantlie, [131] in offringe vp their liues as a moste swete sauour to the Lorde? And that of all sortes of men and women, young and olde, riche and poore, learned and vnlearned, all being herein persuaded (not able perchance to do anie more for the comfort of others, in so generall a defection from God) haue chosē rather with the losse of this corporall lyfe, to obeye God, then otherwise to lyue in welthe and obeye man. For the which, the Name of God be praysed for euer, who styrre vp our hartes by their examples, and prepare vs with the grace of his holie Spirite to the like constancie and obedience.

Besides this we learne by the cōmandements of God, that so oft as he forbiddeth any thing which he wolde not to be done, in the self same, [132] he commandeth vs the contrarie, as for example: Thow shalt not murther, Steale, Commit adultrie, or Beare false wittnes. It is not ynough to abstaine frome these [70] thinges, neither is God therein fullie obeyed, except we do the contrarie, so oft as occasion is ministred, that is, to saue, preserue, and defende, as well the goodes as the persones of our brethren and neighbours. And this is a certayne and general rule, not onely in these examples here named: but in all other preceptes whither they be of the Ten commandments, or anie other besides conteyned in the Scriptures: that what so euer God forbiddeth anie man, in the same he is charged to do the contrarie according to his

power, thogh all the worlde would stande agaynst him. In confirmation wherof, let vs onelie consider the notable example of the Godlie Prophet Daniel, [133] who when he was commanded in the name of kinge Darius (by whome he had bene promoted to great honor, [134] and of all other was in best fauor, and hiest reputation with him) to aske nothing of his God, or anie other for the space of thirtie dayes, but onely of Darius his kinge, according to the decree made at the requeste of his vngodlie counsel, purposlie [72] agaynst Daniel, would not obeye the commandement, being not ignorant that it was a publike decree, which all (he onely excepte) obeyed. And also how death (and that moste terrible, to be cast among the hungry lyons) was appoynted for a punishment to the transgressors. [135] But Daniel not contented to do as he was commanded, did as he was accustomed, the contrary, not once, but thrise euery day, transgressinge the kinges commādement, prayinge to the liuinge Lorde his God. And to the intent it might be knowen abrode to al men, that he contemned this vngodly commandement, [136] he set open his windowes more then custome, to the itēt that all whiche wolde, might beholde his doing: so glad was he to be knowen to serue the true and mightie God. Here wolde our worldly wise men, no dout, condemne Daniel of rashnes and follye in doing, more then was expedient. What nede he thus to prouoke the indignation of a Prince, who had power with a worde of his mouth to distroye [72] him? Yf he wolde not aske anie thinge in the Name of Darius as others did, [137] yet might he haue abstayned from praying to God for that space. Was thirtie dayes so great a matter, that he might not abstayne from praying to God, to gratifie therby his Prince to whome he was so muche bounde? And if he wolde nedes praye to God, could he not haue done it preuely and secretly? What nede he to set open his window in the sight of al men? This was an open contempte of the kinges Maiestie: this was a greater offence, [138] then the facte it self. Thus wolde the politike ād worldlinges reason, as our carnall Gospellers do daylie, to mayntayne their shameles halting vpon both partes, to cloke their owne impietie, and to intice others to do the like. But faythful Daniel had learned an other lesson, and of a more faithfull scholemaister: euen the verie same that instructed here the Apostles, the Spirite of God, the auctor of wisdom, [139] and truth: that he oght not onelie to contemne the kinges vnlawfull commandement, [73] but to do the plaine contrarie. [140] Nether thought he it sufficient to do this secretly, except openly he shewed to all the worlde whose seruante he was, and what God he honored. Otherwise, how colde he haue declared to the people, that he loued his God with all his harte, soule and power, as was commanded?

CHAP. VII. ↩

All men are bound to follow the like example, as wel as the Apostles and Daniel, of what estate and condition so euer they be.



HEre are all excuses taken away from all men, that will be true Christians, and haue the Apostles and Daniel for their instructors and teachers: whither they be Counsellors, Nobles, Peares, [141] or inferior and ciuile officers. But they will peraduenture excuse them selues, as thogh God had no thing to do with thē, because they be not Apostels, nor Prophets. Neuertheles they may be assured, they shall be as they euer haue bene, subiecte to his plages [74] and punishments: and so will he haue a do with them, thogh they would haue noight to do with hym. Yf the temperall sworde had bene committed to the Apostels, as wel as was the spirituall: if they had bene Peares of a realme, and knowen so wel their duetie towarde God and their contrye, as they did to Christ and his Church, being Apostels, woulde they haue lyfted vp their sworde agaynst Goddes glorie, to the subuersion of the trueth and their nation, at the commandement of their Prince and kinge? Or wolde they not rather haue answered: we are appoynted of God to set forthe his glorie, and to defend his people, and cannot therfore obeye you? [142] If that woulde not serue, must they then haue ceased at their threatninges with death and displeasure? Is that sufficient to discharge them, if in not vsing their power to suppressse tyranny and idolatrie, they suffer the people of God to be deuoured? Iudge you your selues that beare this Name, whither God coulde approue their doinges.

[75]

Matathias that worthie Captayne of the Iewes, [143] as it is wryten in the firste boke of the Machabees, coulde not so lightly excuse him self when he was commanded by the cruel officers of wicked Antiochus (which had spoyled their Tēpel, rased their waules, murdered their brethern, and set vp idolatrie, in so muche as all for the most parte, applied them selues to their wicked persuasions) that he, with the residue shulde forsake the Lawes and sacrifices of their God, to worshipp strange Goddes: he made answer, [144] to the officer of Antiochus the kinge (which would to God our Noble men had perfetly learned) That thoghe all Nations apparteyning to kinge Antiochus shulde obeye him, so that euery man would declyne from the Lawes of his countrie: yet I, (saieth he) my children, and brethern, wil stand in the conuenant of our fathers &c. Which thing he performe din dede to the glorie of God, to his owne saluation, and comforte of his brethern and countrie for euer.

And euen at the self same tyme [76] he slewe, not onely a Iewe, one of his owne brethern, which came to sacrifice in his presence at the alter Modim, according to the prescript of Antiochus: but killed also the kīges officer, that cōpelled him therto, and afterwarde destroyed the altar, ād folowed the Lawe of God with a zeale, as did Phinees. Matathias had then a litle power amongst his brethern, but nothing to defende him self agaynst the kinge, and also being charged with children and kinsfolk (which semed to be all his power) woulde nether pollute him self, nor suffer thē to be polluted with wicked idolatrie,

nor cōseles, to be oppressed with tyrannie. [145] And yet we reade of no auctoritie or office he had to excuse him by: but onelie this one thing which was comon to all other of his natiō, the Lawes of their countrie, and couenant of their fathers. Which cause he thoght sufficiēt to discharge his cōscience before God, and to approue his doings. For as muche as God had commanded him not onely to denie to do the commandement of the cruell tyrant Antiochus (vnder whō all Ierusalem then was by conqueste) [77] but manfully to professe him and his, as open aduersaries to his Lawes and to resiste idolatrie by force, [146] in killing the idolatrer and the kinges seruant (by whom he was compelled) and in subuerting the altar, where vpon the idolatrous sacrifice shuld haue bene done. Which was, as you see, manifeste resisting of the superior power, being but mā, to the intent he might shewe true obedience to his Lorde and God, in defending and maynteyning his Lawes (which he calleth the couenant of their fathers) yea and with the temporal sworde to the vttermost of his power. Thē if Matathias herein did discharge his consciēce before God and man, in resisting by temporal power the kinge, his commandements and officers: it is not onely the office of Apostles and preachers, to resist, but the dewtie likewise of all others according to their estate and vocation. But you will say perchance, that this boke of the Macabees is not of sufficient auctoritie to persuade your consciences in the like case, because it is not reputed to be amongst those bokes which are autentique, and named [79] Canonical. Truth it is, but that thou (which art in like and better estate, because of thy power and auctoritie, wherewith thou art as wel charged before God as kinge or Emperour) mayst and shuldest with a safe conscience, folowe this worthie example, it is moste true and certayne. [147] For the facte of Mattathias dependeth not vpon the auctoritie of the boke, wherin it is conteyned: but vpon the worde of God, whervpon it was grownded. For hathe he done anie otherwise in his vocation, then the Apostles did in theirs? Did not they say, that God is to be obeyed rather then man? And so sayed Mattathias, and muche more playner: that thoghe all nations woulde obeye Antiochus: yet he, and so many as he coulde procure, shulde obeye the true God and his Lawes. And like as the Apostles, according to their answer, openlie and playnly in fight of the people did vse the spiritual sworde, manfully fighting agaynst all rebellion of man in Goddes cause: so did Mattathias vse the temporall sworde according to his power, [80] moued by the same reason agaynst idolatrie and oppression which is manifeste rebellion agaynst God. Yea and if their were nether example nor Scripture to proue his facte: yet would verie natural reason compel euery man to alowe the same, as moste Godlie. And that therin he did nothing but his duetie, which thing was approued in the iudgement of that age, and as a lawful facte and monument wryte and left to be red and practised of all posteritie, the Lawe of nature so directing their iudgments.

But to put you out of all doute, we will confirme it with an other testimonie most surely auctorised, and the very same in effect, [148] of that renoumed and worthie Capitayne Iosua, the sonne of Nun, whome God him self had chosen to succede Moyses in the gouernement, and leading of the people of Israel: who after he had declared the benefites of God done vnto them, from the tyme that he had chosen them to be his people, (namelie to Abraham whom he called [80] from idolatrie, to Isaac and Iacob, and to the rest of the people, their posteritie, in deliuering them out of Egypt, preseruinge them in the wilderness, and geuing to them his Lawes) spake these wordes to the Elders and all the multitude, sayng: Now therfore feare ye the Lord, serue him vnfaynedlie and faithfullie, take away the Goddes which your fathers worshipped, beyonde the Riuer, and in Egypte, and serue the Lorde. But yf you wil not serue the Lorde, chose vnto you this day whom you will serue, whither ye wil serue the Goddes beyonde the Riuer, or the Gods of the Amorites in whose lande ye dwele. As for me and my familie, we will serue the Lorde: answering as did Matathias. And this spake he in his later dayes, [149] to admonishe them afore hande not to incline to idolatrie and to neglecte the Lawes of God, which is the cause of all euill, and gapp to all mischiff. Which sayng of Iosua, the true seruāt of God, seemed so Godlie in the sight of all the people, that all were compelled with a uehemencie of spirite to say: God forbid, that we shulde forsake the Lorde,

[81] to serue strange Goddes. For the Lorde our God him self, broght vs out of Egypt and from the house of bondage.

What wilt thou more to proue this facte of Mattathias, ād therbie thy duetie also, whither thou be of the Seniors of the people, or of the multitude? Here is thy confession, if thou be of God. Yf all men would serue strange Godds, [150] yet will I and my familie serue the liuinge Lorde. And agayne, God forbid that we shulde leaue the obedience of our God, by whome we are created, redemed and sauēd, to serue strange Goddes. And how caneste thou say that thou seruest God thy Lorde, except thou vse all suche means as he hath geuen to thee in defence of his glorie, beit counsel, learning, auctoritie, power in bodie or in soule? All muste serue the Lorde, when he demaundeth it. And when demaundeth God these thinges of vs, if not then chieflie, whē Satā begynneth to rage, the worde of God despiced, his Name blasphemed, his Church scattered, his children miserably oppressed, imprisoned, famished and murdered? Either now must the counsele of the Coūseller, the [82] learning of the learned, [151] the auctoritie of the honorable, the power of the Nobles, the bodies of the subiectes serue the Lorde, or neuer. For now will the Lorde trye who are his people in separating the chaffe frō the corne, those that loue the Lorde vnfaynedlie, ād wil serue him in dede from the halting dissemblers ād hypocrites, who thiking therby to escape present daūgers, runne headlonge to their owne destructiō, thiking therby to escape the feareful voyce of the Lorde, fall in to the pit. And if they come foorth of the pit, [152] they are taken in the net, and cannot escape saithe the Lorde.

There is no waye but one, to turne agayne vnto the Lorde, who hathe woūded vs, [153] and he will heale vs: he hathe striken vs, for our synnes, and he will bynde vs vp agayn, ād within two dayes will he restore vs to lyffe, ād the thirde day rayse vs vp, and we shal come before his face saithe the Prophet. And by what other means can we turne vnto the Lorde to be healed of our woundes, to be restored to lyffe agayne, to be lifted vp and broght before his presence: [83] but by vnfayned repentance, euerie man of what estate, or condition soeuer he be? Considering with teares how shamefullie he hathe fallen from God, and by what means, and to call for grace and strength to turne back by the self same means and wayes, [154] to obey God in walking the contrarie. And to Folowe the counsell of the Apostle, that as before we haue geuen our members to serue vnclennes and iniquitie: so now (after true repentance) make them to serue rightousnes and holynesse. Wher before we serued men and not God, now to serue God and not man, but in God: Where as we abused all the gyftes of God to mayntayne idolatrie and tyranny, now to vse the same to the restoring of Gods glorie, and preseruatiō of his humble and afflicted children: [155] where as before we haue trouge contempt of his graces, especiallie the worde and Gospel of our Sauour Iesus Christe broght vpon vs shame and confusion, now by reuerent receauing of them agayne, and framing our liues thervnto, we may remoue these plagues, ād finde [84] fauore ād grace in the sight of our God, who for this cause hathe striken vs, and by all maner of means callethe vs backe from our wickednesse, readier to receaue vs, then we to desier him.

CHAP. VIII. ↩

The conclusion of these two parts with a farther declaration of the same, that it is both Lawful and necessarie some tymes to disobeye and also to resiste Vngodly magistrats and wherin.



VVherfore (deare brethern in the Lorde) to returne to our pourpose, you may well vnderstāde of these thīgs which haue bene hitherto mentioned, not only the cause of all our miserie in England this day, to haue bene for that we nether taught, knewe, nor vsed true obedience: but also what obediēce God requireth of all mē, [156] ād what he cōdemnethe for disobedience. Obedience is to heare God rather then man, and to resiste man rather then God, as by the answere and doinges of the Apostles, and examples of others ye haue bene instructed. Whereī you may see how litle [85] the commandments, threatnynges, power, auctoritie, or punishments of anie kinge, Prince or Emperour, oght to preuayle with vs agaynst the commandment of God, where with we are charged.

Can we then pretende ignoraunce any more? Beholde, [157] verie nature doth teache all men, which be not destitute of their comō sense ād reason, that God oght rather to be obeyed then man: in so muche as the Apostles therin feared not the iudgment of their enimies.

Shall auctoritie of man, or power of Princes bleare our eyes anie lōger: [158] seing there is none so ignorant whose consciēce doth not beare him witness, that God is moste worthie of all honor, and onely to be feared for his power: who made the heauens and the earthe, and man ruler therof, by whose power and wisdome, as all thinges were created, so by his wonderful prouidence are all thinges preserued and gouerned?

Shall the threatnings of man or punishment of Princes moue vs to leaue vndone that which he commandeth, [159] ād our vocation requireth? Shulde we honour [86] thē for their offices and great titles, because they are called kīges, Princes, or Emperours? This muste we do so longe as they will be subiectes to God, and promoters of his glorie, [160] of whome they haue their auctoritie, as the examples of the Godlie Patriarkes, and Prophets, of Christe him self, and his Apostles, and of all martyrs in all ages vntil this day do witness. Which with their bloude haue sealed vp this doctrine for an vndouted veritie: that there is no obedience agaynst God, which in his iudgment is not manifeste rebellion.

Doest thou then vnfaynedly beleue in God, and haste geuen thy self to serue him, and after art commanded of thy Prince or Ruler, what name so euer he beare, to committ idolatrie in worshipping a piece of bread for thy Sauour (as do the Papistes) which is open blasphemie agaynst the Sonne of God?

[161] Arte thou willed to be present at the idole seruice, which the Apostle S. Paul forbiddeth: or ells to make, or erect images in Churches or tēples, to heare Masses, to trot on pilgrimage, to purchesse pardōs, to cōfesse the Popes auctoritie, to esteme Gods worde for heresie.

[87]

Art thou charged to be a tormentour of the Saints of God, to lay holde vpon the as did the Scribes and Pharisees, the chief Bishop and Priests with their officers vpon Christe and his Apostles: to bringe them before the Concile to caste them in prison, to flatter them to reuile the openly, to famishe them secretly, and hange them in their gyles, to racke them, [162] to bringe them to the galows, to the stake, and consuming fier: to see execution done vpon them, as vpon theues, murtherers, villains, whoremongers, adulterours, traytors, idolaters, & blasphemers: when inwardlye thy conscience cryeth vnto thee, Take heede and beware what thou doest to these men, for they are the verie seruantes of God, [163] as Pilate was admonished by his wiffe? Art thou (I saye) commanded to do anie of these things, and fearest God? Beholde, here art thou taught what answere it behoueth thee to make, and that by the Apostles of Christe: which is, Iudge you whether it be lawfull in Gods sight to obey you rather then God. And agayne, God must be obeyed before man.

[88]

If thou wilt alleadge the daunger of losinge thy liuing and office, [164] wherby thou and thy familie are founde: consider it is a greater matter to lose thy soule, and to bring the curse of God vpon thy whole housholde, to whome it were farre better to begg in the feare of God, [165] than to be gyltie of innocent blood, which the Lorde must nedes reuege according to his promesse. Yf thy innocent brother, which is broght to thee, because he is the seruant of God, be ready for Christes sake to offre vp his life in sacrifice: what great thing is it for thee to offre vp thy vile liuing for the same cause of righteousness? [166] For as he in losinge his life hath assurance to finde it euerlastingly: euen so mayst thou be assured in forgoing thy office, because thou wilt be no tormentour of Goddes children, agaynst thy duetie and conscience, [167] to haue the rewarde of righteousness at the hands of God, who esteemeth all thinges done to anie of these litle ones, as done to him self: and forbideth thee to touche them, sayng, Touche not myne anoynted ones.

[89]

Therefore, as there is no power or punishment that shuld cause thee to do euil: so is there no office or promotion, which thou shuldest not willingly forgoe, rather then in reteyninge it to be an instrument of iniurious oppression, hauinge this rule of our Sauour Christe alwayes before thine eyes: [168] What so euer ye would that men shulde do to you, that do you to them also.

Neither is this ynough, rather to suffer iniurie and losse, then that thou wouldest be a worker of iniurie to others by any means: but more ouer it is thy parte to be a withstander of euil, [169] and a supporter of the Godly to the vttermoste of thy power, as thou hast partly harde all ready, and partly shalt heare now folowing. For as God hath not created vs for our selues, [170] but to seke his honor and glorie, and the profit of our neighbour, especially of such as be of the housholde of faithe: euen so are we indebted to God, to bestowe all those gyftes, be they spiritual or corporal, [171] wherewith God hath blessed vs to the self same end, stryuing agaynst all impediments, helping, defending, comforting, [90] and deliuering to the vttermoste of our power all such as we are assured do feare God, [172] and stande in nede of our ayde and supporte. Otherwise we shewe our selues to haue more compassion vpon brute beastes, as our neighbours ox, asse, or shepe, which Gods Lawe dothe charge vs to helpe, saue, or drawe forthe of the ditch, althoghe it were the beaste of our enemye.

[173] Are we then bound to do this to vnreasonable and brute beastes, yea to any thing belonging to our neighbour, and shall we be afrayde to do the like to him self, what tyme he is in necessitie? Yf his shepe or other of his cattel were readie to be deuoured in our presence of wolues, or suche wilde beastes: are we not bounde as wel in conscience as by the Lawe of God, to driue the wilde beaste awaye and saue his cattel, who can deny this to be our duetie?

Can we be excused then in suffring the soules and bodies of the children of God our brethern, to be moste pitifully distroyed of Gods enemies, by false doctrine and cruel murthering, and put not to our handes and power to deliuer [91] them?

The verie Gentils with out God were taught so muche of nature, [174] that to do wronge to a nother is not onely iniurie, but also they condemne him as an iniurious persone, which can, and will not withstande wrōge done to a nother. Wo be to thee thē (ō miserable Englande) amonge other nations and peoples, [175] which hast a longe tyme delited in iniustice and cruel oppression. Wo be vnto you moste vngodlye and careles counsellors. Wo be to you Rulers and Magistrats, from the hieste to the loweste: for that you ruling with out the feare of God, [176] see your owne fleshe ād bloude, the very lābes of God dayly to fall by flockes, not in to the diche or pit, but in to the vnsaciable mouthes of the wolueshe papistes: [177] not onely to be hurte and iniuried, but cruelly to be deuoured both bodie and goodes, and their poore wiues, children, and families destroyed, ād go a begginge. And yet neither the sorouful sobbes, ād cōtinual teares of the lamētable mothers, nor the pitiful crye of the spoyled infātes, nor the extreame necessitie of their dispersed seruāts, [92] besides the shamefull betrayinge ād subuertio of the whole Realme daylie approachinge, [178] can once moue your harde ād stonie hartes with pitie to defende their cause, and delyuer them frō tyranny: beinge promoted to your honours and offices to that end. Can you, escape the condemnation of the Lawe, whiche prefer the preseruacion of your beastes and cattell to the pretious lyues of your owne brethern, [179] the Image of the liuinge Lorde, [180] whom you are bounde to loue as your selues? Shall not the Gentils, whiche lyue besides the Lawe, stand in iudgment agaynste you whiche professe the Lawe, when they are more preste to defende their people from iniuries, then you yours? Your owne offices, auctoritie, and power, shall in that daye put you to silence, and confounde you.

Was there euer the like contempt of Gods worde in Capernaum? The like idolatrie amonge the heathen? Or like tyranny and cruell murthering at Ierusalem? [181] And yet to Capernaum Christ hathe threatned that it shall be easier for Tyre and Sidon in the last day, then [93] for it. [182] The Gentiles he commanded to be destroyed as his extreame enimies. And as for Ierusalem that worthie Citie of the Lorde, escaped not his seure iudgement: [183] not leauinge one stone vpon another, as oure Sauour himself afore prophecied, ād as their miserable state and dispertion this daye doth testifie. [184] Will God then spare Englande alone, and punishe all other nations for lesse impietie?

Can he of his iustice spare you counsellors, you Nobles and inferior officers: Whiche spare not to spoyle, oppresse, accuse, condemne, and murther the people of God, to deface his glory, and to distroye the whole Englishe Natiō from the earthe, so moche as in you lieth?

Repent, repent you miserable mē: for your synnes be at the highest, [185] your cupp of iniquitie is full, and the houre of your heuy visitation is come: when it will be to late for you to flee from the great wrath of Gods indignation, whiche shortlye is like to be powred vpon you. Then shall you well perceauē that there is no saluation but vnder [94] Gods protection, no comforte with out Christe, [186] no obedience agaynste God, no power that can dispence with the charge of the Almightye and his commandements: especiallye when all your counsels agaynste him and his poore seruants shall fall vpon your owne heades: your wisdomē turned to follie, your noblenesse to vilenesse, your rule and dominion taken from you, and you made slaues to others: [187] your fayre howses and gorgeous buildinges destroyed, your great possessions geuen to your enimies, your wiues to be rauished, your mayds deflowred, and children murthered with out mercy, your pride and hie lokes abated, your welthe turned to miserie, your delicate faare and costlie aparell to extreame hunger and beggerie, your ioye and pastance to weeping and continuall sorrowe, and in the end shamefull death as you haue deserued. And why? Bycause you haue chosen to obeye man rather then God, and sought rather to mayntayne your owne pride and dignitie, then his honor and glory.

And therefore beholde ô prowde man, [188] I am come to thee (saith the Lorde of hostes) because thy daye is come, and the tyme when i will visite thee. For the prowde shall fall and be destroyed, and there shall be noman to lift him vp. I will kindle a fire in his Cities, that shall consume all thinges aboute them, &c.

And iustly maye the Lorde do all this to you, seinge he gaue you not this dignitie, makinge you Couंसellers, Noble men, Rulers, Iustices, Mayers, Shireffs, Bayliffs, Counstables, or Gaylers to exalt your selues agaynst his Maiestie, [189] and to fight agaynst Christe and his members: but to humble your selues in his presence, to promote his glorie, and to defende all those whom he committed to your charge. How commeth it then to passe, that ye haue thus betrayde him and his people, in banishinge his truthe to receaue falsehood, and haue changed Religion in to superstition, true honoring of God, in to blasphemous idolatrie, and now (to finishe your procedinges) are readye to [96] to sell your subiects for slaues to the prowde Spaniards, [190] a people with out God.

That wicked woman, whom you vntruelly make your Quene, hath (saye ye) so cōmanded. O vayne & miserable men. [191] To what vilenesse are you brought, and yet as men blynd, see not? Because you would not haue God to raigne ouer you, and his worde to be a light vnto your footestepps, beholde, he hath not geuen an hypocrite onely to raigne ouer you (as he promised) but an Idolatresse also: [192][193] not a man accordinge to his appoyntment, but a woman, whiche his Lawe forbiddeth, and nature abhorreth: whose reigne was neuer counted lawfull by the worde of God, but an expresse signe of Gods wrathe, and notable plague for the synnes of the people. As was the raygne of cruell Iesabel, and vngodlie Athalia, especiall instrumentes of Satan, and whipps to his people of Israel.

This you see not, blynded with ignorance: yea, whiche is more shame, where as the worde of God freethe you from the obedience of anie Prince, be [97] he neuer so mightie, wise, or politike, commanding anye thinge whiche God forbiddeth, and herein geueth you auctoritie to withstand the same, as you haue harde: Yet are you willingly become as it were, [194] bondemen to the lustes of a most impotent and vnbrydled woman: a woman begotten in adultrie a bastard by birthe, contrarie to the worde of God ād your owne lawes. [195] And therefore cōdemned as a bastarde by the iudgement of all Vniuersities in Englāde, France, and Italie: as well of the Ciuilians, as Diuines. For now are we freedde from that Ieweshe yoke to rayse vp seede to our brethern departing with out issue, by the comyng of our Sauour Iesus Christe, who hath destroyed the walle and distāce betwixt the Iewes and Gentiles, and hath no more respecte to anie Tribes (for conseruation wherof this was permitted) but all are made one in him with out distinction, which acknowledge him vnfaynedlie to be the Sonne of God and Sauour of the worlde. For in Christe Iesus there is nether Iewe nor Gentile, Grecian or Barbarous, bonde nor free, &c. And therefore [98] it muste nedes followe, that kinge Henrie the eight, in marying with his brothers wife, did vtterly contemne the free grace of our Sauour Iesus Christe, which longe before had deliuered vs from the seruitude of that lawe: [196] and also committed adulterous incest contrary to the worde of God, when he begate this vngodlie serpent Marie, the chief instrument of all this present miserie in Englande.

And if any would saie, it was of a zeale to fulfill the lawe which then was abrogated, he must confesse also that the kinge did not marie of carnall luste, but to rayse vp seede to his brother: when the contrarie is well knowne to all men. Let no man therefore be offended, that I call her by her propre name, a bastarde, and vnlawfully begotton: seing the worde of God, which cānot lye, dothe geue wittnesse vpon my parte. And moreouer, that suche as are bastardes shulde be depriued of all honor: [197] in so muche as by the Lawe of Moyses they were prohibited to haue entrance in to the Cōgregatiō or assembly of the Lorde to the tenth generation. Consider thē your vngodlie procedinges in defrawding [99] your cōtrie of a

lawfull kinge: and preferringe a bastarde to the lawful begotten dawghter, and exaltinge her whiche is, and will be a comon plague ād euersion of altogether: for as muche as she is a traytor to God, [198] & promis breaker to her dearest frindes, who helpinge her to their power to her vnlawfull reigne, were promised to inioye that religion which was preached vnder kinge Edwarde: which notwithstanding in a shorte space after, she moste falsely ouerthrewe and abolished. So that now both by Gods Lawes and māś, she ought to be punished with death, as an opē idolatres in the sight of God, ād a cruel murtherer of his Saĩts before mē, ād merciles traytoresse to her owne natiue coutrie.

For Gods worde she abhorreth, Antichriste hathe she restored, her fathers Lawes contemned, her promesse brokē, and her brother Godly kinge Edwarde as an heretique condemned, [199] not thinkinge it ynoughe to expresse her tyranny vpon thē that liued, except she shewed crueltie, or rather a raging madnesse on the bodies of Gods seruāts lōge before buried, drawīg thē forth of their graues to [100] burne thē as heretikes. And in fine vtterly abhorring the Englishe nation, hath ioyned her self to adulterous Philip, the Spanishe kinge: [200] to whome she hathe, and dothe continually labor to betray the whole kingdome. And yet ye cannot, or will not see it, nether yet for all this be stirred vp to bridell her affections, and withstand her vngodly doinges, to promote the glorie of God, and to preserue your brethren, and your selues: but thinking to reteyne your promotions by flattery, do hastelie drawe Gods vengeance vpon your selues and others.

For do you thinke that Philip will be crowned kinge of Englande, and reteyne in honor Englishe counsellors? Will he credite them withe the gouernement of his estate, who haue betrayed their owne? Shall his nobilitie be Spaniardes, with out your landes and possessions? And shall they possesse your promotiōs and lyuinges, and your heads vpō your shulders? Come they to make a spoyle of the whole Realme, and leaue you ād yours vntouched? Where is your great wisdome become? Your subtile counsels [101] and policies, where of you bragge so muche, to whome these thinges be hid, that euerie childe espieth?

If Esai the Prophet had not forespoken these secret iudgments of God, [201] in blynding the eyes of the prowde contemners, I coulde not cease to wonder at your grosse ignorance, as now I consider with greife of harte, the miserie which is like shortly to come vpon you in full measure, for this calamitie, alreadie powred vpon others, through your procurements and studies. Which fearefull iudgment of God loke neuer to escape, except suddaynlie ye repent and change your vngodlie purpose. [202] If you be at a couenant with deathe (as you thinke) you shall not auoyde it, if you thinke to escape the comon destructiō, making dissimulation and lyes your refuge, yet shall you be reuealed: for the Lord him self will destroye all your counsels, because they are not of him.

Yt is not your going to the Masse, your praying of the Pope, your flattrig of your Quene, and shauen Priests of Baal, that can defende you in [102] that day: nether yet your licences whiche some of you purchase of an infidel to departe out of your countrie, [203] some lyinge in idolatrous places, differing no thinge from them in ther dissolute liuinge, some passinge in to Italie to please their Quene, and to get an opinion of men that they approue her procedings, rather coueting to haue the name of a blasphemouse papiste, then of Christe our Sauour. Thiking by suche vnlawfull meanes to worke miracles: but their gaines at length will be confusion, [204] as now their frute whiche they haue brohgt thence do witnesse that is the want of Gods feare and open dissimulation.

This is not the way (ô vaine men) to winne Gods faour, and to escape his fearfull iudgmentes: but to increase his wrathe and hastē his vengeance, who will not be mocked, nether suffer his holye Name lōge to be blasphemed. Cōsider with your selues, and returne to the right way, and walke in it while ye haue tyme, and I will shewe it vnto you.

[103]

You haue synned moste greuouslie agaynst the Lorde: [205] knowe your transgressions, and with teares confesse thē, euery man vnfaynedlie vnto the Lorde, who is redie to mercie and slowe to anger. You haue despised and abused the worde of his dearely beloued Sonne Iesus Christ, the Author of saluatiō, in the dayes of our Godlie kinge Edwarde (which is the cause why God hath thus plaged vs with a tyrant) seke after the worde agayne and receaue it with all reuerence. By geuing auctoritie to an idolatres woman ye haue banished Christe and his Gospell, [206] and in his place restored Antichriste with all his infections, wherein your owne consciences condemne you of euil. Then in takinge agayne the same auctoritie from her, you shall restore Christe and his worde and do well. In obeyinge her, ye haue disobeyed God. Then in disobeying her, ye shall please God. Because you haue geuen place to her and her counsells, you are all become idolatrous hypocryts, and also traytors to your owne Countrie: then by resisting her [104] selues damnation for their transgressiō and her wicked decrees, you must be made true worshippers of God, ād faithfull Englishe men.

Other meās there are not, but to turne to God by repentāce, to banishe falsehode by receauīg the trueth, to ouerthrowe Antichriste, and all kinde of idolatry by honoring Christe and his Gospell: to suppress tyrannye by iustice: to withstande oppression and murder by defending the iuste and innocent, and punishing the workers of iniquitie, of what estate or condicion so euer they be, as after (God willing) shall be proued at large. For as by this means onely Gods honor must be restored, [207] and you escape his vengeance, to obeye thē that obeye God, and resiste them that resiste his Maiestie, rēdringe vnto all accordinge to his Lawes: euenso, when they shulde vnderstand that their subiectes be no more as it were brute beastes with out sense or iudgment: but that they knowe wherein, ād how farre they owe obediēce, ād would no more be led by their deuilishe and vngodlie lustes, as they haue bene and yet are presentlie.

[105]

Then woulde their Princes and Rulers also geue them selues with all diligence, [208] to studie and applie the same Lawe of God: then woulde they do nothinge them selues, nor commande others, where in they where not assured to please him. Then woulde they learne to obeye God, which now rebel agaynst him: and to folow the examples of the Godlie kings and Rulers, hauing the boke of the Lorde euer with them, neuer suffring it to departe from them. [209] But as worthie Iosua, Iosias, and Iosaphat, to reade and studie in it day and night. Not to declyne from it them selues, nor yet to suffer their subiects therin to be ignorāt, which is the onlie wisdom of God and comforte of all mens consciences. Then shulde the Rulers loue and preserue their subiectes. And the subiects likewise reuerentlie obeye their superiours. To conclude, then shuld all be blessed of God, feared of their enimies, sure from all daūgers, voyde of all idolatrie and false religiō, [210] and esteemed of all nations the wysest and mightieste people vpon the earthe, as God promissed to Israel, so longe as [106] they shulde lyue.

CHAP. IX. ↩

Answers to the contrarie obiections of such as teache all maner of obedience to Magistrats to be lawful, taken forthe of the New Testament.



BVt for as much as there is nothing so manifest and true, which is not either obscured vtterlie by contrary reasons of mans brayne, or ells discredited by other places of Scripture wrōgfully vnderstāde and applyed by many: I haue here thought expedient before I proceade anie further, for the better establishing of the trueth, to answer and satisfie, so far as shal please God to geue vnto me, all suche reasons, auctorities, and Scriptures, as are aleadged to the contrarie: to the intent that we may not onely see the trueth, and so be styrred to imbrace it, but also may espie the falsehod, ād learne to auoyde it.

And because amongst all other auctorities ād reasōs, there is none of greater force thē that which is wryten in the Epistle of S. [211] Paul to the Romains: we will firste of all others begin with it. [212] Let euerie soule (saith he) submitt him self [107] to the auctoritie of the higher powers: for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeyned of God. Who soeuer therfore resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shal receaue vnto them selues damnation. Here (say they) is a general doctrine affirmed by the Apostle, that euery man (none excepted) must be subiecte to superiour powers: and if euery man muste be subiect, none oght to disobey.

Besides this, beholde the Apostle doth not barely affirme this propositiō, sayīg: Euery person (for that he meaneth by euery soule) must be subiecte to the Magistrates and Rulers, of what condition so euer he be, but proueth the same with a moste sure argument gathered of the ordinance of God, because there is no power but of God. And therfore to resiste powers, is to resiste God him self, whose ordinance it is. And not contented with one reason, he confirmeth the same with a nother depending of Gods punishments, which he hath appoynted for all them that resiste, which is, to receaue to them selues damnation for their transgressiō: [108] so that they cōclude, that it is not onely Paules auctoritie that maketh all men subiecte to their superiours (which notwithstanding were sufficient, being the Apostle of Christe) but also the same is by good and stronge reasons confirmed.

[213] In answering to this obiection, I will not longe holde you in rēdring the cause, [214] which as we may probably gether mouid the Apostle to write this to the Romains cōcerning obedience to their superiours: but in few wordes touche so much as seemeth necessarie. It may appeare very credible (which some Godlie and learned do wryte) that amōgest the Romayns, after they had receaued the Gospell, there were many vnder that name, which woulde be deliuered from all subiection: thinking the office of Magistrates nomore necessarie to them that professed Christe: as do this day the Anabaptists and Libertins. [215] Others, who had bene once freed from tribute and custome paying, to strange Magistrates, woulde therat take an occasion by preaching of the Gospell to paye no more tribute to their superiours. Such [109] were diuers of the Iewes, [216] who cōūted it for abōdage. And that kīde of secte was raysed vp euen in Christes dayes, as appeareth whē the Pharisies sent their

disciples with Herodes seruātes to knowe his iudgment, whither it were lawful for them to paye tribute to Caesar or no. [217] And in the Actes, Gamaliel maketh mention of one Iudas Galilaeus, [218] which was autor of that secte, and moued muche trouble amōgest the people, sayng: It was not lawful to paye tribute. By these and suche like opinions, the Apostle (perceauing the office of Magistrates to come in to contempte, and men to esteme it not lawful, which God him self ordeyned in defence of his religion and Ciuile policie (was moued to wryte as is before mencioned, exhorting all men to esteme the office of Magistrates as Gods ordinance, and to obeye them whom God had appoynted Rulers ouer them.

Then as the Apostle wryteth we confesse, and so muche as he speaketh we graūte, that is, that all men are bownd to obey such Magistrates, whome God hathe ordeyned ouer vs lawfully according [110] to his worde, which rule in his feare according to their office, as God hathe appoynted. For thogh the Apostle saith: There is no power but of God: yet doth he not here meane anie other-powers, but such as are orderly and lawfullie institute of God. Ether els shulde he approue all tyranny and oppression, which cometh to anie commonwelth by means of wicked and vngodlie Rulers, which are to be called rightlie disorders, and subuersions in comon welthes, and not Gods ordinaunce. For he neuer ordeyned anie lawes to approue, but to reprove and punishe tyrantes, idolaters, [219] papistes and oppressors. Then when they are suche, they are not Gods ordinaunce. And in disobeying and resisting such, we do not resiste Gods ordinaūce, but Satā, and our synne, which is the cause of such. Or els, if we shall so conclude with the wordes of the Apostle, [220] that all powers what so euer they be must be obeyed and not resisted, then must we confesse also, that Satan and all his infernall powers are to be obeyed. Why? because they are [111] powers and haue their powers also of God, [221] which cannot touche man any farther then God permitteth. But S. Iames geueth vs, contrarie commandement, saing: Resiste the deuel and he will flee awaye from you.

And that the Apostle Paule dothe so restrayne his wordes to all lawfull powers, we nede not to seke far of. For in the self same Chap. [222] after he dothe expounde his mynde: that is, what powers and Magistrates he meaneth: Such (saith he) as if thou doest well, thou nedeste not to feare, but if thou doest euil. And agayne wilt thou be out of feare of the power? Do wel then: and so shalt thou be praysed of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy welthe. But if thou doest euill, feare: for he beareth not the sworde for nocht: for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance of them that do euill &c. Whereby we may playnly vnderstāde, that althoghe, he saithe, There is no power but of God: yet he meaneth suche power as is his ordināce and lawfull: whose office stādeth in these two poyntes, to defēd the good, and to punishe the euil: not to be feared [112] for wel doing, but for euil, to whom the sworde is geuen for that purpose. And to such, with the Apostle we graūt also, that euery persone must be subiecte ād obedient: [223] for they are Gods ordinaunce. And to disobey or resiste such, is to disobey and resiste God him self. And therfore do deserue iustlie to receaue Gods punishment, which, as the Apostle threatneth, is damnation. And this makethe nothing agaynst our former sentence, but rather confirmeth the same: approuing no obedience but that which is lawful, that is to say, according to Gods appoyntment and ordinance, as doth more euidently appere in his wordes folowing: partly in that he demaundeth obedience to such for conscience sake, and not for feare of vengeance onely. As thogh he would saye: so farre is it from reason and Gods worde that any man shulde disobey or contemne the Magistrates, ordeyned by God to punishe vice and mantayne vertue, that he nedeth no other to reprove him of euil in so doing, then his owne propre cōscience, which will (iustly examined) teache him how Gods ordinance oght [113] to be reuerenced, especially seruing to the preseruacion of the people, in suppressing wickednesse, and promoting Godlynesse.

For that cause he willet after to paye their tribute, not to euery man that will demande (for vnlawful demandes may be lawfully denied) but to whome tribute belongeth, custome to whom custome, feare to whom feare, and honour to whom honour is due.

Obedience then he requireth of all mē, tribute also, custome, feare, [224] and honor: but vnder this condition of iustice and aequitie, to render these dueties to them that haue iuste title thereūto. And who are they, but (as I sayed before) such as God hath appoynted to rule ouer vs in his feare, for our profit, and preseruacion of the comon welthe?

To this also dothe the sayng of S. [225] Peter wel agree, thoghe it be broght in of the other partie to proue the contrary: Submit your selues to euery ordinaūce of mā for the Lordes sake: whither it be to kīge as to the chief, or vnto Rulers as vnto them that are sent of him, for the punishment of euell doers, and the prayse [114] of thē that do well. Beholde how Peter here nether dissenteth from him self in his answere before to the Cōcile, nor here disagreeeth from Paule, willīg obedience to kinges and inferior Rulers: not to all, but to such as are appoynted to punishe euill doers, and prayse the contrary: and to disobey such, muste nedes be condemned for wicked and vngodlie rebelliō. For suche there were as maye playnly appere by. S. Peters wordes folowing, whiche vnder the pretence of libertie woulde couer and cloke their malice. And this the Apostle forbiddeth in all maner of subiectes, and iustlye.

[226] But you will saye, the wordes of Peter folowing concerning the obedience of seruantes to Maisters, dothe charge vs farther then with godlie Rulers, and such as rule according to their office. For to seruantes he writeth on this wise. Seruantes obeye your Maisters with all feare, not onely if they be good and curteous, but also thogh they be frowarde: [227] for so the greke worde dothe signifie, a cōbrous, frowarde, or a persone harde to please and selfe willy. Wherof [115] they will conclude, that Peter commandeth obedience to all kinde of persones, good and bad: what so euer they commande must be done. and why? because he so chargeth seruants to obey their maisters.

Neuertheles this is to be obserued in reading the wordes of Peter (as also in all the holy Scriptures) that we must so take them as they agree with him self, and not agaynst him. [228] For the Spirit of God changeth not his meaning: but what he saithe once, he saythe for euer. Saint Peter here seemeth to preuent the obiection which seruantes (desierous of libertie) might haue obiected, being willed to obey their Maisters: as thoghe he would saye: I am not ignorant that there are many Maisters troblesome, frowarde, and importune ouer you: [229] which are not so gentle and curteous towardes you as becomethe them: well: that is their faut and infirmitie, which you must for Christes sake, whom you professe, patiently sustayne and beare. For thogh your Maisters be roughe or frowarde (he saith not wicked and vngodly) that is no [116] cause why ye shuld not faithfully serue them for the tyme of your seruitude, so longe as they will nothing of you, but that which is good and godlie.

Then the mynde of S. Peter is that the shreudnesse or frowardnes of Maisters, is no lawful or iust occasion why the seruantes shulde be disobediēt. And as this is the verie meaning of the Apostle in that place so is it not like that he would write contrarie to him self, when he sayed: [230] God oght rather to be obeyed then man. Nether can he be iudged contrary to the Apostle Paul, [231] who bindeth vp all lawful obediēce with this knot, In the Lorde: speaking vnto childrē, ād exhortyng thē to obeye their fathers & mothers. But how? In the Lorde saith he. And why? For that is iust. Then if Paule charge not children with further obedience to their parentes, then in the Lorde, to whom principallie they are by Gods commandement and nature bounde, will Peter bynde seruantes to their Maisters anie further thē in the Lorde? And if it be iuste obedience onlie which is in the Lorde: can ther be any lawful obediēce agaynst him, either of childrē [117] towardes ther parētes, seruātes towardes their Maisters, [232] or subiectes towardes their Rulers or Magistrates? No, God is the first and principal Father, Maister ād Lorde, to whō firste obedience muste be geuen as he doth

demāde: and to others in him, and for him onely, as we were taught at the beginning.

And that S. Peter had onely respecte to the rough condicions of Maisters, and not to their vnlawful commandement agaynst God and their conscience (which they are bownde to do for no mans pleasure) the wordes do playnelie witnesse. For this is thākes worthye (saithe he) if a man for conscience towardes God indure grief, suffring wongfully. For what prayse is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patientlye? &c. Then ye see the meanyng of S. Peter is not to make vs subiecte to anie euill or vngodlie commādementes, but to persuade all seruantes not to cast of their duetie, during the tyme of their seruitude, [233] notwithstanding they be roughlie dealt with all of their Maisters, which thing is not spoken here of S. Peter to incourage or mayntayne [118] frowarde Masters in their frowardnes, nor yet to forbid the seruantes which feare God to seke after lawful remedie at the hādes of superior powers, who for that cause are ordeyned to see iustice administred to all sortes of mē, [234] as well to seruantes as others: but that they shulde not thiike the sharpnesse of their Maisters to be a cause sufficiēt to free them from doing their duetie vpō the othér parte.

In like case may we conclude of Princes ād Magistrats, [235] thogh they be rough and frowarde: yea, thoghe before God they are wicked, vngodlie, and reprobate persons (as was Saule) yet so longe as their wikednesse brasteth not out manifestly agaynst God, ād his Lawes, but outwardly will see them obserued and kept of others, punishing the transgressors, and defending the innocent: so longe are we bounde to render vnto such, obedience, as to euill and roughe Maisters: because we may not take Gods office in hande to iudge of the harte any farther then their outwarde deedes do geue manifest testimony. Otherwise, if without feare they transgresse Gods Lawes them selues and cōmande others to do the like, then haue they lost that [119] honor and obedience which otherwise their subiectes did owe vnto them: and oght no more to be taken for Magistrates: but punished as priuate trāsgressors, as after I haue promised to proue.

Here vnto they adde the saying of our Sauioir Iesus Christe to Peter, [236] which bad him put vp his sworde, after he had strickē the seruāt of the high Priest, and cut of his eare: not mynding by the sworde to make resistance. Wherevpon they gather that although it be lawful in doctrine and preaching for the seruants of God to withstād and reprove the enimies, as Christ him self and his Apostles did: yet it is not permitted to do the same by anie outwarde or bodely force. For thē as Christ answered, he might haue obtayend of his Father 12. Legions of Angels for his defence.

To this we shall sone answere, [237] if we consider who spake this, to whom, and for what cause it was spokē. Which circumstances well waied, geue a great light to all like facts and sayinges. First we must diligently consider the office of our Sauioir Iesus Christe, which as it was in all poyntes spirituall, aswell [120] concerning his kingdome which he himself affirmeth not to be of this worlde, as his Priesthod and Prophecie: euen so for his owne parte, [238] coulde he vse no temporal force or power for the accomplishment of the same, because he denieth that he either came to raigne in this worlde, or ells to be a iudge therin: as he answered the man, which would haue had him to comande his brother to deuide the landes bewixt them, sayng: Man, [239] who made me a iudge or deuider ouer you? And being demanded to geue iudgment agaynst the woman taken in adultrie, [240] he woulde not take that office vpon him, but sayd vnto the woman, when her accusers were gone: Nether do I condemne thee: go thy waye, and synne no more.

[241] Thus as concerning Christes owne persone, who had all thinges and powers both in heauen and in earth at his comandement, it is euident that he woulde vse no temporal power agaynst his enimies: for that he was not therewith charged. Which exāple taketh not waye the office or duetie of such as are charged [121] with the tēporall sworde, to vse it in defence chiefflye of Gods glorie, and the preseruacion of those that are vnder them.

Secondly why he forbad Peter also, [242] and in him all the reste of the Apostles, we can not be ignorant. For who knoweth not that the Apostles were witnesses of Iesus Christe chosen forthe of the worlde (as S. [243] Iohn saithe) not to defende their Maister by the temporall sworde (for that were to vsurpe vpon another mans office, not apperteyninge to them) to whom onelie the spirituall sworde was comitted, to fight manfullie with it agaynst the worlde, [244] Satan and all spirituall powers. For as the Apostle saith: Thoghe we walke compassed with the fleshe, [245] yet do we not warre fleshlie. For the weapōs of our warrfare are not carnall thinges, but stronge by the power of God to cast downe holdes: wherwith we ouerthrowe imaginatiōs of euery high thinge that is exalted agaynst the knowlege of God, and bringe in to captiuitie euery thought to the obediēce of Christe. Wherefore, seīg the office of the Apostles also is spirituall, [122] as their Maisters was: and had onely spirituall weapons to vse in the defence of the Gospell, wherof they were ministers: it is not good reason to conclude their purpose, [246] that Magistrates and other inferior officers, oght not to vse the temporall sworde in defense of religion: because Christe woulde not suffer Peter to fight with the temporall sworde. But rather as Christe requireth of Peter and of all the rest, the faithfull vse of the spirituall sworde, where with they were charged, or ells they shulde be subiecte to malediction and iudgmēt: For wo be to me (saith Paule) if I preache not: [247] euēso may not they escape iudgment ād the curse of God, which vse not the temporall sworde cōmitted vnto them with all indeuour in the defence of Gods glorie and his Church, wherewith euery man is charged, according to his vocation and power, none except.

To be shorte, if our Sauour Christ shulde, as he might by his power, haue withstand the Iewes that came to apprehend him and put him to death, how shuld he haue dronken of that cup which his Father had geuen him? That is, how shulde [123] he by his deathe and passion haue redemed vs, [248] for which cause he came in to the worlde: not to haue his liffe takē from him agaynst his will, but willinglie to lay it downe for all.

Then we see that there is nothing in this saying of Christe to Peter, which can condemne lawfull resisting of vngodlie Rulers in their vngodly commandementes. For thogh it was profitable to all men that Christ without any resistance shulde be crucified, being the sacrifice appoynted of God the Father to saluation: yet is it not therfore lawfull for the inferior officers, or permitted to the subiectes, to suffre the blasphemie and oppression of their superiors to ouerflow their whole countrie and nation, when both power and means is geuen vnto them lawfully to withstand it, and they by their profession and office are no lesse bounde to put it in execution.

CHAP. X. ↩

Obiections out of the olde Testament, and Answers to the same.

[124]



THIS muche being spokē to satisfie such obiections as are comonlye alledged forthe of the New Testament: let vs see also what may be sayed agaynst vs in the old, and after what sorte they may be truely answered. [249] Ieremie they alleadge in his letter sent from Ierusalem to the captaynes in Babylon, to the Priests and Prophetts, and to all the people of Israell that then were in Babylon, counselling them how to behaue them selues, and to escape danger. The effect wherof was this: not to rebell, that they might escape, but to remayne still and abide the appoynted tyme of the Lorde: yea, to seke the peace of the Citie wherinto God had broght them, and to praye to God for it. For (saiethe he) with the peace of that Citie, shall your peace be also.

[250] And the like is wryten in Baruch the Prophet tending to the same end, that they shulde pray for the longe liffe of Nabuchadnezer ād Balthazer his sone, that vnder their shaddow (that is protection) they might lyue and serue them [125] a longe tyme. Wheerin (saye they) two things are to be noted agaynst our opinion. The firste, that he forbiddeth them to rebell, and exhortheth them paciently to abide the tyme appoynted of their delyuerance. The seconde, that they are bownd to pray for their enimies, and welthe of their Cities, and therein also are bounde to obey them.

This Epistle or letter of Ieremie sent to the Iewes at Babylon then captiues, [251] we maye not deny to be his: thoghe of the Prophecie of Baruch some do doute, and esteme it not as Canonically. Neuertheles because they tend bothe to one effecte in this matter, [252] we will admitte bothe. Firste, granting that their counselle to quietnes and to abstayne frō rebellion was good and necessary because it proceeded from the Spirite of God and of knowledge, which spake or wrote nothing that God had not reueled vnto them: and wherof they also shuld not admonishe others, to the intēt they might geue no credit to false Prophetes, which woulde stirre them vp to sedition, perswading them that they shulde not longe continewe in Babylon, [126] when as the Lorde had other wise appoynted. Wherof when God assured them by his Prophet, it must nedes be counted extreame madnesse and rebellion agaynst God, if they shulde haue done the contrarie, As we reade of wicked Achab, [253] who crediting the flatterīg cōselle of the false Prophetes, disobeyed God in contēning the trueth tolde hī by Micheas: but to his owne destructiō.

Therefore this matter is sone āswered, where we haue the secrete counselle of God reueled vnto vs, admonishing vs to abide in any place, ād not to departe til he call vs: we are more then rebells to do the contrarie, ād muste sustayne the daunger worthelye. But this is not our questiō, whether we oght to remayne in any place so longe as God hathe commāded vs: [254] but whither we oght to do euill at the commandement of Prince or power, wheresoeuer we be, or in what estate, be it neuer so miserable. For thogh Ieremie cōselled thē with pacience to remayne in Babylon, yet nether he, nor Baruch would permit thē to followe the exaple of

the Gētils there, in idolatrie or euell doīg: as the Epistle of Ieremie [127] sēt also to the Iewes captiues in Babylō ād wrytten in the prophecie of Baruch, [255] doth abundantlie witnesse. And as the exāples of Daniel also, Sidrach, [256] Misach, ād Abdenago do teache vs: which not wihstāding their Captiuitie, woulde not obey the kīges cōmandemēt to do euill.

Also in that they are willed to pray for the good estate of the Citie wherin they dwelled, that is Babylō, and for the lōge liffe of Nabuchadnezer ād his sōne the cause is also alleaded, to the ītēt that the peace of that Citie shuld also be their peace: [257] ād for that Nabuchadnezer ād his sōne shuld be their shadow ād protectiō, God so mouīg their hartes. Which causes are sufficient why the people of God shulde be thākfull, that is, to wishe well to the places and persons where, ād of whom they receaue any benefit, especially peace and protection, as was promised to the Iewes in Babylon.

But what is this to the purpose? The Iewes were cōmāded of God by the Prophetes especiallie to tarry in Babylō, where thē for their syns they were captiues, because their owne Citie Ierusalē, ād all their cōūtrie was destroyed ād subiecte to [128] Nabuchadnezer and there remayned no other place where they might haue peace, but in Babylon and vnder his iurisdiction. Is this then a sufficient excuse for you that inioye your cōuntrie and are charged with the defence therof, to suffer your selues willingly to be spoyled of Gods glory, and peace of your consciences, that is, true religion: and you for the same cause to be oppressed, remoued and murthered, to geue place not onely to them that hate you, but to the greatest enemies of Christ, the papistes, and idolatrous Spaniards?

[258] The Iewes were willed to be quiete in Babylon, because that they and their brethren also disperced shuld therby finde more fauour and comfote: shall you therefore forsake God and betraye your cōuntrie to bringe the vengeance of God ād his horrible plagues vpō your selues and your brethern, wherof you haue alreadie felt some portion? The Iewes were willed to praye for Nabuchadnezer and his sonne, for that by them they shulde passe ouer a great part of their captiuitie with peace, and [129] be also by them defended from other enemies. Are you therefore excused, that permit your selues to be made a pray to Satan, Antichriste, and to all sortes of Gods enimies, at the commandement of an vngodlie woman? Who seeketh but to consume the Englishe nation, and in the end to cut your throtes that nowe are in auctoritie, whom she vseth as instruments, to bring her wicked purposes to passe.

Is your condition now all one with the Iewes? [259] In dede brethren it is like to be muche worse, and that shortly without Gods vnspeakable mercy: but as yet their is some difference. They were captiues ād prisoners vnder their enimies, in a strange cōuntrie, but you are yet in your owne cōuntrie and howses (thogh moste vnnaturally you haue dryuen out many by tyranny). You haue yet your owne lawes amongst you, that is, the Lawe of God ād of your Realme, if you woulde vse them: by the which you haue had all peace ād quietnes. And in cōtemning these, ye see in to what case ye are broght, and in to what miserie, readie to fall. You may yet with Gods helpe, [130] and your endeour promote his glory, vnderprop that Realme and comon welth, which by your falsehod is fallīg in to vtter ruine. The fall wherof, you ād yours chiefly, which haue greatest charge shall haue greateste cause to bewayle.

If your Iesabell, thoghe she be an vnlawfull Gouvernesse, and oght not by Gods word and your owne lawes to rule, would seke your peace and protectiō as did Nabuchadnezer to his captiues the Iewes: then might you haue some pretence to follow Ieremies counselle: that is, [260] to be quiete, and praye for her lisse, if she would cōfesse the onelie God of the Christians, and not compell you to idolatrie no more then did Nabuchadnezer: who acknowledged the God of the Iewes to be the true and euerlasting God, and gaue the same commādemēt throughout all his dominiōs, That what soeuer people or nation spake euill of the God of Israell shuld be rent in pieces, [261] and his howse counted detestable. For (saith

he) Ther is no other true God that so coulde deliuer his seruātes, as he did Sidrach Misach ad Abdenago.

But because her doīges tēd all to the contrarie, that is to blaspheme God, ād [131] also compell all others to do the like, what cloke haue you here to permitte this wickednesse?

To be shorte, if she at the burninge of three hundreth Martyrs at the leste, coulde haue bene satisfied ād vnfaynedly moued to confesse the true Christe and Messias, and repented her former rebellion in geuing contrarie commandement to all her dominions, charging thē to receaue agayne the true religion and to expell all blasphemous idolatrie of the pestilent papistes: and that none shulde speake any euill agaynst Christe and his Religiō (as did Nabuchadnezer by the exāple of three persōs onely, whō the fire by the power of God coulde not touche) then were she more to be borne with, and reuerenced as a Ruler (if it were lawfull for a woman to rule at all) then were there also some probabilitie in the reasons of the aduersaries of this doctriē. Otherwise as you now see, it maketh nothing at all for their purpose.

Another Argumēt is gathered of the words written in the same Prophet Ieremie: [262] speaking of the dominion which God was purposed to geue vnto Nabuchadnezer kīge of Babylō on this wise: [132] I haue made the earthe ād mē (saiethe the Lorde) ād the beastes vpō the earthe in my strēgth and stretched out hand, and it do I geue to him that pleaseth me. And therefore haue I geuē all this lande in to the hands of Nabuchadnezer my seruant. And all natiōs and mightie kinges shall serue him, and till the tyme of his lande do come, that is, till I visite him, and his countrie also. And it shall come to passe, that I will visite the nation or kingdome which will not serue the kinge of Babell with sworde, famine, and pestilēce. Wherefore serue ye the kinge of Babell and lyue. Beholde, saye they, (who thinke it in no case lawfull to withstande vngodlie Rulers) This wicked kinge is cōstitute of God, and made his seruante. And moreouer those that shulde withstand him, are cursed and threatned with sword, famine, and pestilence. And therefore to disobey suche, [263] muste nedes be vnlawfull.

Nabuchadnezer as it is wrytten in Ieremie, is called the maule of the Lorde, and his instrumēt of warre, by the which he was determyned to beate doune all Nations and kingdoms, punishing them [133] for their synnes and idolatrie. And therefore the Lorde calleth him his seruāte, for that he had chosē him to that office. Nether oght we to maruell that God will vse the labours of vngodlye persones, seing all being his creatures are at his commandement, as is Satan with all his infernall spirites. Then God, hauing appoynted Nabuchadnezer to this office to be his tormentor, as well in skourginge ād correcting his owne people, as in destroyinge his open enimies: it was requisite that God shuld minister vnto him sufficient power, for the accomplishment of his determinat counselle, which the Lorde did in such abundance, as no Nation was able to resiste him, that shuld not perishe either with the sworde of Nabuchadnezer, or famine, either els in that the Lorde hī self would from heauen fight on his parte withe the plague of pestilence.

And of this what thing els gather we, but firste the purpose of Ieremie: that was to drawe the Iewes frō their follie, which after they had once forsaken the Lorde by rebellion, did thinke also by their policie to escape Gods appoynted [134] punishmēt. No no, woulde Ieremie say: it is to late, [264] and ye are to weake to fight agaynst the Lorde whose worke this is. When ye were Lordes within your selues, and had full libertie to honor your Lorde God, accordīge to the Lawes whiche he gaue vnto you, and whereby ye were assured to lyue without feare of all natiōs, you wolde not. And therefore shall you serue a strange kinge, strange lawes, and a strāge nation til you be wel corrected ād humbled: till you haue felt by experience what an inestimable cōfort it is to haue the liuinge Lorde to be your kinge ād gouernour. And therfor woulde Ierē. say, Serue Nabuchadnezer.

Seinge thē this is the appoynted plague of God for disobeyinge him and his Lawes, to serue strange kinges, and to be captiues, you are hereby warned ād taught, rather to turne with all spede to the liuinge Lorde, and to set vp his true religiō againe, that he may defend you: thē in proceedinge in your blasphemye for the cōmandement and feare of any creature, to hasten Gods wrath and Iudgements. The Israelites because they woulde not receaue the oft admonitiōs [135] of Gods Prophetes to feare the Lord, coulde not afterwarde escape his plagues, nor the feare of men: no more shal you (ô inhabiters of Englāde) without speedie repētance escape the Spaynishe plague of adoulerous Philippe whom the Lorde will make his sworde and maul to beate downe your townes and Cities, ād to deuoure the people therof. [265] For seinge you haue with the Israelites forsakē the swete ād plesant yoke of God and Christe his Sonne: you shal indure the importable yoke of this cruell and beastly nation.

But what, shall we obey then say you? Yes verely: but against your wills in captiuite and thraldom, as did the Israelites in Egypt and Babylon, to serue them with your bodyes and goodes. Seinge ye woulde departe with nothinge to serue our Maister and Sauour Christ, thinke you to escape this by obeyinge your wicked Rulers? By what other means haue you fallen into the handes of your enemies, but by this kinde of obedience onely? Whiche as you haue harde sufficiently proued, is in Gods sight plaine disobedience and rebellion. But you [136] will say: Ieremie willed the Iewes to serue Nabuchadnezer which was a wicked Prince, and then with out the feare of God, and therefore are we bownd to serue our Quene, thoghe she be an vngodly idolatres? [266] Ieremie speaketh but of bodely seruice, and such as subiectes owe to their superiours in Ciuile ordinaunces, and outwarde doinges, and not to defile their consciences in committing euill. For in suche thīges, both God and his Prophetes, and the examples of all the godly do forbid all obediēce. They were made subiectes to the kinge of Babylon to serue him with their bodies and goodes, as were his owne people: and also to paye tribute to him as did strangers, which he had likewise subdued. The which thing was for their punishment. And therefore of duetie they must patientlie beare them.

Thē in fewe wordes I answere, that althoghe it be moste lawfull with patience to beare the punishment of the Lorde for our synne, and not to repine or rebell agaynst it: yet is it our parte neuerthesse, and bownden duety, to defende and mayntayne the cause of God [137] with all our might: and to withstand all maner of aduersaries, euen to the losse of our goods and liues: being euer assured of this promesse of our Sauour and Maister, That he that loseth his liffe for his sake, shall finde it: [267] and he that loseth father or mother, frindes or goodes in his cause, shall be rewarded an hundreth folde in this worlde, and in the worlde to come with liffe euerlasting.

It is not then wisdome to repine at the rodde when it is layde vpon vs to beate vs, but to returne backe to our mercifull Father with vnfayned repentance, [268] calling for mercy before hande whiles he doth but menace vs. And therefore the threatning or counselle of Ieremie, is but an admonition for vs to obeye God in true religion whan we haue tyme: that therby we may escape the like plagues: ād no defēce at all for our vngodlie behaiour in yelding to the deuilishe decrees of anie vngodly Magistrates, what names or titles soeuer they beare. For this answere of the Apostles must euer more preuaile: God must be obeyed rather then man. And there is no obedience in euil that can [138] please the almightie.

Laste of all we haue to consider the sainge and doinge of the worthie seruante of God the kinge and Prophet Dauid, [269][270] who woulde not lift vp his hand agaynst kinge Saule, notwithstanding he sought to haue murthered Dauid, saīge: God forbid that I shoulde touche the anoynted of the Lorde: and why? Because he is the anoynted of the Lorde. If it be not lawfull thē to touche the kinge because he is the Lordes anoynted: it is likewise vnlawfull to disobey or resiste, for that he is the Lords anoynted.

[271] To whiche I answer, that to consider the bare wordes, it woulde seeme true as they say: but wayīge the cause, the matter is easie to answer. [272] The occasion wherfore Saul, hated Daud, was for that he knewe he should succeade him in his kingdome. As Saule him selfe doth confesse in the same Chapter, saynge: I knowe of a suertie that thou shalt reigne, and that the kingdom of Israell shal be establisshed in thy hande. [273] Swere to me therfore by the Lorde, that thou wylte not cut of my seed after me, nor destroye my name frome my fathers howse. This [139] beinge thē Dauds owne priuate cause, [274] it was not lawfull for him in that case to seke his owne reuengemēt: especially in murtheringe violently his anyoynted kinge, and the anyoynted of the Lorde. For it is not written of Saule, that he was an idolatrer or constrayned his people to worshippe strange Godes, nor yet was aboute to sel thē to the enemies of God the Philistines, against whom he foghte manfully and many tymes. Nether that he was an open oppressor and cōtemner of the Lawes of God, as are this day all the rulers in miserable England. And therfore Daud beinge but a priuate man, coulde haue done no violence to his kinge without Godes especial inspiratiō, [275] except in reuēginge his priuat cause he had vsurped Gods office and soght to haue established him self in his kingdome, not taryīge the Lords appoītmēt.

But where as the kinges or Rulers are become altogether blasphemers of God, and oppressors and murtherers of their subiectes, then oght they to be accōpted no more for kinges or lawfull Magistrats, but as priuate mē: and to be examined, accused, condemned and punished by the Lawe of God, wherunto [140] they are and oght to be subiect, and beinge conuicted and punished by that Lawe, it is not mās, but Gods doing: who as he dothe appoynte such Magistrates ouer his people by his Lawe, so doth he condemne aswel them as the people trāsgressing agaynste the Lawe. For with God ther is no respecte of persones, as here after folowith more largely.

Thus we see that althoghe Daud thought it not lawful in his priuate cause to touche Gods anyoynted, yet are no people or nation therby cōstrayned either ot obeye their anyoynted in vnlawful demandes, or els forbidden to withstand the open transgression of Gods Lawes and mans. For in that case Saules seruauantes would not obeye him, [276] commandinge them to murther Ahimelech and the rest of the Leuites ād Priestes: [277] so that not to withstand such rages of Princes in tyme according as the Lawe requireth (which commandeth that the euill be taken forth from amōgest you) is to geue them the bridle to all kynde of mischiffe, to subuerte all Lawes of God and man, to let will rule for reason, and therby to inflame Gods wrath [141] agaynst you, wholly, as your selues in Englande are this day an example to all natiōs and people that beare the Name of Christe.

These are the obiections for the moste parte, or at the least the chiefest, [278] which are comonly alleadged agaynst this veritie moste playne and euidente: that is that there is no obedience to be alowed agaynst God, which is not in his sight disobedience. Also that it is lawfull for all men according to their vocatiō to resiste to the vttermost of their power all such as are open enimies of God, and labour to make them slaues to Satan. These obiections as you playnly see, make nothing to the cōtrarie: but if they shall be depely considered, do rather strongly confirme the same. Therfore deare brethern, let no man feare to shewe him self Gods seruante openly, and to forsake in tyme the shamefull bōdage of Satan, to call back the trueth of Gods worde agayne, wherby ye were once in freedome both of consciēce and bodie: and vtterly to abolishe all vile papistrie the doctrine of deuils, and onely cause of all your calamitie, [142] both of bodie and soule.

CHAP. XI. ↩

It apperteyneth not onely to the Magistrates and al other inferior officers to see that their Princes be subiect to Gods Lawes, but to the comon people also: wherby the tyrannie of the Princes and rebellion of the subiects may be auoyded.



TO resiste euill and to mayntayne goodnesse, to honor God truely and to expel idolatrie, euery man will confesse to be a good and godly acte, ād cannot but highlie commende the workers therof, as men acceptable to God, and worthie members of a comon welthe: but when men cōsider the daungers and displeasures, which commonly happen to such, then is there great curtesie made who first shall take the enterprise in hand: and longe disputations made whither it be their duetie or no: and to what sortes of men it doth belong, as thogh any were exempted out of that nomber which do professe the Name of God. If the superior power be an idolatrer or a cruel tyrant suppressing true religion and murdering the Sainctes of [143] God (as Iesabel of England doth with all her rable of papistical Bishoppes, and shauelinges) who is so ignorant of God, or destitute of all humanitie or natural iudgment, that wil not aknowledge such a one to be vnworthie the societie of the godly and honest: muche lesse to haue the auctoritie and rule ouer great nations and whole kingdoms?

And not with out cause. For by the Ciuile Lawes, a foole or idiot borne, and so proued, shall lose his landes and inheritance wherunto he is borne, because he is not able to vse them a right: but especially oght in no case to be suffered to haue the regiment of a whole nation or kingdome. And it is moste certeyne that there is no such euil can come to any comon welth by fooles and idiots, as dothe by the rage and furie of vngodly Rulers, maynteyners of idolatrie ād tyrannie. For follie hath comonly ioyned with it simplicitie, [279] voyde of malice and easie to be ordered: but idolatrie and tyrānie resēbleth more the nature of wilde beastes, cruell beares, ād ragīg lyōs, thē the cōdicion of mā. For simplicitie, they are replenished with craftines, for loue, [144] they shew malice: and for patience, furious rage ād madnesse and beinge borne as it were a comō plague to all men, cannot once studie for the preseruation of a fewe.

This besides reason, experience teacheth all men to be moste true, that it were better to haue anie foole, thē such an vntamed beaste to be ouer thē. And that suche being altogether with out God, oght to haue no auctoritie ouer the people of God, who by his worde requireth the contrarie as is moste manifeste. And yet to punishe, and depose such a one according to the commandemēt of God, [280] there is none that thinketh it Lawfull: or at the least will confesse it to appertayne vnto them, either to do it them selues, or to see it done by others. As for the wicked counsellors, they are playne Gnatos and flatterers, [281] thinking their office to be applyed vnto their kīges and Quenes will, as thogh they had no charge of the whole Realme. And therefore will labour to cōpasse nothīge but that which their Princes lust after, or may at the least please them, not passing if the whole Realme do perishe, so [145] they maye obtayne their fauours. Suche, Achitophels deserue to haue Achitophels rewarde, for their deuilishē cōselle with out mercie. And as it is with them, so is it with the reste of all estates,

as before hath bene touched. Neuerthelesse, the matter is so euident vpon their partes, that all will cōfesse that it chiefly belōgeth to inferior Magistrats to see a redresse in such disorders: and they thē selues can not well deny it.

But as touching the comon and symple people, they thinke them selues vtterly discharged, whither their Prince be godlie or vngodlye, wise or foolish, [282] a preseruer of the comon welthe or ells a distroyer, all is one to them, they muste be obedient, because they are ignorant, and muste be led them selues, not meete to leade others. And because their doinges are counted tumultes and rebellion (except they be agreable to the commandmentes, decrees, and proceedinges of their superior powers and Magistrates, and shal in doing the contrary be as rebells punished) therfore of all others (say they) we haue least to do, yea nothing at all with the doinges of our [146] Rulers. Yf they rule well, we shall fare the better: if they be vngodly they haue the more to answeere for their vngodlynnesse. What haue we to do with their matters? Thus do all sortes of men from the highest to the louest slyppe their heades out of the collar: and as careles persones not passing which end goeth forwarde, geueth the brydle wholie to their Rulers till destruction remediles ouerflowe all.

To the intent therfore that this simplicitie, ignorāce, and subiection of the inferior people, do not altogether blynde them, and cause them (as hitherto it hath bene proued almost in all places and countries) to suffer them selues like brute beastes rather then reasonable creatures, to be led and drawen where so euer their Princes commandementes haue called: either to arme them selues agaynst Christ their Sauour in ouerthrowing the truthe of his Gospel to bringe in Antichriste and papistrie: or els to fyght agaynst their owne brethern the seruātes of God, to robbe them, expel them out of their one howses, possessions and countrie, to torment them and cruelly [147] put them to death: as thoghe the cōmandement of the Prince coulde make that lawfull, which God forbiddeth as detestable: [283] as thoghe they being made instruments to their Princes in executing vngodly tyrannie, shulde not be partakers likewise with thē of Gods vengeāce in the daye of his dreadfull visitatiō, whē nether their ignorāce can excuse, them, nether cōmandement of kinge or Prince defende thē, but they workinge wickednesse with their Rulers shall drinke of the same cup with them also.

To the intent (I saie) that they shulde be no more so blynded, nor runne headlonge (as they do) to their owne destruction: I haue thoght good moreouer and besides that which hitherto hath bene spoken in general (wherof notwithstanding they might also gather what belongeth to them in their condicion and estate) to sneue vnto them more especially what may be demanded of comon people by Gods worde, and what the people also may lawfully deny to do by the same worde of God. Which as it oght to be permitted and preached to all men in general: so [148] shulde it be the comon and onely rule wherby to frame and ordre all mens liues and doinges.

And to auoyde all incomodities that are accustomed to happen in all comon welthes, [284] as wel vpon the Magistrats parte as of the people, there are two extremities: wherof bothe muste be warned. The first is, that the Magistrates permit not to their subiectes ouermuche libertie, least therby they fall in to contempte and subiection of their people: wherof folowethe for the moste parte, all kynde of dissolutnesse, ād carnall libertie, subuertio of all good Lawes and ordres, alteracion of common welthes and policie, contempt of God and man: and to be shorte, all thinges turned to disorder and confusion. The seconde apparteyneth on the other parte, to the people, [285] which oght not to suffer all power and libertie to be taken from them, and therby to become brute beastes, with out iudgmente and reason, thinking all thinges lawfull, which their Rulers do with out exceptiō, commāde them, be they neuer so farre from reason or godlynnesse: as thoghe they [149] were not reasonable creatures, but brute beastes: as thoghe there were no difference betwixt bonde slaues, and free subiectes: and as thoghe they had no portiō or right at all in the couētrie where they inhabite: but as they were altogether created of God to serue their kinges and gouernors like

slaues, and not their kings & gouernors appoynted of God to preserue his people, wher of they are but a portion and members, albeit they occupie the cheif roume ād office, not to bringe the rest of the members in cōtempte and bondage, but to comforte them, defende them, and norishe them as members of the same bodie.

And as the people may be assured by Gods worde that this libertie apparteyneth to them, which becommeth members of one bodie and brethern, [286] because the Lorde God him self (from whom kinges haue their auctoritie and power) calleth their subiectes and people their brethern, charging them in no case to lift them selues aboue them, but as brethern to rule in all humblenesse and loue ouer them: euenso, the people, if they suffer this right to be taken from them, [150] which God of his singuler fauour hath graunted then are they an occasiō that their kīges and Rulers are turned to tyrantes, [287] and cruel oppressors, according as Samuel promised the people of Israel shulde come vpon them, insomuche as they had refused his gouernement, who ruled ouer them, in all iustice, and humblenesse, and in such sorte as no man coulde charge him with any crime. And therefore the Scriptures pronounce that they reiected not Samuel, but God him self ī whose feare he ruled. This (saith Samuel) shal be the Lawe of the kīge, which shall rule ouer you. Your childrē shall he take to serue in his chariot, and to be his horse men, [288] and they shall runne before his chariot, and he shall constitute also Captayns of a thousand, and of fiue hundreth, and others to till his grownde, and to gather his harueste, to make weapons for warre, and harnessse for his chariots. Moreouer, he shall take your daughters to make his anoyntmēt, to serue his kitchin, and to be his clothiers: besides this he shall take your fyeldes and your vineyardes, your beste orchardes of oliues and geue to his seruaunts, and of your corne and vines [151] shall he take the tenthes, and geue them to his Eunuches, and seruauntes: your seruauntes also and maydes and the chif of your youthe and your asses, shall he take to do his worke. And of your cattell shall he take the tenth, and you shall become his seruauntes: and you shall crye out that day in the sight of your kinge whom you haue chosen, and the Lorde God will not heare you that day: and why? Bycause they had rather haue a kinge and Ruler of their owne appoyntment, then of the Lordes.

Wherfore to auoyde the daungers vpon both partes, [289] it is more then necessarie that bothe be subiecte to that Rule, and with all diligent care, labour to reteyne it, wherby both maye learne their duetie, and be constrayned iustly to execute the same. For when the comon people and subiectes haue so large libertie by the negligence of their Rulers, that customes and vnlawful vsages shall be preferred to Gods Lawes, and statutes, and that to maynteyne the same customes, they care nothing if all other good Lawes, either of God or man, do perishe: how is it possible [152] without daungerous tumultes, and rebellion, to brynge them to any good ordre and reformation, except there be some comon, and approued Lawe, which verie nature, and the feare of God will teach them to reuerence, and obeye? As for example: amongs other customes which mayntayne idlenes, and serue the greedy appetite of the bellie (which all men are loth to forgo) how harde a thinge were it to bryng them frome their Sanctes dayes? [290] The abolishment wherof, godly king Edwarde in his tyme coulde not bryng to passe. So great was the number of Papistes in the Parlament house, which maīteyned those superstitionouse dayes, some bearīg the name of mē, ād some of womē, ascrybig that to the creatures of God, which apparteyneth to him alone, for as muche as euery day is the Lordes worke, and oght to serue to his honour onely. They haue nowe in tyme of papistrie, dayes of Peter and Paule, Marie, [291] and Iohn, withe the reste of the Apostles: they haue Georges daye, and katherines, Dunstans day the coniuurer, and Loye the smithe, with innumerable others, which maynteyne the idlenesse [153] of them and of their seruaunts contrarie to the ordinaunce of God, [292] appoynting six dayes for their trauell, and the seuenth daye onely to reste, and that to the honoring of our Lorde God.

Also by what means may the people be drawn from the dayes of riote and bancketing, which they terme frindly feasting and goodfelloweshipp: as from Whitsontides dronkennes and surfet, Midsōmers shewes and vanities, [293] Christmas riote and bawdry, Shroftetwesdayes glottony, and Lents superstitious obseruations, excepte by some Lawe of greater importance, the rude people be otherwise perswaded? And what other Lawes are there able to bringe this to passe besides the Lawes of God? Wherin if they be not instructed, it is impossible for any auctoritie or power to withholdē them, with out great daunger and tumultes from such kinde of disorders and vnlawfull customes.

Therefore if thou be a Ruler and couete to haue the people obedient to thee in Gods feare, [294] this muste be thy first and principall studie to, procure [154] that they may truely know God by the playne and diligent preaching of his worde, wher̄ if they be well instructed, there is no custome so longe continued, no idlenesse so longe vsed, no supersticion so deeply rooted, which they will not gladly and peaceably for go at thy commandement: yea, there is nothing which is euill, that they can for shame stande in: nor any good and lawfull demande, that they will deny thee. By these means onely shalt thou obtayne honour, maintayne thy right, winne the hartes of thy people, and haue them all obedient.

And as the Magistrates by this means, are sure to finde obedience, and escape all rebellion, tumultes and disorders amonges their subiectes: euenso is there no other rule for the subiectes to escape the idolatrie, tyrannie, and oppression of their superiors, then in reteyning (as their chief possession) the self same Lawe and worde of God. Permitting rather all thinges wordlie to be taken from them, as landes, goodes, house, cōtrie, father, mother, wiffe, children, yea liffe it self, then to be depriued [155] by any means of that heauenly treasure and precious perle, [295] for the which they must sell althinges. Wherof to be fullie perswaded, it is necessary to vnderstande what maner of people you are.

Yf you be the people of God, and vnfayned Christians, then muste ye also knowe that the Lawe of God, [296] and Christe your Sauour, doth appertayne vnto you: wherin, as without shame ād condemnation ye may not be ignorāt: euenso no power, commandment, or threatninges, shulde cause you to departe from it, wherin onely standethe that comforte and saluation, which no creature can restore agayne vnto you.

The heathen which knewe not God a right, but were idolatrs, yet made their religiō to haue the highest place in their comon welthes: as Aristotle writeth in his Politiques. In the name wherof they might demande any thinge of their kinges and Rulers, and they durst not denye them: and might also with out offence deny all thinges which their Rulers demanded contrarie to their religion. In so muche as this [156] prouerbe was comon amongst all, *Vsque ad Aras*: meaning that agaynst their religion (as they were perswaded) they were bownde to no persone: father, mother, frende, or gouernour: their loue ād obedience towardes thē coulede stretch no further then to the Altars, that is, so farre as with obseruing their religion, they might lawfullye performe.

Yf the Gentills then had their religion in such honour and reuerence that agaynst it (thoghe in dede it was meere superstition and idolatrie) they woulde acknowledge no obedience: in what estimation shulde Gods worde and the religion of our Sauour Iesus Christe be amongst vs that professe his Name, and are assured of his doctrine to be the vndouted trueth and power of God to saluacion of all beleuers? [297] Yf the heathen kinges and Magistrates coulede cōpell their subiectes no farther then the Alters: shall any auctoritie or power compell vs farther then God, and his anoynted our chief kinge, Lorde ād Maister? Let it be counted shame to vs, that the ignorant Gentils shuld be founde more carefull and zelous in defending [157] their superstition and manifeste idolatrie, then we are in mayntayning the true worship of God and his heauenly wisdome.

Yf we were Turkes, Sarasins, Iewes or papistes, which either knewe not God a right, or els denied his Sonne Iesus: it were no great maruell if we were led after the lustes of our vngodly Princes. For as our Maister teacheth, When the blynde leadeth the blynde, [298] bothe fall in to the ditch. But if we will be taken for the people of God and his sonnes by adoption in Christ Iesus, then it behoueth vs likewise to geue obediēce, principally to our Lorde and Maister, to our mightie God and moste louinge Father, as Malachi the Prophet exhortheth. [299] The sonne reuerenceth the father, and the seruaūt the maister: yf I be your Father (saith the Lorde) where is the honor that you geue me? Yf I be your Lorde and Maister where is my feare? Notinge vnto vs how it is in wayne to call him Father or Lorde, so long as we geue him not that honour and reuerence which he demandeth.

Also, if we will not be taken for [158] blynde and ignorante persones, then must we shewe forth this light by walking as becomethe the childrē of light, [300] as the Apostle requirethe indifferently of all Gods children with out exceptiō, or excuse either of guide or Ruler. For the blyndnesse of our guide, whither he be of the Cleargie or Laytie may be no excuse to vs, if in folowing him we fall and perishe: it is our owne faute, and we must beare our owne iudgment. For Christe hereof admonisheth vs: [301] Let thē a lone (saiethe he) for they are blind guides, and leaders of the blynd. And agayne, [302] accordinge to their workes, see ye do not.

Yf thou hauynge sight, had appoynted to thee a blynde guide, wouldest thou folowe him into a daungerouse pit or deepe water, wherin both might perishe because he was thy guide? Then truely mightest thou be iudged of all men worse then either oxe or asse, or any other vnreasonable beaste, whiche will not be driuē in such places, as to their outwarde sēsē appeare daūgerous.

Nature onely teacheth all creatures this, to flie from those daungers that [159] shulde hurte them: and to desier all thinges that do them good. [303] And when God hath made this comon to all beastes, ād inferior creatures, paynefully to seeke their preseruatiō: hathe he denied the same to man, whome aboue all others he will haue preserued? [304] For whose preseruatiō chieflie he hath not onely created all thīges and prescribed his Lawes and commandements to prohibet murther, and euery other thinge tendinge to his destruction: but also to shewe the abundance of his mercies, spared not his dearelye belouid Sonne, but gaue him to the cruell death of the Crosse, that man might haue full saluation, not onely here in this world, but euerlastingly in the worlde to come.

Wherfore, if he tender vs so muche, as to seeke by all meās possible our liffe and preseruatiō, then must it likewise followe, that he hath constitute no lawes, or ordinances to our destruction, so longe as we shall be founde obedient vnto them. Then is there no power that ruleth accordinge to these lawes, which either can or will cōmande vs anie thīge, tēdinge to our destructiō. But if anie [160] so do by Gods permission because of our synnes, [305] ād rebellion towardes him (for which cause onelie he suffreth wicked Princes to be our Gouvernours) it is (deare brethren) to drawe vs to repentaunce, and knowledge of our synnes, and not that we shulde forsake the Lawes of our God, and to contynue in our wonted rebellion, by yelding to the vngodlie commandments of wicked men.

CHAP. XII. ↩

¶How muche the comon people owe to God for his benefits receaued, what obedience he requirethe, how farre they are charged, what thinges they haue promised, and how ignoraunce maye not excuse them.



ALL these thinges being well considered, it is an easie matter for all maner of subiectes to knowe what libertie belongeth vnto them, by the worde of God, whiche they maye lawfullie clayme, as their owne possessiō, and are likewise bounde at all tymes to practise: wherin also appeareth what thinges are prohibited vnto them, whiche [161] they maye in no case exercise. Yf you therfore be Gods subiectes and people, and he your Lorde God and louinge Father, who is aboue all powers ād Princes, ād hath made no Lawes, but such as are for your preseruacion, and singuler comfote: then without all controuersie there maye be nothinge lawfull for you by anie commandment of man, whiche your Lorde God in anie case forbiddeth: and nothinge vnlawfull or forbidden to you whiche he commandeth, whither it appartayne to the firste Table or the Seconde. [306] Which rule if ye obserue, you maye be assured to please God: like as by doinge the contrarie, ye shall purchase his heauie wrathe and indignation. For no mā can serue two Maisters at once: but he shall hate the one, ād loue the other. [307] And in hatinge your firste and chief Lorde to obeye and please man, beholde your impietie is intolerable, prefarringe vile mā his creature, to the Almightye God and creator of all.

How muche we are bownde to his Maiestie, our owne conscience doth beare vs witnesse: whiche can not deny but [162] that we haue receauid of him alone our liffe mouing and being, our wisdomē strēgthe, bewtie, riches, childrē, ād all thīges that are good ād profitable, in whose power we may do all thīges, [308] ād with out hī all fleshe is turned to dust ād powder.

[309] Remember the example of the worthie Captayne and Prince Moyses, whō God chose to delyuer his people from Egypt, who woulde not charge thē with anie thinge at any tyme whiche the Lorde his God had not commanded, euermore speakinge on this wise, These are the statutes and preceptes of the Lorde: Thus sayth the Lorde: [310] and, Heare ô Israel the voyce of the Lord, &c. In so muche, as he had this for his onlie shilde agaynst the murmuring people: It is not agaynst Aaron and me that ye murmure but against the Lorde: which beīg chosen and appoynted of the Lorde, did onely execute his will and commandementes. Yea, as for them selues they cōfessed that they were nothinge. As for vs (sayde Moyses) what are we? meaninge but earth ād ashes, the creaturs of God, nothinge differinge from others, sauing for that auctoritie, wherunto they were [163] called, ād the obediēce which they shewed in executiōge not their owne willes, but the will and pleasure of God. [311] And why? but because they knew they were the people of God with whō they were charged, and beinge his people, [312] how it behoueth them to be ruled by no other Lawes and ordinancees, then by such as God had geuen them.

Wherfore if Moyses and Aaron, Gods electe and chosen seruants had no more power ouer the people then his expresse comandement permit, and that the people so far and no farther were bownd to obeye them: how can we assure our selues that we offende not Gods Maiestie, whose people we woulde be called, whē without his worde, yea cōtrary to his expresse cōmandemēt we satisfie the requestes and statutes of vngodly rulers?

For as Moyses coulde cōmande nothīge but frō the mouthe of the Lorde: so coulde the people obey nothing but that whiche proceeded from his mouthe also: aswell because they were his people, as for that they had (opromised with one voyce and consent before God ād Moyses, whē the Lorde commanded [164] him to say on this wise to the people. You haue seene what I haue done to the Egyptians, and how I haue caried you vpon the winges of Egels, and led you forthe to me. Yf therefore ye will diligētlye heare my voice, and obserue my cōmandement, you shalbe my propre people before all nations: For myne is the earthe. And you shalbe vnto me a kyngely Priesthod, and an holy people. Whiche wordes when Moses had pronounced before the whole people, they all to gether with one accord, [313] āswered: Whatsoeuer the Lorde shall speake, that will we do. And Moyses praised them (or God rather by moyses) sainge, They did well in so answering. [314] And therefore promised to rayse them vp a Prophet like to him, &c. And this was the couenant onlye that God made with them before he gaue them the Lawe in wrytinge, and the promes that they made to obserue the same Lawe, that they might therby be his deare and chosen people.

This example ought neuer to departe from the eyes of all such as are, or woulde be Gods people. Wherin as [165] in a most clere glasse it dothe appeare how they are bownd to God, what God requireth of them, and what they haue promised to him. For as the Lorde God required nothinge of the Israelits, but that whiche was their duetie to do, and he by his exceadinge benefits in delyueringe them from their enemies had well deserued: euen so he byndeth thē to nothinge, but to obeye him. Nether did they promisse anie farther, saynge: We will do all thinges (not what Moyses or Aaron or anie other after them shall of them selues commande) but whatsoeuer our Lorde God shall speake, that will we do. More then this God required not, nether were they bownde any farther but to the Lawes of God onely, whiche they promised for them and their posteritie to obserue. [315] And God for that cause blessed them aboute all nations, with his vnspeakable benefits.

So are we no lesse bownde to obeye the self same God of Israel, whom we also professe in Christe Iesu our Moyses and Captayne, by whom we are not onely delyuered from bodely seruitude, [166] but from the moste vile and dangerous bondage of Satan through synne our spirituall enemy. To this worthiest delyuerer also haue we in Baptisme promised no lese, yea, muche more obedience: because of the more abundance of graces, which by him we haue receaued. And besides this are moste straightly charged so to do. Not by the voyce of anie earthly creature, but by the mouth of God the Father speakinge frō the heauens: This is my dearely beloued Sonne, [316] in whom I am delited, heare him: whose fidelitie also no lesse passed the faithfullnesse of Moyses, then did his honor and dignitie beinge the Sonne of God, and promysed Sauour, doing nothing at all, nor teaching any thing which his heuently Father had not appoynted him to do and to teache.

Wherfore, as the Iewes had the Lawe of God and his commandementes for a sufficient discharge agaynst all contrarie commandementes, of what auctoritie so euer they were, being no farther bownde to any creature thē the self same Lawes of God approued: euenso, all such as beare the Name of Christ and woulde be taken for the people of God, [167] thoghe they be of the basest ād loweste state of subiectes, [317] are no farther bownd to any Prince or superior power, nor to their commandementes, then the cōmandement of the chief kinge ād Lorde doth approue ād permitte, nor then their promesse agayne to him doth require.

Nether may it be a sufficiēt discharge for thee to alleadge ignorāce, because thou art a subiecte, and therefore hast nothing to do, to inquire of the doinges or to examyne the commandementes of thy superiors or Rulers, [318] but wilt say with the multitude, If they commāde well thou art obedient, if otherwise thou art excused in doing as thou art cōmanded, and they onely haue to answer to God by whō thou art thus charged. Desceauē not thy self (deare brother) For aswell art thou charged by Gods worde to knowe what they commande thee, and not to do it except it be lawfull, [319] as they are charged by their office to will nothīg of thee, which Gods worde approueth not. For as they in commanding ād doing euill, shall not escape Gods heauy wraethe and iudgmētes: no more shalt thou, being made an instrument of [168] their impietie and vngodlynesse. Therefore to be ignorant in these thinges, although thou be a subiecte, is to contemne the commandement of God, and to neglecte thine owne saluation: for as muche as God hath charged thee beinge one of his people, with the same Lawes (the Ceremonies except) wherwithe he charged his people Israel before, and willith thee no lesse to knowe his preceptes, and to obeye them, then he willed the Isralites. [320] Of them he required to haue his Lawes wrytē vpon their dores and postes, to instructe their children in the same, to talke of them sitting at home, and when they walked in the waye, when they went to bed, and whē they shuld rise. [321] But to thee besides all this, God hath sent a more shining light, our Sauour Iesus Christe: which euery man may clerely beholde, excepte he be wilfully blynde with the stubberne Iewes. He is the light that shinethe in darknesse, and lightneth euery man that commeth in to this worlde. He hathe taken away the shaddoues ād Ceremōies of the Lawe, that thou mayst clerely beholde the will of his Father. [169] He hath vncouered Moyses face, [322] to the-intent thou mayst fully consider the secrets of God. For these are the dayes wherof the Prophet Ioel spake, [323] when all shulde be Prophets, and see visiōs. And it shal come to passe in the latter dayes (saith God) that I wil powre furth my Spirite vpō all fleshe, ād your sonnes ād daughters shall prophecie, your younge men shall see visions, and your auntients shall dreame dreames. And moreouer vpon my seruantes and handmaydes in those dayes, will I powre my Spirite, and they shall prophecie. [324] Which prophecie. S. Peter affirmeth to be fulfilled in the kingdome of Christe, where all thinges are as playne and euidēt to all sortes of men and women, which professe Christe vnfaynedly, as before his tyme they were to the Prophets them selues, or to such as God appeared vnto in dreames or visions.

And therefore, if ignorance of Gods Lawes coule not excuse the Iewes before Christes commyng, which were contynually subiecte to the punishment of God for their transgressions (thoghe many thinges were obscure as in shadowes [170] and figures: how muche lesse cā it excuse any mā now in so great lyght of the Gospel? Seing then thou knowest thy self bownd to obeye thy Lorde God aboue all others, because of the inestimable benefits thou hast receaued of him in Christe Iesus, and because he requireth the same of thee, and thou hast also promised no lesse to him in thy baptisme and profession: and last of all in that thou canest not pretende ignorance in such knowledge, and shyninge brightnesse, nor yet escape Gods vengeance, which he with out respecte of persones wil powre indifferently vpon all transgressors, be they superior powers, or inferior subiectes. It is thy parte then, beīg a subiecte, to learne this lesson of the Apostles (whē so euer thou shuldest be constrayned, [325] by commandement or force of tyrantes to do euill) That God must be obeyed before man. Which vnto thee will be as sufficiēt a defence and buckler in all assaultes and daungers, as it is to all other sortes of men in auctoritie and office: as was before declared.

Art thou then, being a subiecte commaūded to worshipp stockes and stones [171] which this day to our shame are erected agayne in Englande? [326] Beholde thou hast Gods commandement for thy defence: Thou shalt commit no idolatrie, nor make to thy self any grauen image &c. [327] Art thou charged to be at the idolatrous Masse, wherin Christe thy Lorde is blasphemed? Beholde, [328] he hath geuen thee an other charge: that is, to celebrate his Supper, according as he left in example, sayng: Do you this, that is, which ye se me do,

ād not which the powers of the worlde, or the pestilēt papistes commande. Also do it (saith Christe) in remembrance of me, [329] and not of your frindes alyue or departed, as teache the Papistes. For none of thē died for you. More ouer do it to shewe forth the death of Christe, til his coming, as witnesseth the Apostle: and not to make a new sacrifice for synne, as the Papists blasphemously both teache and preache. [330] Art thou commanded by men to dishonour the Sabbath day in worshipping of Sainctes and abstayning vpon their dayes and euens from thy lawfull busines? Beholde, God thy Lorde chargeth thee no further then onely with his daye of reste, saying: [172] See thou keepe holie the Sabbath of the Lorde thy God: and not of Peter, Paule, Marie, [331] Iames or Iohn. Art thou commāded to sweare in the name of Marie and all the Sainctes in heauen? (which is the papistical othe) Beholde, the Lorde saithe, Thow shalt onely sweare in the Name of thy Lorde and God. Art thou commanded not onely to take the Name of the Lorde in vayne, but also to forswere thy self moste shamefully agaynst Gods glorious Maiestie, and the honor of our Sauour Christe? (as all they haue done which lately haue sworne to acknowledge Antichriste the bloody butcher of Rome to be their head and gouernour) Beholde, The Lorde will not suffer his house vnpunished that taketh his Name in vayne: muche lesse such periured and forsworn wretches. Art thou commanded to persecute thy parentes and frendes, charged not to succour them in their necessitie, because they professe the doctrine of saluation? Art thow forbidden lawfull mariage, because thou art a minister of Gods worde, and permitted to lyue in all kinde of filthie vnclennesse, as do the Sodomiticall Priestes, [173] Mōkes, Freers, Nōnes, Cardinales, Deanes, Archdeacons, and all other other orders of Satan: [332] beholde such dothe the Lorde God as most abominable of all other, cōmāde to be put to death.

To be shorte, when they contrarie to their othe and profession, commande thee to receue Antichriste, the beastlie Bishoppe of Rome, with all his filthie dregges of damnation: [333] to burne the worde of God and the faithfull interpreters and professors of the same: to forgo the comfortable preaching of the Gospel, and reading of the Scriptures: to persecute Christe in his mēbers: to ayde the enimies with thy goods and bodie agaynst the deare childrē of God: to fight in other countries with out any iuste cause or occasion, and to suffer thy wiffe, children, kinsfolkes and cuntryemen to be moste cruelly spoyled, [334] oppressed and murthered for want of thy defence at home (as they most shamfully haue done of late, which at the cōmandement of that cruell tyrāt, [335] prepared them selues to fight agaynst the Frēche kinge, and their owne brethern the Skottes, whiles the Spaniards put [174] them selues in a redinesse to entre the Realme and make a generall spoyle and pray of all.

These thinges and many such like are playnly forbidden you by the manifest worde of God: and therefore to do them for feare or pleasure of anie Prince or power, is playne disobedience and rebellion agaynst the Almightye. And contrarie wise, to answeere in this case, and to do as the Apostles haue taught, that is, to obeye God rather then man, is the onely waye to discharge your cōsciencs, to do your duties, and to please God: no more to be made by ignorance the instrumentes of his sworn enimies (what title so euer they beare) to subuerte Gods glorie, oppresse your brethern, and distroye your countrie: but repenting your former ignorance and impietie, to be made instrumentes of the contrarie to the vttermost of your power, least you be taken in your synne, and preuented with the bitter cup of Gods indignatiō, already prepared for the workers of iniquitie, and all such, as are ayeders, and partakers with them, when nether power can defend the superiors, nor their commandmentes, [175] excuse the subiectes.

CHAP. XIII. ↩

The redinesse of the people to defende idolatrie, superstition, and earthly commodities: and their slouthfulnesse in maynteyning the cōtrarie. How they are charged to see the Lawes of God kept, and the transgression of the same punished, if their rulers do neglecte them. And that they may lawfully punish their Magistrates as priuate persones transgressing the Lordes precepts.



BVt what remedie? (saye you) we being but subiectes with out power, ād wisdome cannot helpe it. The more pyttie deare Countriemen, [336] that you haue so stoutly or rather stubbernelly shewed your willes and power in the dayes of Godly kynge Edwarde the VI. your late Prince and gouernour, and the zelous seruant of God: who soght to rule you in Gods feare, ād vnder whom you had the confortable worde of God, ād were deliuered from the Romishe Antichrist, and from all superstition, for the most parte, hauing your Realme free from strangers, and quiete from all enimies, enjoying your goods and freinds in peace with out all force. [176] imprisōning, reuilg, banishing, or murdering) It is to be lamented (I saye) that then receauing all these blessinges of God, by the means of so worthie a Prince, ye were able to conspire, rise and rebell with the daunger of bodies, goods and soules, agaynst your godlie and lawfull kinge: and that chiefly to defende the deuilische Masse, and all the puddels of poperie with the Caterpillers and rable of all vncleane spirites, as Cardinalls, [337] Bishopps, Priestes, Monkes, Freers, Nonnes &c. And now in these matters wherin consisteth the glorie of God, the preseruacion of your owne liues, and defence of your cuntrye you are without all will, power and helpe.

To restore Antichrist agayne, whom ons God had banished to all your confortes, [338] you were not ashamed to terme it obedience, and to counte your selues therein no rebels, but lawfull resisters: but to defende Christe and his confortable Gospell (which then you had in possession) that are you persuaded to be open rebellion. To arme your selues agaynst your superiors, to defend your [177] cōmons and earthly commodities with holden from you, by the greedy desier of new vpstarte gentlemen, how willing and redie haue you shewed your selues? [339] But to holde and reteyne your spiritual possession not promised onely, but geuen in to your handes, you are moste slowe without all hope and courage. Shall not this be to your iuste condemnation? When God calleth you to a rekening, what cā you haue to answeere? Are ye any better then the Gergezites, [340] which desiered Christe to departe from them because they loste their hogges and swyne? yea, ye are worse then they were by muche, because ye haue professed Christe ād receaued him and his doctrine, and with him vnspeakable benefytes and treasures. And yet notwithstanding haue not onely desiered him to departe from amongst you as they did: but layde violent handes vpon him, persecuting him with sword, banishmēt, fire, and cruell death, as thogh he had bene your mortal enemy. O ingratitude intolerable! Christe your mercifull Lorde (who destroyed nothinge of yours, but preserued and increased, euen your [178] swine & hogges, & all other beastes ād cattell in great abūdance) you haue despiced and vtterly denied, to haue Antichriste to be your Lorde ād gouernour, ād with hī all filthie swine, wilde beares, wolues, bores, tygers, and lyons to deuoure, destroye, ād ouerthrowe all thinges: not your fieldes ād pastures onely: but villages,

Townes, Cities, and Castels, yea your selues, your wyues, and children, and what so euer you counte moste precious.

Wel, the day of the Lorde will come, when you shal fele what it is to fight for your Masse, and to betraye the Gospell, to rise and rebell agaynste your lawfull Prīce, ād to obeye ād defende a bastarde, and opē enemie to God, an vtter destruction of the whole realme: to murther and banishe your naturall cōntriēmē ād louing brethern, to honor ād receaue strangers Gods expresse aduersaries: a cruell people, a prowde nation: a people of a farre and of a strange langage, [341] whose tōgue ye shall not vnderstāde, an impudēt natiō, ād hard harted people, with out all pitie and mercie, which nether will be moued with the lamētable voyce of the mothers, nor shewe [179] anie compassion for the pittifull crye of their sucklinges and infantes. And whi? because ye haue chosē to obeye vile man, yea a raginge and madd womā, [342] rather then the almightie and mercifull God. Repent, repent, ô ye people of England, for your destruction is at hande. Forsake with spede the vnlawfull obediēce of fleshe and bloude, ād learne to geue honor ī tyme to the liuīg Lorde, that he maye staye his hāde, ād drawe to him agayne his stretched out arme, that you may fynde mercie, and that the bothom of your cupp be not turned vpwarde.

Alas saye you, what is this we heare? Be not the people, of them selues as she epe without a pastor? [343] If the Magistrates and other officiers cōtemne their duetie in defending Gods glorie and the Lawes cōmitted to their charge, lieth it in our power to remedie it? Shall we that are subiectes take the sworde in our hādes? It is in dede as you say, a great discouraging to the people whē they are not stirred vp to godlynesse by the good exāple of all sortes of Superiors, Magistrates ād officers in the faithefull executīg of their office: ād so muche more whē they [180] are not defended by them in their right and title, as wel concerning religion, as the freedome of their naturall cōtrie: but moste of all when they, which shuld be ther guydes ād Capitayns, are become instrumētes to inforce them to wicked impietie. Neuertheles, all this can be no excuse for you, seing, that euil doinges of others, whether they be Lordes, Dukes, Barōs, knights or any inferior officers, may not excuse you in euil. And thoghe you had no man of power vpon your parte: [344] yet, it is a sufficient assurance for you, to haue the warrāt of Godds worde vpon your side, and God him self to be your Capitayne who willet not onely the Magistrates ād officers to roote out euil from amongst them, beit, idolatrie, blasphemie or open iniurie, but the whole multitude are therwith charged also, to whō a portiō of the sworde of iustice is cōmitted, to execute the iudgements which the Magistrates lawfully commande. And therfore if the Magistrates would whollye despise and betraye the iustice and Lawes of God, you which are subiectes with them shall be condemned except [181] you mayntayne and defend the same Lawes agaynst them, ād all others to the vttermoste of your powers, that is, with all your strēgth, with all your harte and with all your soule, for this hath God required of you, [345] ād this haue you promised vnto him not vnder cōdition (if the Rulers will) but without all exceptiōs to do what so euer your Lorde and God shall commande you.

As touching idolatrie, [346] it is worthie to be considered what Moyses wrytethe, or rather the Spirite of God by hī, how the Lorde in that place chargeth the whole people to stone to death without mercy the false Prophet or dreamer, when anie shulde rise vp amongst thē, yea thoghe the thinges came to passe which he before spake, if that therby he soght to perswade thē or drawe thē to idolatrie. And also howe he suffred such amōgest his people to try ād proue thē, whether they woulde loue him with all their harte and with all their soule, meanīg (as euery mā may well perceauē) that if they shulde yelde for all their signes ād wonders to idolatrie, ād not punishe such false Prophetes and dreamers as [182] God had raysed vp: that thē they loued him not, yea that they had playnly forsaken and denied him, for that he commanded expreslye that euerie such Prophet shuld be put to death, and therfore chargeth to take the euill frō amongst them. Which commandemēt as it is not

geuen onely to the Rulers and Gouvernours (thoghe I confesse it chieflie apperteyneth to their office to see it executed, for which cause they are made Rulers) but also is comon to all the people, who are likewise bownde to the obseruation of the same: euenso is the punishment appoynted of God, belonging to all maner of persons without exception, being found transgressors. For the Lorde is a iust punisher, [347] with whom there is no respecte of persons, who willeth his people to be like him in their iudgemētes. In iudgemēte (saiethe the Lorde) comitte no vnrighteousnes, nether respect the face of the poore, nether be you afrayde at the cōtenaūce of the mightie, but iudge vprightly to your neighbour.

[348] Moreouer that euery persone both high and lowe is charged of God with this Lawe, and none freedde from the punishmēt, it is euident in the same Chapter [183] folowing: Where God doth not permit somuche as priuie whispering in thy eare, tending to idolatrie, vnpunished, no not of thy dearest frende or kinsmā, sayng: Yf thine owne naturall brother, [349] sonne, daughter, or the wyffe of thine owne bosome, or thy neighbour whom thou loueste as thine owne liffe, secretly prouoke thee to idolatrie, to serue strāge Gods, either farre or neare, geue not place to him, nether heare him, nether let thine eye haue pitie vpō hī, nether shalt thou pardō him, or hide him, but shalt vtterly sley hī: thy hande shall first be vpon such a one to kill him, and then the handes of all the people &c.

The like commandement is also geuen in the 17. and 18. Chap. of the same boke, charging all the people of God in generall, to see idolatrie punished without mercie, and that in all persones. Wherefore we may moste certaynely conclude, that if the Rulers and Magistrates in this case, woulde not execute the Lawes of God where with they are so straightly charged, that then the people are not discharged, excepte they put it in execution to take [184] the euil from amongst them, to whom it also belongeth. Next, that no persone is exempted by any Lawe of God from this punishment, be he kinge, Quene or Emperour, that is, either openly or priuely knowne to be an idolatrer be he neuer so neare or deare vnto vs, he must dye the death. For God hath not placed them aboue others to transgresse his Lawes as they liste, [350] but to be subiecte vnto them as well as others, ouer whom they gouerne. And if they be subiecte vnto his Lawes, they muste be subiect to the punishment also, when they be fownd disobedient transgressors: yea, so muche the more as their example is more daungerous. For looke what wickednesse reigneth in the Magistrates, the subiectes comonly take encouragement therby to imitate the same, [351] as we see in the examples of Ieroboam. Achab and wicked Manasses, who being suffred in the beginninge to commit idolatrie, and to erecte idoles, made the same likewise lafull to all their subiectes. [352] For the same cause God commāded Moyses to hāge vp all the capitaynes and heads of the people, for that by their example they made the people idolatrer also: he [185] had no respect to their auctoritie, because they were Rulers, but so muche the rather woulde he haue them so sharplie punished, that is, hanged agaynst the sunne without mercy: which iudgement, thoghe it was done at Gods commandment firste, and after at Moyses, yet were the people executors of the same, and all did vnderstand that it was iuste: and not for that tyme onely, but to be a perpetuall example for euer, ād a sure admonition of their duetie in the like defectiō from God, to hāge vp such Rulers as shulde drawe them frō him.

And thoghe it appeare at the firste sight a great disordre, that the people shulde take vnto them the punishment of transgression, yet, when the Magistrates and other officers cease to do their duetie, they are as it were, without officers, yea, worse then if they had none at all, and then God geueth the sworde in to the peoples hande, and he him self is become immediatly their head (Yf they will seeke the accomplishment of his Lawes) and hath promised to defende them and blesse them. [353]

And although the rebellion of the [186] people, their ingratitude and contempte of Godes Lawes hath bene such at all tymes, that it is a rare thinge to shewe their duetie in this behalf, by anye exāple: [354] yet is there one facte of the Isralites worthie memorie, ād appertaynīg,

to this purpose, whiche is written in the booke of the Iudges, at what tyme they had no lawfull Magistrate in all Israell. Who notwithstandinge rose vp whollie together agaynst the Tribe of Beniamī in Gabaa (because of that shamefull vilanie, which the sonnes of Belial had done to the Leuites wiffe) and sayed or agreed amongst them selues, [355] that none shuld departe to their houses or tentes, before they were reuenged of their owne brethern the Beniamites, to flea those detestable persons, which had so shamefully abused the Leuites wiffe, albeit she was an harlot, and they without a guide or Capitayne: not knowing when they came to the felde who shulde be their gouernour to leade thē, and geue the onset, before they had cōsulted with God, who appoynted vnto them Iuda. Here do we see the eleuen [187] Tribes, to whome the Leuite made his complaynt, in sendinge to euery Tribe a portion of his wiffe, did not excuse them selues to shew iustice, because they wanted a lawfull Magistrate to gouerne them, nor thoght them selues discharged for that they were as sheeppe without a pastor: except they did thus arme them selues agaynst the sonnes of Belial the vngodly Beniamites to see the Iudgements of God executed accordinge to his Law (and as they saide them selues) to cut of the euil frō amongst, then demādinge in the end the wicked mē that had cōmitted that vilanie.

But you wil say: It is an other matter for the people to enterprice such an acte being without a Ruler, and when they haue a Ruler appoynted vnto them, without whom they may do nothing. To this I answered before, that it is all one to be without a Ruler, and to haue such as will not rule in Gods feare. Yea it is much better to be destitut altogether, then to haue a tyrant and murtherer. For then are they nomore publik persons, contemning their publik [188] auctoritie in vsinge it agaynst the Lawes, but are to be taken of all men, as priuate persones, and so examyned and punished. Neuer the lesse, to the intent ye may vnderstande, that the gouernour ought not to take away all right from the people, nether discharge thē vtterly, from the execution of iustice: let vs consider a like example of the peoples zeale vnder the worthie Capitayne Iosua, [356] who when they but harde that the Sonnes of Ruben, the Sonnes of Gad, [357] and the half Tribe of Manasses, had erected vp an Altar in their portiō, which God had geuen them beyonde Iordane, thinking that they had so done, to haue sacrificed thereon, and so to haue fallen from God: assembled them selues together wholly, agaynst the Rubenytes, Gaddites and half Tribe of Manasses to reuenge that defection from God (as they tooke it) thoghe afterwarde they proued it to be nothing so. Which facte, as it declared an earnest true zeale in the people for the defence of Gods glorye, and his religion: so Iosua their Capitayne, nether did nor [189] ought to haue reprobud them: yea, happie might Iosua thinke him self, that had his people so readie to mayntayne of their owne accorde the Lawes of God, whiche before in the dayes of Moyses were so stubburne and rebellious. And if this redinesse was commendable, hauing a worthie Magistrat and godly Capitayne: how necessary is it to be vsed amongst the people when they haue vngodly and wicked Princes, who seke by all means to drawe them rather from the Lawe of God, then to incourage them to mayntayne the same? Wherefore this zeale to defend Gods Lawes and preceptes, wherewith all sortes of men are charged, it is not onely prayse worthie in all, but requyred of all, not onely in abstayninge from the transgression of the sayed Lawes, but to see the iudgemētes therof executed vpon all maner of persones with out exception. And that if it be not done by the consent and ayed of the Superiours, it is lawfull for the people, yea it is their duetie to do it thē selues, as well vpon their owne rulers and Magistrat, [190] as vpon other of their bretherē, hauing the worde of God for their warrant, to which all are subiecte, and by the same charged to cast forthe all euill from them, and to cut of euery rotten membre, for feare of infecting the whole body, how deare or pretious so euer it be. If death be deserued, death: if other punishmētes, to see they be executed in all.

[358] For this cause haue you promised obedience to your Superiors, that they might herein helpe you: and for the same intent haue they taken it vpon them. If they will so do, and keepe promise with you accordinge to their office, then do you owe vnto them all humble

obedience: If not, you are discharged, and no obedience belongeth to them: because they are not obedient to God, nor be his ministers to punishe the euell, and to defend the good. And therefore your studie in this case, oght to be, to seeke how you may dispose and punishe according to the Lawes, such rebells agaynst God, and oppressers of your selues and your countrie: and not how to please them, obeye [191] them, and flatter them as you do in their impietie. Which is not the waye to obtayne peace, and quietnesse, but to fall in to the handes of the allmightie God, and to be subiecte to his fearefull plagues and punishmentes.

CHAP. XIII. ↩

This is no doctrine of Rebellion, but the onely doctrine of peace and means to inioye quietlie the comfortable blessinges of God, which oght not to be wisshed for onely of the people, but carefully soght for also.



AND althoghe this seeme a strange doctrine, perrelous, and to moue sedition amōgest the people, and to take from the lawfull Rulers all due obedience: yet whoso will consider the matter a right, shall finde it sounde and true doctrine, and the onely doctrine of godly peace and quietnesse, and means to auoyde all strief and rebellion, by whiche onely Superiors shall rule in the feare of God, [192] and subiectes reuerently obeye them without grudging or murmuring. For is there anie lawes more parfit then are the Lawes of God? Or did anie mā better know the nature of man, then he which created man? Or anie more desierous to keepe them in his feare, and true obedience, then God him self, who chose them for his people? Then who is so mad and impudēt, [359] to thinke that peace ād quietnesse can be amongst anie people or nation, by obseruing the Lawes of wicked men, rather then in reteyning the wholesome Lawes of God? That mā which is not able to rule him selfe, can better gouerne his subiectes and defende them, than God may his people? That the people shall rather enioye all blessinges of God, in yelding to the wickednesse of the vngodlie Rulers, then to see them straightlie punished for transgressions of the confortable Lawes of the almightie? For after that God had once geuen his Lawes to his people, he shewed them playnlie by Moyses that he required nothing els of them, [360] but to feare him and to walke in his wayes, to loue him, and serue him with all their harte [193] and to keepe his preceptes and statutes, which he cōmanded them that day. And why? bycause (sai the Moyses) he is the God of Gods, the Lorde of Lordes, the greate mightie and dreadful God, whiche hath no respecte of persones, nor taketh anie rewardes. And this fructe shall you be suer of in keepinge his Lawes. He wilbe your prayse, ād your God: [361] that is (as in an other place the same Moyses writeth) He will make you a wise people, a mightie Nation, prayed and cōmēded of all Natiōs, which shall saye, This is onlie a wise people, and a people of vnderstandinge ād mightie. For what people is so great, whiche hath their God so friendly and familiar with them, as the Lorde our God is in all thinges that we call to him for? For whiles we obey his Lawes, and suffer them in no case, ād in no persone to be transgressed and left vnpunished (to the vttermoste of our power) we are assured that the blessinges which God after promised, shalbe powred vpō vs: that is to be blessed at home and a brode, in the fructe of our wombe, [362] of our lande, of our beastes and cattell. And the Lorde will make our enemies [194] which rise agaynst vs to fall before vs, to entre in one waye agaynst vs, and to flee by seuen wayes afore vs. And all the people of the earthe shall see that the Name of the Lorde is called vpon amongst vs, and shall be afraide of vs.

Yt is then no newe doctrine which God so longe ago taught to the Israelites, nor no rashe or perelous doctrine wherby they are onely made wise, and moste strongly defended. Nether yet dothe it minister occasion of rebellion, without which there can be no godlie peace or quietnesse, as your experience in Englande hath all readie (as I suppose) sufficiently taught you: who haue felt rather hellike tormentes, and shamefull confusion, since ye permitted the

wilde bores to caste downe the hedge of the Lordes vinyarde, that is, his Lawes and preceptes, then anie maner of godly peace, either in consciences or bodies: [363] which miserie shall haue no end before you reclayme with a vehement zeale and loue, your right title and possession of Gods Lawes, which [195] you haue moste vnthankfully geuen ouer and neglected.

Yf the true zeale of Gods people had bene in you when poperie began to be preached in the place of the Gospell, when the Masse was reduced in place of the Lordes supper, and that by the ignorant Papists and malicious shauelyngs, [364] when Antichrist was restored to displace Christ: coulde ye haue suffered this vnponished? Or if you had punished it as you were then charged by Gods Lawes and mans, durste they haue proceeded to such impietie? If you had required the Magistrates to rule you in Gods feare and not in tyrannie, and that you woulde reuerence them as Gods ministers so rulinge you, otherwise, not to acknowledg them but as his enimies, and so to take them: durst either that Iesabel so ragingly haue trode Gods worde the Gospell of Christ our Sauour as a polluted sowe vnder her feete, either els so rashely destroyde her fathers and brothers Lawes before her? Durste she without all shame so openly and vnfaythfully haue broken promisse to them (whiche [196] to their owne sorrow, and all others this day) were her chief promoters? Assure your selfs no. If you had required all Massemongers, and false Preachers to haue bene punished with deathe (as is appoynted by Gods worde for such blasphemers and idolatrs, and if they to whom it apperteyned, had denyed, your selues would haue seen it performed at all tymes, and in all places) then shuld you haue shewed that zeale of God, which was cōmended in Phinees, [365] destroyinge the adulterers: and in the Israelites againste the Beniamités, as before is noted. Ye then had not the Prides of Baal so swarmed abrode, nor the seruātes of God haue bene in such abundāce murthered. But great was our synnes before, that this deserued: and colde was our zeale to Godwardes after, that this shame haue suffred: and grosse is our blynd dulnes, whiche wil not yet see nor seeke to remedie it.

[366] Neuerthelesse in all these enterprises you muste be certaine and sure of this one thinge, that vnder the name of Religion and pretence to promote Gods glorie, you seeke not either your priuate [197] gaynes or promotiō, as did all the carnall Gospelers, and such as would be cōted the chief pillers and mainteyners of the same in tymes past amongst you. And therefore vnder the cloke of Christ, seekyng the worlde, when Christ semed to haue the vpper hande: are now returned to their oldemaister Antichriste, to be his hired souldiars, and to fight vnder his banner agaynst Christ and his seruantes, by whom they were firste promoted. Which treason God is prepared all redie to reuenge, to pluck from them his fethers, and to set furth to the whole worlde their shame and nakednesse. For he is a iust God, [367] and hateth iniquitie, and therefore will be no cloke to couer their falshode and couetousnesse.

Also ye must beware that priuate displeasure, and worldly iniuries moue you not more to seeke reuengement of your aduersaries, then the true zeale and thirste of Gods worde, the liuely foode of your soules. For then do you seeke your selues, and not God: then take you his office out of his hande, to whom ye oght to commit all your priuate displeasures [198] and iniuries: [368] then can ye not loke to haue Gods right hande vpon your parte, but rather may be assured to finde him your enimie, and strongly armed against you. To resiste euill therefore is your parte, and to mayntayne Godlynesse, but symply and vnfaynedly, for the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice, yf you will be sure to prosper, and auoyde Gods heauy displeasure, [369] who is the sercher of your hartes and secreats, and will in tyme disclose them and make them knowen to all men.

But you perchaunce would graunt me all this, that it is both lawfull and godly, if the people wholie together woulde follow the example of zelous Phinees and the Israelites, [370] as before was mentioned, and take punishment them selues vpon all blasphemers of God,

manifest betrayers of their countrie, and cruell murderers of their brethern: seeing the Lawes of God and publycke peace can be by no other means restored. But when the people themselves agree not, [199] when they are deuided amongst themselves, and the greatest parte of them perchance papistes, and will be maynteyners of such vngodly proceedings as are now brought in to Englande, how is it possible that by the weaker parte, Gods glory shulde be restored?

To this I answer, that as I know the restoringe of Gods worde, [371] and comfortable doctrine of our Sauour Christe to be the onely worke of God, and of no man (thoghe he forsake not man as a meane external) and also am not ignorant that he regardeth not the multitude and strenghe of man to accomlishe his purpose, [372] who hath bene accustomed to geue the victorie to a few in number, and weake in strengh, that the glorie might be his: so will I not counsele you rashely to cast yourselves in to danger, but patiently and earnestly to call to the lyuing Lorde for mercy, and acknowledging your synnes (for which this plague is powred vpon you) to desier him to shewe some signe [200] of conforte: who hath promised to heare your gronings, and to beholde your affliction, [373] as he did the gronings and oppression of his people in Egypt, when they were brought to full repentance and fealing of their synnes: so that he came downe from heauen, and appeared to Moyses, and sent him to be their Capitayne, whom they once had forsaken: as you haue done Christe.

[374] And as he also sent Othoniel to deliuer his people, when they cryed vnto him in that captiuitie that they were in vnder the idolatrous kyng of Mesopotamia for the space of eight yeres. [375]

Nether is this ynough to call vpon God for helpe, except ye vtterly forsake the wicked doctrine and doinges of the papistes, and seeke also (to the vttermost of your power) for remedie in folowing the example of the people of God, as it is writen: whiche did not onely serue God and call to him for helpe, at what tyme they were destitute of their worthie Capitayne Iudas Machabeus: [376] but also sought it, and demanded it where it was like to be founde. And assembling [201] themselves together, came to Ionathan his brother, desiering him to be their guide and Capitayne, to helpe them in their miserie, and to defende them agaynst the enimies of God, their whole nation being then moste cruelly oppressed on euery side, and the moste parte of them in vile slauery, seruinge the strange Gods of the heathen. The Ionathā pityinge their estate and his owne, did not deny their requeste, but willingly toke in hande that dangerous enterprise, being assured that the cause was lawfull, to maintaine to his power Gods glorie and to succour his afflicted nation, as his brother Iudas had done before him. And doinge the same with a simple eye, accordinge as he was bounde, God prospered his doinge, and he had good successe

Therefore yf they did well in demanding succour, and he discharged his conscience in granting their request, why is it not also lawfull for you to seeke helpe of them that be able and willing: and for them likewise to graunte helpe, to whom God hath lent it for that vse [202] especially?

But I know your answer: experience (saye you) hath taught vs the contrary. For if God had bene pleased herein with. Syr Thomas Wyat that valiant Capitayne taking in hande the like enterprise: it shulde vndoutedly haue had better successe. But he being a man, and of God, of great estimation amongst all goodmen, was notwithstandinge apprehended, condemned, and at the last (although he was promised his pardon) as a traytor beheaded. [377] And besides him Sir Henry Isley knight, with many godely men for the same facte, hanged, and murdered. The like also ye will affir me of that Noble man Henry Lorde Graye, Marques Dorset, and Duke of Suffolke: [378] who onely for the zeale that he had to promote Gods glorie, and the libertie of his countrie, prepared him self with that power he coulde make to the ayde of the sayed Wyat, accordinge to his promisse. But beinge deceaued, or rather

betrayed by such as he trusted vnto, [379] was in the ende also apprehended, and with his brother the Lorde Thomas Gray (a Gentleman of great courage, [203] and towardnesse, likewise beheaded.

Although I minde not to stand long in the praise of these worthy mēs factes, who moste cowardly were of many betrayed, which since perchance haue felt some parte of worse misery: yet so much must I nedes confesse in their behalf, that none but papistes, or traytors can iustly accuse them of treason or disobedience. Of whō to be misdained or slandered, is in the eyes of the godly, no small cōmendation, ād prayse. For to passe ouer with silēce the duke of Sulffolke (whose noble parētage and earnest loue that he bare to the promoting of Christes Gospell, and the welth of his couētrie, is to all Englishe men sufficiently knowne) what I beseeche you moued Wyat that worthy knight to rise? Was it his pouertie? Beholde, he was a famous Gētleman of great landes and possessions, stowt and liberall in the seruice of his Prince, faithfull to his countrie, and mercifull to the poore. Soght he ambitiously honour? Which of his enemies coulde herewith iustly charge him? Did he this bicause he was of a troublesome ād busy nature, which [204] coulde not be vnder lawfull gouernement. His great wisdom, modestie, ād gentle behaiour at all tymes, ād to all persons, did well declare the contrary: euer more being founde a faythfull Capitayne to his Pīce in the fielde, ād an obediēt subiecte at home. What thē moued him to this dangerous entreprīse? Verely, the zeale of Gods trueth and the pitie that he had to his Countrie, [380] for the miseries he sawe to approche by the vsurped power of vngodly Iesabell, and her merciles papistes the sowldiars of Antichriste. Yf it be treasō to defend the Gospel and his Countrie frome cruel strangers and enemies, thē was Wyat a traytor ād rebell. but if this was his duetye, and all others that professed Christe amōgest you, then are all such traytours, as did deceaue him: and such as toke not his parte also, whē tyme ād occasiō by him was iustly offered.

And thogh his enterprise had not such succeſse, as we would haue wisshed: yet was it no worse then our cowardnesse, and vnworthinesse deserued. Whiche nether oght of anie therfore to be condemned, nether shulde be anie discouragemēt [205] to others in the like. For some tymes we see the verie seruantes of God to haue euill succeſse in their doinges, [381] according to māſ iudgement: and yet God is well pleased therewith. As the example of the Israelites, wherof we made mention before dothe moste manifestlie approue: at what tyme they armed them selues agaynst the Beniamites, and that at the commandement of God, and yet were wise disconcyted, losing the first tyme 22. thousand men: and the next day folowing 18. thowsand: bothe tymes, consulting with the Lorde, and folowing his commandement.

If thou wilt here pronounce accordīg to the effecte, behold, thou shalt preferre the vile ād adulterous Beniamites to the seruaūtes of God: those which moste abhominably abused the Leuites wiffē, to them that with the zeale of God soght to haue the transgression punished. Euen so, saye I of worthy Wyat: Yf you iudge his facte according to the succeſse in mans reason: then shall you preferre to him all the false and flattering Counsellors, all wicked and blouddy Bishoppes, and all others that would be [206] counted Nobles, which in very dede be traytours to God and his people. But Wyat, I dowte not, departed with prayse the seruant of God, where all these are left to perpetual shame and destruction without speedie repentance. O noble Wyat, thou art now with God, and those worthy men that died for that enterprise, Happy art thou, and they which are placed in your euerlastinge inheritance, and freed from the miserie of suche as were your enimies, in so iuste and lawfull a cause: who liue as yet patrones of idolatrs, of theues and murtherers, agaynst whō thou and thine shall stande one daye as iudges to their cōdēnation.

For what can you Nobles or Couſellers saye for yourselues at that daye, whē God shall call you to accompt (ye knowe not how sone) which haue permitted Wyat, and with him the whole Church and comon welth of England to fall into the handes of Gods enimies, and

would not reskewe him, some of you hauing then in your handes sufficient power not onely to haue supported him and others which feare God accordinge to duety ād promisse. but to haue tamed [207] the rāping lyons, raging beares, ād raueninge wolues? [382] Haue ye not herein iustly cōdemned your selues as faynt harted cowardes and manifeste trayters, not onely to Wyat, but to God him self, to his poore oppressed seruantes, and to your owne natiue and ruynous coūtrie? But your vngodly fetches and wicked doinges (wherof I am not all together ignorant) with your names, I do now purposlye omitte: perchāce God in the meane season will chaunge your myndes, softē your harde hartes, and call you to repentāce. Otherwise doute ye nothīge, but God will minister either to me, or some other (or it belonge) the like occasion to set forth your shame and nakednesse to all posteritie, as you moste worthely haue deserued: who hithervnto haue shewed your selues (in contemnyng so many ād notable occasiōs offered by Gods prouidence, [383] as well synce as in the dayes of Wyat) to be mē in whom is nether zele to religion, nor loue to your coūtrie. And therefore I leauinge you to Gods mercies, or fearefull iudgementes, will speake a worde or two by the waye, to thē which will be called Gospellers, ād [208] yet haue armed them selues agaynst the Gospel drawing forth with them out of their countrie to mayntayne Philipps warres, and to please Iesabel (who seeketh by that means, to cut their throtes craftely) their poore and ignorant tenātes and other souldiars without knowledge, whiles their brethern be burned at home and their countrie like to be wasted, spoyled, oppressed, possessed, and replenished with vngodly Spanyardes. Is this the loue that ye beare to the worde of God? (ō ye Gospellers) haue ye bene so taught in the Gospel to be wilfull murtherers of your selues, and others abrode, rather then lawfull defenders of Gods people, and your countrie at home? Is Gods cause become iniuste ād not meete to be defended: and the cruel murther and shamefull slaughter of Princes approued? This hathe not the Gospell taught you, but chiefflye in all your doinges to seeke the kingdome of God, next to loue your neighbour as your selues: and in no case to be murtherers (as all you are) that either for pleasure of Princes, or hope of promotion, or gayne of wages are become Capitayns, or souldiars [209] in vnlawfull warres, especially in this case and daungerous tyme.

Then which of you all now for shame can accuse that zelous and godly man Wyat, whither ye be of the Nobles, Coūsellers, Lords, knightes, or of the comon souldiars? I wil make your owne consciences iudges in this matter, whither worthie Wyat or you shuld be takē for traytors? He, [384] who in the feare of God and loue towards his countrie soght to defende all, ād to distroye none: or you, who seekinge the defēce of none, labour to destroy all? He, who indeuered him self to withstande wicked Iesabel, and the onely traytors of Gods truthe, and their coūtrie, as Priests, Bishoppes, and papistes: or you that haue bene their maynteyners, with shildes ād bucklers. He, who according to the worde of God, soght with the daunger of all his goods, landes, and liffe, to keepe out strāgers, which were comynge to rule ouer you, and to deuoure you: or you, which haue bene meanes with your liues, lands, and goodes to bringe them in, and to defend them? He, who would be openly knowen in his doinges as he was in harte, their enimie: [210] or you which hate them inwardly, and yet do what you may to shewe your selues friendes outwardly? But tell me your gaynes in the end. To conclude, he who did his indeuour amonge his contriemen at home to defend them, [385] or you whiche helpinge your enemies abrode, labour to destroye your friēdes and countrie at home?

Also you subiectes ād souldiars, which are gone with them to butcher your selues and others without cause or cōscience, contrarie to the worde of God, be you assured that before him you shall be condemned as rebells and disobedient persones, where as your godly bretheren which in a iust and lawfull cause died with faithfull Wyat, are alowed before God, and of all goodmen commended.

O London, London, thou that boasted thy self to be the Ierusalem of all Englāde, wherin Christ chieffie was preached, and the truethe of his Gospell best knowne, remēber how thou forsookest that godly Capitayne, ād what promisse thou madest him. Thou (I say) which mightest haue bene an example and cōforte to all the Cities, and Townes in Englande, ād [211] to haue made the papistes to tremble ād quake for feare. God graunt that for thy faynt harte in that behalf, and shamefull falling from God in murthering then and synce so many of his seruantes and Prophetes, thou be not left likewise destitute and desolate, not one stone left vpon a nother, as happened to Ierusalē. [386] Thou canst not herein defende thy self, which synce hast bene readie, and yet art to maintayne wicked Iesabell in her tyrannie at home, ād in her vngodly & nedeles warres abrode with thy goods and bodie at her commandement, being therby made an ayeder, helper, and furtherer of all her vngodly oppression and tyrannie. And therefore must nedes be partaker with her of the dreadfull plagues and punishments, which God hath appoynted for such impietie.

Wherfore to conclude this matter, yf Wyats cause was iuste and lawfull, as thou muste nedes confesse: for if he were fautie in anie poynnt, it was chieffie in this, that he pretended rather the cause of his countrie, then of Gods Religion, which allwayes oght to be preferred, [212] and with out the which no Realme or nation may long cōtynewe in quietnesse: for thē God keepeth not watche ouer thē. Yf also he was betrayde of others, and soght not to betraye any: if he purposed Gods glorie, and the defence of his countre: If the iustnesse of the cause oght to trye his doīges, ād not the effect that folowed, or the preuētīge of tyme, where vnto he after a sorte was inforsed: thē oght no persone, whither he be a Ruler, or subiecte, Counsellor, Noble, publicke or priuate to be discouraged, but rather incouraged by Wyats example. The people to seeke and demande helpe of thē that are able, and they to graūt thē succour willīgly: seeking by all means possible to restore Christ agayne, ād his kīgdome, with whom you haue lost all godlye libertie ād quietnesse: and to expell Antichrist and all his adherentes, by whom you are broght in this miserable slauery and bōdage, both of bodies and soules.

And thoghe it succede not the first or seconde tyme, no more then did the entreprise of Wyat, or of the Israelites: yet when God shall see your zeles and diligence, [213] to be applyed onely in seeking to maynteyne his kingdome, and the glorie therof: he wil helpe no dowte at lenghe to confounde all his enimies, as he did the thirde tyme confort the Israelits to the vtter destructiō of the adulterous Beniamits. [387] We must now looke for no reuelations from the heauens to teache vs our duety, it being so playnely set before our eyes in his worde. And if in this case considerately begone in the feare of God, it shuld happen any of you to perishe, consider you perishe but in the fleshe to lyue with God: leauing in the meane tyme an example behinde you, that you liued in his feare and soght his glorie according to your duetye.

CHAP. XV. ↩

*What remedy or counsell is left, to the poore and afflicted seruantes of God,
at what tyme they are destitute of all outwarde meās and supporte of mē.*



TO the people of Israel, whom God from amonge all nations chose to be his peculiar people, he did not onely geue his Lawes, ordinances [214] and statutes: but also instituted all kinde of officers to see the same Lawes put in execution. And besides this, appoynted such as might be leaders and defenders of them in tyme of warre agaynst their enimes, and such as shuld mayntayne their right at home in tyme of peace: as were their iudges and princes appoynted ouer euery Tribe, besides their kinge and chief gouernour, to whome it was lawfull for the people ād for euery Tribe to resorte in tyme of daunger, to aske counsele and desier helpe, who were likewise bounde to heare their cause, and support them, whither it were by counselle or bodely trauell.

In like maner God hath no lesse mercifully delte with you in Englande, [388] not onely geuing vnto you his Lawes and holy worde, with farre greater light and playner declaration of his will and pleasure then euer was published to the Israelits: but also hath furnished you with all sortes of Magistrates, officers, and gouernors necessarie for the accomplishment, or rather execution of the same. To whom it oght to be no lesse lawfull [215] for you to resorte for comforte in your necessitie, then it was to the Israelites, and they as muche bownd to heare you. For this cause haue you Mayres, Shiriffs, and Aldermen in Cities, Counstables ād Bayliffs in Townes, knights ād Iustices, in Shires and countries. To these oght the people to haue concurse in necessitie, who shuld be their refuge and ayde in all trouble and aduersitie.

But if all these be so shamfully corrupted, and so myndles of their charge and office, that nether the Citezens can be cōforted, nor suckered by their Mayres, Shiriffes, and Alder men: nether the poore Townesmen and Tennants by their Iustices and Landelordes, but all geuen ouer as it were to Satan, and to serue the lustes of their chief Rulers, care not whether the poore people sinke or swyme, [389] so it be well with them (thogh it be a thinge impossible that the people can be distroyed and they escape daūger, or that their neyghbours house cā be consumed with fyer, and theirs remayne vntouched) Yf all I saye, in whō the people shuld loke for comforte, were [216] all together declyned from God (as in dede they appeare to be at this present tyme in England, without all feare of his Maiestie or pitie vpon their brethern) and also, yf the least and weakest parte of the people in all places feared God, and all outwarde means of helpe vtterly taken from them, nether being able to fynde remedie amōgest them selues, nether cā see how to be supported of others: thē assure your selues (deare brethern and seruants of God) there can be no better counsell, nor more comfortable or present remedie (which you shall proue true, if God graunte you his Spirite and grace to folowe it) then in contynual and dayly inuocation of his Name, to rest whollie and only vpon him, make him your shilde, buckeler and refuge, who hath so promised to be to all them that are oppressed and depend vpon him: to do nothing commanded agaynst God and your conscience, preferring at all tymes (as you haue learned before) the will of God, to the will, punishments, and tyranny of Princes: sayng, and answeringe to all maner of [217] persones:

This hath God commanded, this must we do. That hath God forbidde, that will we not do yf you will robbe vs and spoyle vs for doinge the Lordes will, to the Lorde must you make answere, and not to vs: for his goodes they are, and not ours. If ye will imprisone vs, behold, ye are oppressors. If ye will hange vs or burne vs, beholde ye are murtherers of them which feare the Lorde, and are created to the Image of God: for whose contempe ye shall be straitly punished. And for our parte, yf you take from vs this vile and corruptible lyffe, we are assured the Lorde will geue it vs agayne with ioye, and immortalitie both of bodie and soule.

Yf God geue you grace to make this or the like answere, and strenght to contemne their tyrannie, you may be certayne and sure to finde vnspeakable conforte and quietnes of conscience, in the mydle of your danger and greatest rage of Satan. And thus boldly confessinge Christ your Sauour before men (as by the example of thousandes of your bretheren before your faces [218] God doth mercifully incourage you) you may with all hope and patience wayte for the ioyfull confession of Christ agayne before his Father and Angells in heauen, that you are his obediente and dearely beloued seruantes, being also assured of this, [390] that if it be the will of God to haue you anie longer to remayne in this miserable worlde, that then his prouidence is so carefull ouer you, ad present with you, that no man or power can take your liffe from you, nether touche your bodie anie further then your Lorde and God will permit them. [391] Whiche nether shall be augmented for your playne confession, nor yet diminished for keepinge of silence. For nothing cometh to the seruants of God by hap or chaūce, whose heares of their heads are numbred. Wherof yf you be so assured as you ought to be, there can be nothing that shuld make you to shrinke from the Lorde. If they do cast you in prisō with Ioseph, the Lorde will delyuer you: yf they cast you to wilde beasts and lyons, as they did Daniel, you shall be preserued: yf in to the sea with Ionas, ye shall not [219] be drowned: or in to the durtie dongeon with Ieremie, you shall be delyuered: either in to the fyrre furnace withe Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago, yet shall you not be consumed. Contrarie wise, [392] yf it be his good pleasure that you shall glorifie his holie Name in your death, what great thing haue you loste? Changing death for liffe, misery for felicitie, contynuall vexation and trouble, for perpetuall rest and quietnesse: chosinge rather to dye with shame of the worlde being the seruantes of God, then to lyue amongst men in honor being the seruantes of Satan, and condemned of God. Otherwise, if you geue place to the wickednesse of men to escape their malice and bodily dangers, you shewe your selues therin to feare man more then the mightie and dreadful God: him that hath but power of your bodie, and that at Gods appoyntement, then God him self, who hath power, after he hath destroyed the body, to cast both bodies and soules in to hell fyre, there to remayne euerlastingly in tormentes vnspeakable.

[220]

And moreouer that which you loke to obtayne by these shamefull shiefts, [393] you shall besure to lose with gryef and trouble of Conscience. For this saying of our Maister being true and certayne, [394] That they which seeke to saue their liffe (meanynge by anie worldly reason or policie) shall lose it: what shall be their gaynes at lenth, when by dissimulation and yelding to popishe blasphemie, they dishonor the Maiestie of God to inioye this shorte, miserable and mortall lyffe: to be caste from the fauour of God, ad companie of his heauenly Angells, to inioye for a shorte tyme their goodes and possessions amonge their fleshly and carnall friends: [395] when as their conscience within shall be deeply wounded withe helllike tormentes? when goddes curse and indignation hangeth contynually ouer the heades of such, ready to be powred downe vpon them? when they shall finde no conforte, but vtter dispayer with Iudas, which for this worldly riches (as he did) haue solde their Maister: sekinge either to hange them selues with Iudas, [396] to murther them selues with Frances [221] Spera, [397] to drowne them selues with Iustice Hales, either els to fall in to a raginge madnesse

with Iustice Morgen? What comferte had Iudas then by his mony receaued for betraynge his Maister? Was he not shortly after compelled to cast it from him with this pitifull voyce: [398] I haue synned in betraying innocēt blood? Coulede anie of these forenamed persons, after they had commytted the like treason to our Sauour Iesus Christ finde anie more comferte in their friendes, from whom they were so loth to departe? Or anie more pleasure in their possessions, or assurance in their treasures? Beholde, they had all moste miserable lyues for the tyme, and shamefull endes.

Then deare brethern in Christ, what other rewarde can anie of you loke for, commytting the like offences? Haue you anie more assurance of Gods mercies then they had? Woulde not Christ spare his owne Apostle Iudas, and yet will pardon you? Did not iudge Hales appearingly professe the Gospell a longe space, and was greatly commended for a godly man amongst [222] the Godly? [399] And yet after by the importunate perswations of the pestilent papistes denyng his Maister, sustayned this horrible iudgment, that he and such like might be a perpetuall example for you and all men to feare the like or worse punishement.

You see therefore how there is no truste but in God, no comfort but in Christ, no assurance but in his promisse, by whose obedience onely you shall auoyde all danger. And whatsoever you lose in this world and suffer for his Name, [400] it shall be here recompensed with double according to his promisse, and in the worlde to come with liffe euerlasting: which is to finde your liffe, when ye are willinge to lay it downe at his commandement.

[401] I am not ignorant how vnnaturall a thinge it is, and contrarie to the fleshe, willingly to sustayne suche cruell deathe, as the aduersaries haue appoynted to all the children of God, myndinge constantly to stand by their profession: which to the spirite notwithstanding is easie and ioyful. For thogh the fleshe be frayle, the spirite is prompte and redy. [223] Wherof (praysed be the name of God) you haue had notable experience in many of your brethern very martyrs of Christe, who with ioye paciētly and tryumphinghe, haue suffed and drunke with thurst of that bitter cupp which nature so muche abhorreth: wonderfully strēgthned no dowte by the secreat inspiration of Gods holy Spirite. So that there ought to be none amōgest you so feeble, weake or timorous, whom the wonderfull examples of Godes present power and singuler fauour in those persons, shulde not incourage, bolden, and fortifie, to shewe the like cōstancie in the same cause and profession.

Neuertheles, great cause we haue thankfully to consider the inspeakable mercy of God in Christe, which hath farther respecte to our infirmitie, that when we haue not that boldnesse of spirite to stande to the death, as we see others, yet geuing so muche to our weaknesse, he hathe prouided a present remedie, that beīg persecuted in one place, we haue libertie to flee in to a nother: where we cannot be in our owne coutrie [224] with a safe consciēce (except we would make opon profession of our religion, [402] which is euery mans duetie, and so be brought to offre vp our liues in sacrifice to God in testimonie that we are his:) he hathe mollyfied and prepared the hartes of stranges to receue vs with all pitie and gladnesse, where you may be also not onely delyuered from the feare of death and the papisticall tyrannie practised without all measure in that coutrie: but with great freedome of cōscience heare the worde of God contynually preached, and the Sacraments of our Sauour Christ purely and duely ministred, without all dregges of poperie, or supersticion of mans inuention: to the intent you being with others refreshed for a space, and more strongly fortified, may be also with others more willing and ready to laye downe your lyues at Gods appoyntment. For that is the chiefest grace of God, and greatest perfection, to fight euen to the bloude vnder Christes banner, and with him to geue our liues.

But if you will thus flee (welbeloued in the Lord) you must not chose [225] vnto your selues places according as you phantasie, as many of vs which haue left our countrie haue donne: some dwelling in papisticall places amongst the enimies of God in the myddle of impietie: in France, as in Paris, Orliance, and Rone: and some in Italy, as in Rome, Vaenice, and Padua. Which persons in fleeing from their Quene, runne to the Pope: fearing the daunger of their bodies, seeke where they may poyson their soules: thinking by this means to be lesse suspected of Iesabell, shew them selues afrayd and ashamed of the Gospel, which in tymes paste they haue stowtly professed. And lest they shuld be thoght fauorers of Christe, haue purposly ridden by the Churches, and Congregations of his seruantes their bretherne, nether mynded to comforte others there, nor to be comforted them selues. Wherin they haue shewed the coldnesse of their zele towarde religion, and geuen no small occasion of slander to the worde of God, which they seemed to professe. For beinge returned againe into their Countrie, they either become Idolaters with the papistes to please the [226] Quene, and kepe their possessions, or els dissemblers with the rest of counterfete christians: but to their owne condemnation at length, except the Lorde graunt vnto them speedie repentance. For who so are ashamed of Christ, and his Gospel, [403] thus denying him before mē: them hath he promised to deny, and be a shamed of before his Father, and Angells, in heauen. This maner of fleeing then is vngodly, and (as you heare) daungerous: and therefore not lawfull for you therin to folow their example.

Nether is it ynoughe to keepe you out of the dominions of Antichriste, ād to place your selues in corners where you maye be quiete, and at ease, and not burthened withe the chardges of the poore, thinking it sufficient if you haue a litle exercise in your houses in reading a chapiter or two of the Scriptures, and then wil be counted zelous persons and great gossellers. No brethern and sisters, this is not the way to showe your selues manfull souldiars of Christ, except you resorte where his [227] banner is displayed, and his standarde sett vppe: where the assemble of your brethern is, and his worde openly preached, and Sacramentes faithfully ministred. For otherwise, what may a man iudge, but that such either disdayne the compaignie of their poore brethern, whome they oght by all means to helpe and comfort, according to that power that God hath geuen them for that ende onely, and not for their owne ease: or els that they haue not that zele to the house of God, the assemble of his seruantes, and to the spirituall gyftes ād graces (which God hath promised to powre vpon the diligent hearers of his worde) as was in Daud: which desiered being a kinge, rather to be a dore-keeper in the house of God, then to dwel in the tentes of the vngodlye: [404] lamentyng nothinge so muche the iniuries done vnto him by his sonne Absolon (which were not small) as that he was depryued from the comfortable exercices in the Tabernacle of the Lorde, which then was in Sion. Nether dothe there appeare in such persons [228] that greedie desier (wherof Esai maketh mention) whiche oght to be in the professers of the Gospell, [405] who neuer woulde cease or reste, till they shuld clime vp to the Lordes Hill: meaninge the Church of Christe, sayng one to a nother: Let vs ascende vp to the Hill of the Lorde, to the house of the God of Iacob, and he will teache vs his wayes, and we shall walke in his foote steppes. For the Lawe shall come forthe of Sion, and the worde of the Lorde from Ierusalem. Whiche zele the Prophet dothe not mētion in vayne, but to shew what a thirst and earnest desier shuld be in the true Christians, and how the same apeareth in seekinge and resortinge to those places, where it is set forthe in greateste abundance and perfection, as was after Christes ascention in Ierusalem. And as that zele shewed them to be of Christe, by the like must we be iudged Christians also, that if we flee for Christe, the places where vnto we flee may beare witnes for what cause we are fledde.

Nether is yt a sufficient excuse [229] which many aleadge, that they beleue to be saued by Christe, that they haue sufficient knowledge of their duety, and the reste, they can supplie by their owne diligence. Whose faithe is not so muche (I dare saye) but they haue neede to defier with the Apostles, Lorde increase our faithe. And if they will so confesse, why do they

forsake the chiefest means that God hathe ordeyned, which is the open Congregations of his people, where his worde, the fountayne of faith, is moste purely preached, and where the Godly examples of others maye be a sharper spurre to prick them forward. And as for the knowledge and diligence of such, maye be no buckler to defend their doinges. For yf they haue those gyftes wherof they boste, where may they bestowe them better then in the Churche of God? Except they will saye, [406] they are borne to them selues, and haue the gyftes of God which he would haue comon to others, applyed to their owne priuate fantasie, which is to lappe them vp in a clowte, and not to put them forth to the vantage of the owner, as did [230] the vnprofitable seruant: and as all they do, to whome God hath geuen either learninge, coūsel, or worldly substāce, which eithet for the strēght of Cities, pleasantnesse of ayre, trafficke or marchādise, or for anie other worldely respect or politie, do absente thē selues frō the Congregatiō and companie of their poore brethern, where Christ hathe aduanced his standarde, and blowen his troumpet, as is afore sayed.

Yf God then geue you not strength-at the firste to stand in his profession to the death, nor that you cannot be quiete in conscience, abiding in your coūtrie: you see how his mercy hath geuen you libertie to flee, and what places he hath appoynted for you to flee vnto, [407] that is, were ye may do good to your selues and others, where ye may be free from superstition and idolatrie, where your faithe may be increased rather then diminished, and your selues strengthened, confirmed, and more strongly armed.

But if you in taryinge will nether stande manfully to Christe your [231] Maister, but betraye him with the Papistes in doinge as they do, nor yet with thankes vse this remedie that God hath graūted to oure infirmitie, to resorte to his Churches godly īstituted: what answere shall you be able to make to his Maiestie when he shall call for account of your doinges? How shall you auoyde his wrathfull indignation, now redie to be powred vpon his enimies? Assure your selffe, they shalbe taken in there synne: ād you also as God doth fynde you. Yf in the tentes of his enimies, doinge as they do vnder their standerde, to be stryken with them, and also to peryshe. For in takinge part with their impietie, you must be partakers of their cupp likewise. Nether is this anie newe or hard doctrine that may excede your capacitie, but may rather be termed your a. b. c. & first principles, where in none oght to be ignorant. That is if we wylbe Christs scholers, we most learne to beare his crosse, & to folowe him: not to cast it ofe our sholders with the enimies, and rūne from him. It is the same [232] lesson which of children we learned in the Lordes prayer, that the Name of God the Father may be sanctified: His kingdome come: His will be dōne. Marke it brethern, that your daylie prayer turne not to your euerlastinge confusion. For yf you daylye praye, that by you his Name maye be sanctified, that is, that he may be worthely honored for his maiestie ād wōderfull power, reuerenced for his mercy and infinite wisdome, feared for his iustice, ād iuste iudgemētes: and yet for feare of the vngodly, do blaspheme his Name by dissimulatiō ād outwarde idolatrie, are ye not herein iudges of your owne condemnation? Prayng that his Name may be honored with your lypes, and blaspheming him in your deeds? When you praye that his kingdome may come, and yet you your selues do buylde and establishe the kingdome of Satan? Whē you desier that his will may be donne, and contrarie therunto, studie to maintayne and accomlishe the wil of Satan and his members?

Wherfore be nomore disceaue [233] in so playne a matter. [408] Yf the Lorde be God, folow him: if Baal be God, go after him. Playe no more the hypocrites, praye not with your lippes only, but expresse the same in your workes. Subiecte your selues whollye to God: for he hath redemed you. Honor him alone: for you are his people. Let not the example of any leade you in to errour: for men are but mortall. Truste in the Lorde: for he is a sure rocke. Beware of his iudgementes: for they are terrible. Trust not to your owne shiftes: for they will disceaue you. Marke the end of others, and in tyme be warned. These lessons are harde to the fleshe, but easie to the spirite. The waye of the Lorde is a strayte path, but most faithfull,

sure, and comfortable. In this waye haue you also promised to walke with Christ: and for the same cause do you beare his Name, that you shuld forsake the worlde and the fleshe, to yelde vnto him all honour and obedience, before the face of men in earthe, that he may bestowe vpon you the glorie of his Father which is in heauen. To whom with [234] the Sonne, and holy Ghost be euerlasting prayse, honor and glory for euemore. Amen. From Geneua, this first of Ianuarie. M. D.LVIII.

FINIS.

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WILLIAM KETHE TO the Reader, ↩

THE wayne harte of mā, full frayle is and blynde,
vncerteynely settled, and rest can none fynde:
Whose hap is in wandring, to wade the wronge way,
As one apte by kinde to runne still astray.

For, what thīge so good by truethe hathe bene wrought,
Or what so well framed hath nature forth brought,
Which man is not prone by crafte to accuse,
And natures good gyftes dothe not sore abuse?

Thus see we how man, contemning Gods grace,
Is wholie inclyned, that ill shulde take place:
Whose will (truethe reiectinge) deliith that to haue,
Which nature corrupted woulde seeme still to craue.

Sith man then in iudgeinge, so thwartly is bente.
To satisfie fansie, and not true intente:
How hardly in this case, can such iudge vpright,
Whē truth doth but peepe out, as semth to our sight.

Ful nedefull then were it, we had this respecte,
Before we receaue oght, or oght do reiect:
The thinge to decide so with Iudgement and skill,
That trueth may be stickler, and not our one will.

Beholde here a trueth drawne forth of her graue,
By power sore oppressed, and made a bonde slaue:
Whose chaīs, thogh this Autor could not rēt or teare,
Yet hath he forth broght hir, in to moste clere ayer.

With whome now to reason, whoso wil assaye,
Shal learne how ill Rulers we oght to obeye.
Whiche kill, how, they care not in their cruell rage.
Respectig their will more, thē lawe, othe, or charge.

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Whose fury longe fostered by suffrance and awe,
Haue right rule subuerted, and made will their lawe:
Whose pride, how to temper, this truthe will thee tell,
So as thou resiste mayste, and yet not rebell.

Rebellion is ill, to resiste is not so,
When right through resisting, is donne to that foo,
Who seeketh, but by ruine, agaynst right to raigne,
Not passinge what perishe, so she spoyle the gayne.

A publick weale wretched, and to farre disgraste,
Where the right-head is of cut, and a wronge in steed plaste,
A brut beast vntamed a misbegotthen;
More meete to be ruled, then raigne ouer men.

A maruelous madnesse, if we well beholde,
When sighes shall assaut mē, to see them selues solde:
And yet whē frō slavery, their friēds woulde thē free,
To stick to their foes so, still slaues to be.

For France spiteth Spayne, which Englend doth threat,
And England proud Spanyards, with salte woulde fayne eate:
Yet Englande proud Spayne aydeth with men, ships, and botes.
That Spayne, (France subdued once) may cut all their throtes.

A people peruerse, repleate with disdayne,
Thogh flattrie fayne hide woulde their hate, and vile trayne.
Whose rage, ād hotte luste, disceate, crafte and pride,
Poore Naples their bondeslaue, with great grefe hath tryed.

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Lo, these be the byrdes which Englāde muste feede,
By plantinge of whom, to roote out their seede
Their owne landes ād lyues, by them firste deuourde,
Their maydes then ād wyues, moste vilelie deflourde.

Is this not stronge treason, ye vnnoble bloudds?
To ayde suche destroyers, both with landes ād goods?
But when they thus pinche you, and ye put to flight,
To what forte then flee you: or where will you light?

For Englande thus solde, for Spaniardes to dwell,
Ye maye not by right, possesse that ye sell.
They seinge your treason, agaynste your owne state,
Wil not with theirs trust you, which they know ye hate.

To Skotlande or France, yf ye then shulde cry,
Your vile deeds now present, they may well reply,
And Dutchlād abhorth you: this thē doth remayne,
Whē Spaniards are placed, ye muste to newe Spayne.

But, oh dreadfull plague, ād signe of Gods wrothe,
On such noble Gnatos, stronge foes to Gods trothe.
Whom fonde feare hath framed, to prop such a staye,
As countrie and people, so seekth to betraye.

Which thinge herein proued, to be with out doute,
All such full well finde shall, as reade it throughout.
Yf then their hartes fayle them the right to defende,
Confusion remayneth for suche a meete end.

[[unnumbered]]

Geue not thy glorie to an other: nether that whiche is profitable for thee, to a
strange nation.

Baruch. 4.



The way to life is streicte and few finde it.
Mat.7.

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Endnotes

- [1] Act. 4. d.
- [2] Mar. 1 c. Act. 17. c
- [3] 2. Cor. 11. d
- [4] 2. Cor. 2. d.
- [5] Iob. 4. f.
- [6] Act. 17. c.
- [7] Chap. 2. a
- [8] True obedience rendreth to God due honor & also to man as his office requireth. what great daunger it is, not to put differēce betwene obedience and disobedience.
- [9] what plags come for disobediēce.
- [10] Gen. 3.
- [11] Adam disobeied God and was greuouslie punished.
- [12] All mākinde was iustly punished for Adams disobediēce
- [13] Gen. 6.
- [14] The worlde plagued in Nohas dayes for disobediēce
- [15] The cause of all disobedience is, not to measure oure doings by Godds worde. Rom. 2.
- [16] We must not measure our obedience after our oune phantasies.
- [17] Rom. 1.
- [18] Mat. 15.
- [19] Disobedience is the puddle of all herisies and error.
- [20] Apo. 17. Antichriste is the plage of God for mā's disobedience.
- [21] Psal. 2.
- [22] The tyrāts are Antichristes tormentours and persecute Christ
- [23] Thoccasion wherefore this treatise was writ, and what proffit we may gather therof.
- [24] The circūstance of the answere wayed.
- [25] Act. 4.
- [26] The magistrats cōmande the Apostles not to preach Christe.
- [27] The papists succeed the Iewes in malice ād persecutiō.
- [28] Papists are the generation of Vipers. Iohn. 8.
- [29] The Gospell increaseth when it is persecuted.

- [30] *Rom. 1.*
- [31] We must rather feare Goddes iudgemēts then mans threatnyngs.
- [32] Christe ād his word are inuinsible.
- [33] *Mat. 23.*
- [34] Great occasions of repentance offered to the Iewes.
- [35] An horrible falling awaye frō God.
- [36] *Rom. 3. and 9.* The Ieweshe churche errethe.
- [37] The papistes churche erreth.
- [38] The Iew ishe chmrche was firste.
- [39] The locusts which came out of the bottōles pit.
- [40] The papistes are more wicked then Iewes.
- [41] The papistes denye Christ, as well as the Iewes do.
- [42] The papistes are more blasphemous then the Iewes.
- [43] The papistes cōfesse Christ, but in effect deny him.
- [44] *1. Tim. 2*
- [45] The papistes cōfesse Christe to be here in the world in the forme of brad a dead God not able to do anye thinge.
- [46] The boxy mowly, wormy, musty rotten and corrupted Christe.
- [47] The papistes vnder the name of Christians worke treason agaynst Christ.
- [48] *Hebr. 10.1. Ioh. 2.*
- [49] The infinit slaughter of martyrs in Englande.
- [50] We must not yelde in Gods cause, when man threatneth.
- [51] *Luk. 24. act. 1.*
- [52] Relenting of the ministers moste dangerous.
- [53] we maye safely folowe the example of the Apostels aproued by the holy Gost.
- [54] A dangerous doctrine.
- [55] *I. Cor. 3* Man can not dispēce with that which God commandeth.
- [56] False brethern which betray God and his trueth in yelding to the papists.
- [57] No minister oght to flie and forsake his flocke, except he be persecuted onely, and not his flocke.
- [58] *Psal. 14.*
- [59] They which please man rather then obey God.

- [60] we must obey the preachers onely whē they bring Gods worde.
- [61] The papistes laughe in their sleues, when they see their wicked proceedinges promoted by vnlawfull obedience.
- [62] A moncke
- [63] Cardinal Pole.
- [64] To obey is good, but whome, wherin, ād howe farre, ought to be cōsidered
- [65] The iustices & other vnder officers.
- [66] Officers ād Iudges degenerat.
- [67] The papistes naturally thirst for bloud.
- [68] Fals Gospelers, slaues vnto papistes.
- [69] The cōmon people.
- [70] Men that do against their conscience and Godes worde.
- [71] *Rom.* 13.
- [72] The enemies of God cā not denye this answere to be treue.
- [73] *Psal.* 104.
- [74] Preachers must preach Christe in season and out of season.
- [75] 1. *Cor.* 11.
- [76] They shuld not so haue escaped if they had bene befor our cruell Counselors Pharisies and Hypocrits of Englande.
- [77] what things are to be considered.
- [78] Obedience against God is disobedience,
- [79] what God once willith in his Law to be done or not to be done that cā no man dispence with be it neuer so smal in the sight of man.
- [80] *Deu.* 4.
- [81] *Ioh.* 10.
- [82] *Deu.* 28, and .30. No cōmandement shall excuse vs in the daye of vengeance.
- [83] *Esai.* 2.
- [84] *Gen.* 7
- [85] *Gen.* 14, *Exod.* 3 4.5.6.14.
- [86] *Amos* 3.
- [87] *Heb.* 13.
- [88] *Pro.* 21.
- [89] what maner of man the Lorde woulde haue chosen kinge. *Deut.* 17.

- [90] Gods Lawes must diligentlie be folowed in election of kinges ād Rulers and not mans phātasie.
- [91] The firste note and obseruatiō in chosinge of a kynge Ezechi. 20
- [92] Two notes to knowe whether a kinge be chosen of God or no
- [93] None oght to be chosen a kinge or Ruler but such as wil maintaine and promote Godes Lawes. The secōd note why kinges ar chosen frō amongst their brethern.
- [94] The gouernement of women is against nature, and Gods ordinance.
- [95] *Gen. 3.*
- [96] *1. Cor. 14 1. Tim. 2.*
- [97] women by ciuell police are excluded frōe all offices in a comon welth.
- [98] Winchester proueth her a bastard in his boke de Vera obedientia, and Bōner also in the preface of the same boke. kyng Edward the VI.
- [99] They haue now plentie of both sortes.
- [100] The title of the Crowne belongeth onely by Gods worde, to the heyres males.
- [101] Youre owne Lawes dothe not prefer abastard to her that is laful begotten.
- [102] *Heb. 1. Psal. 45.*
- [103] *Leuit. 8. 1. Sam. 15. 1 Reg. 19*
- [104] The thirde rule to be obserued in electing of kinges.
- [105] *Psal. 52.*
- [106] What other notes God geueth to chose by.
- [107] As the kings charge is greater, so is he more bonde to God to performe the same.
- [108] If it be heynous to disobey mā, much more God the Lorde of al thinges.
- [109] Kinges oght to rule in Gods feare with him ād not againste him. To obey a wicked Prince in his wickednes is plaine disobedience to God.
- [110] *1. king. 1.*
- [111] *1. Sam. 22*
- [112] *Mat. 2.* They will make all these blāes (the papistes are ••o impudēt) rather thē they will seme to offende. *Mat. 27.*
- [113] *Exod. 20. Psalm 9. Gen. 4.*
- [114] The commandemēt of the Prince shall not excuse thee in euill doying.
- [115] It is not inouge not to do the wiked commaundement of a kynge, but also to do the contrarie.
- [116] *Act. 5.*
- [117] *Act. 5.*

- [118] *Matth.* 5.
- [119] Al the apostels to gether shewed the like constancie.
- [120] No power can preuail against the faithfull.
- [121] *Mar* 28.
- [122] *Rom.* 8.
- [123] *1. Cor.* 4.
- [124] *Ephe.* 3.
- [125] *1. Tim.* 4.
- [126] *2. Tim.* 4.
- [127] *Ephe.* 6.
- [128] *Heb.* 4.
- [129] Christ disobeyed wicked magistrates and so sauē vs: but we obey vniust magistrates
and destroy our selues.
- [130] *1. kin.* 18. *2. Cor.* 6.
- [131] Obedience to death.
- [132] When God forbiddeth one thinge he commādeth the contrarie.
- [133] *Dani.* 6.
- [134] Daniel was no Englishe courtier: for he coulde not flatter.
- [135] Note this al ye Gentelmen ād Nobles of Englande
- [136] Daniel burned with the zeal of Gods glory and wolde not hide it
- [137] The cōusel of the wordlye dissemblers
- [138] Carnal Gospelers are halters ō both sides
- [139] *Ioh.* 16.
- [140] Daniel was not so wyse as our glauering Gospellers.
- [141] Englishemē will nether be Apostles Prophets nor good men.
- [142] How should they iudge well of other mēs matteres, that cōdemne thē selues in their
owne
- [143] *1. Mac.* ••.
- [144] A notable answere for all true Christians to practise.
- [145] Matathias was no publik persone.
- [146] Loke wel vpon this example al ye inhabitantes of Englande
- [147] Mattathias fact depēdethe not of the auctoritie of the history but of the worde of God.
Mattathias doing ād the Apostels are both like.

- [148] Iosua made the like answer to the Israelites. Iosue. 24.
- [149] The papists wil saye, because he was olde that he doted.
- [150] Forget not this yf ye feare God and loue your liues.
- [151] Other now serue the Lorde or neuer. Luk. 3.
- [152] *Esai 24. Iere. 48 Hosa*••. 6
- [153] Repent o countriemen your vnlawfull obedience, ād now at last turne to your Lord God
- [154] *Rom. 6.*
- [155] God grant this for Christes sake, to sinke in your myndes.
- [156] Obedience
- [157] Ignorance can not excuse you much lesse when the trueth is so plainly taught.
- [158] We must not yelde to autoritie and power.
- [159] Threaninges oght not to fear vs.
- [160] This doctrine of obediēce, is dayly sealed with the bloude of Sainctes
- [161] *1. Cor. 10*
- [162] The Shirefs ••ealers and other inferior officers condemned
- [163] *Mat 27.* Euery mās answer to vnlawfull dissobedience.
- [164] Losse of lininges is not a sufficiēt excuse to indāger thy soule.
- [165] God is the reuenger of inocentes bloude. *Psal. 9.*
- [166] *Mat. 16.*
- [167] To loose in the world, is to gayne in the heavens. *Mat. 10. Psal. 105,*
- [168] *Mat. 7.*
- [169] withstand the euil, ād supporte the Godly
- [170] *Gen. 2. 1. Cor. 10. Gala. 6.*
- [171] Our detts to God.
- [172] Defend, helpe, conforte, and deliuer the godly oppressed, and deleuer your owne soules. *Exod 23.*
- [173] Shall we helpe our neighbours beast and not him selfe?
- [174] Not to wi••thstande euill, the very Gentils codēned as iniurie.
- [175] wo to England and her vngodly Magistrates.
- [176] The wolu••she papists.
- [177] your horrible plagues are at hāde yf ye amēd not.

- [178] Ye haue your honours to defēde and helpe the godly, yea ād all others from oppression
and in iurie.
- [179] *Esai.* 1.
- [180] The Gentiles shall condemne you in the workes of the lawe. Rom. 2.
- [181] *Luk.* 10.
- [182] *Nomb.* 33. *Exod.* 23. and. 34.
- [183] *Mat.* 24.
- [184] Englande shall not escape.
- [185] Repent shortly: for Goddes heauy wrath is at hande *Esai.* 29.
- [186] The cause of all these miseries.
- [187] Write this vpon your dore postes ād in your wel decked chābers. For it will suerly come
yf ye repēt not.
- [188] *Ierre.* 50.
- [189] The end of all offices
- [190] The Spaniardes are godles
- [191] Maries vnlaful gouernement.
- [192] *Iob.* 34.
- [193] God forbiddeth women to raigne, and nature abhorreth the same.
- [194] Marie a bastard.
- [195] Reade H••lles Cronicle in the 24. of the reinge of kinge Henry. 8. Oxforde. Cambridge.
Orliance. Paris. Angiers. Burges. Bononie. Padua. Tholosa. Leu. 10 Deu. 19 Eph. 2.
Gala. 3.
- [196] kinge Henry cōmitted incest in begettinge Marie.
- [197] *Deu.* 23.
- [198] The Gosp••ll••rs holpe her to the crown and she burneth thē.
- [199] M. Bucer Paulus Phagius, maistris Martyr, &c.
- [200] who is more blind then they that can and will not see? Here vnto the lawes of the real
me, the will and prophecie of her father doth prouok thē
- [201] *Esa.* 3.4 29.
- [202] *Esai.* 28.
- [203] Licences purchased of infidels and lyinge in idolatrous places, is thought good inough
of carnall gospelers.
- [204] Their dea•••• proue what they be.
- [205] The onely means to escape miserie. *Psal.* 103.

- [206] Folowe wyse counsel, least ye and al your land perishe.
- [207] Restore goddes honour and escape Gods vengeance
- [208] yf they knewe rightly how to obey and wherin, thē shulde these thinges here mentioned come to passe. *Deu. 17.*
- [209] Gods boke teache the true obedience.
- [210] *Deu. 4.*
- [211] *Rom. 13.*
- [212] The firste obiection.
- [213] Answer
- [214] The cause wherfore the Apostle was moued thus to write.
- [215] Anabaptists. Libertins
- [216] Denyars of tribute
- [217] *Mat. 22*
- [218] *Act. 5.*
- [219] we may resiste tyrantes and yet not Godes ordinance.
- [220] By the papistes gatherīg. Satan oght not to be resisted.
- [221] *Iob 12. Iam. 4*
- [222] The proffe of this answer.
- [223] The papists argument is fully answered
- [224] Obedience is cōmaunded to all men: but yet vnder cōdition.
- [225] The seconde obiectiō ād answer *1. Pet. 2*
- [226] The thyrd obiection and answer.
- [227] ⟨ in non-Latin alphabet ⟩ in non-Latin alphabet ⟩
- [228] Answer.
- [229] Of what maner of maisters Peter speaketh.
- [230] *Act. 4.*
- [231] The true knot of obedience. *Ephe. 6.*
- [232] God is our chief Father, Lorde and maister.
- [233] S Peter approueth not frowarde maisters.
- [234] Seruantes oppressed may seke lawfull remedy against their maisters.
- [235] How far wicked Princes may be obeyed.
- [236] The fourth obiection. *Mat. 26. Ioh. 18.*

- [237] Answer.
- [238] *Ioh* 18.
- [239] *Luk* 12.
- [240] *Ioh.* ••.
- [241] why Christ vsed not the d••f••nce of the temporal power.
- [242] Why Peter was forbyd to vse the sworde.
- [243] *Act* 1. *Ioh* ••••
- [244] *Ephes.* ••. *Hebr* 4.
- [245] *2 Cor.* 1••.
- [246] The absurdite of this reason.
- [247] *1. Cor.* 9. As the preachers are charged to vse the spiritual sworde, so are the Magistrats bonde to set forthe Gods glorie poral sworde.
- [248] *Rom.* 5. *Iohn.* 10.
- [249] The firste obiection out of *Ier.* 29.
- [250] *Baruch.* 1.
- [251] Answer.
- [252] The cause why *Ieremie* and *Baruch* thus couſelled.
- [253] *1. Kinges* 22.
- [254] The state of the question.
- [255] *Baruch.* 6
- [256] *Dani.* 3.
- [257] why the Iewes were willed to pray for *Nabuchadnezers* longe life.
- [258] Wherefore the Iewes shulde be quiet in *Babylon*.
- [259] The miserable estat of *Englād*
- [260] *Nabuchadnezer* is to be p••••f••rred to your *Iesab••l* in the z••ale of God *Nabuchadn••zers* decree. *Daniel.* 3.
- [261] *Iesabel* worshi••p••th *Maozin ād* caus••th others to do the like.
- [262] The second obiection out of *Ieremie.* 27.
- [263] Answer. *Ieremie.* 5. wherefore Tyrantes are called Gods instrumentes.
- [264] The meaning of the Prophet.
- [265] Mans yoke is vnsupportable.
- [266] what obedience and seruice *Ieremie* requireth.

- [267] *Mat.* 19.
- [268] Godes plagues oght to moue vs to repentance and not to harden vs in euill.
- [269] The thirde obiection.
- [270] 1. *Sā.* 24 and .49.
- [271] Answered
- [272] The cause why Dauid was hated of Saule.
- [273] 1. *Sa.* 24
- [274] None oght to reuenge his owne priuate cause.
- [275] Rulers cōtemninge Gods lawes are as well subject to the punishment of the same as priuat persōs.
- [276] 1. *Sam.* 22
- [277] *Deu.* 17.
- [278] The obiections do cleare this doctrine and nothinge darken it.
- [279] The gouuernemēt of fooles more tolerable then of tyrants.
- [280] *Deu.* 17.
- [281] Suche as onelye flatter the appytes of their prince.
- [282] The vaine excuse of the cōmū people.
- [283] Ignorance can not excuse the people.
- [284] Two extremities to be auoyded. To muche libertie is not to be permitted to the people.
- [285] The libertie of the people.
- [286] *Deu.* 17. Subiectes oght not to suffer thē selues to be made slaues.
- [287] 1 *Sam* 8
- [288] The descrip••ion of a wicked kinge and tyrante.
- [289] Both Magistrates and cōmōs oght to obey Gods Lawes.
- [290] kinge Edwarde de sierous that God shuld haue had his due honour sowght the abolishment of all Sainctes dayes.
- [291] All dayes are the Lordes ād onelye appertayne vnto him
- [292] Sainctes days with the seruice appointed vnto them oght by Gods worde to be abolished.
- [293] How harde a thing it is to alter euil customes.
- [294] The means to breake euil custome.
- [295] *Mat.* 13.
- [296] what treasures God hath committed to the charge of his people.

- [297] In what reuerence we oght to haue Gods worde.
- [298] *Mat. 15.*
- [299] *Mala. 1.*
- [300] *Ephe. 5. Iohn. 12.*
- [301] *Mat 15.*
- [302] *Mat. 23.*
- [303] Nature teacheth to flee hurtful thinges
- [304] God hath created all thinges for mans commodite
- [305] *Tobi. 3. Esai. 3.*
- [306] A rule for all to obserue.
- [307] *Mat. 6.*
- [308] *Ps. 1.7.17*
- [309] Moyses charged hys with nothings that God had not commanded.
- [310] *Exod. 19. Deu. 4.20*
- [311] *Deut. 10*
- [312] Godes people must be gouerned onely by Gods Lawes. *Exod. 19.*
- [313] The people promiss to God and Moses.
- [314] *Deu. 18.*
- [315] All christians are no lesse bonde to ob••y God and his Lawes, then were the Israelits.
- [316] *Mat. 4.17*
- [317] The cōmādement of Princes cānot bynd vs contrary to Gods worde.
- [318] The vngodly opinion of the cōmō people.
- [319] As wel the obeyer of wickednes as the commāder shal be punished.
- [320] *Deu. 6.11*
- [321] why the Christiās oght greater obedience to Gods worde thē did the Iewes. *Ioh 1.*
- [322] *Exod 34. 2. Cor. 3.*
- [323] *Io••l. 2. Esai. 44. Act. 2.*
- [324] *Act. 2.*
- [325] Both hie ād lowe must learn this lesson of the Apostels.
- [326] Idols for the true God.
- [327] *Exod. 2••. Deu. 5.*
- [328] The abominable masse for the holy Supper of the Lords.

- [329] Mat. 26 Cōparison betwixt the masse and the Lordes Supper. *I. Cor. II*
- [330] How the Sabbath is abused.
- [331] To swear by Saincts is contrarie to Gods worde. *Deut. 6.10 Iosua. 23. Esai 45.*
- [332] *Leu. 20.*
- [333] The sūme of Antichrists doctrine
- [334] Vnlawful warres.
- [335] Oh lamētable miserie.
- [336] Rebellion against the lawful gouernement of godly kinge Edwarde ād obedience to the vniuste vsurpation of wicked Marie.
- [337] *Reu. 16.*
- [338] How fare mans iugdment differeth from Gods.
- [339] Worldely cōmodities preferred to spiritual benefites
- [340] *Mat 9.*
- [341] *Baruch. 4 Ieremi••. 5. Deut. 28.*
- [342] A Godly and moste necessarie admonitiō
- [343] The vaine excuses of the people.
- [344] *Deu. 4.5 & 6. 1. Chro. 29.*
- [345] *Exod. 17*
- [346] *Deut. 13.*
- [347] *Ecclesi 35 Deut. 10. Leui. 19.*
- [348] *Deut. 13.*
- [349] What zeale we oght to God in punishinge idolatrrers.
- [350] As al persones oght to obey Godes Lawes, so oght they to be punished if they transgresse them.
- [351] *1. king. 14.21.*
- [352] *Num. 25.*
- [353] *Leui. 26. Deu 27.30*
- [354] *Iud. 19.20*
- [355] The cōmō people with out a Gouernour prepare thē selues to warre.
- [356] *Iosua. 22.*
- [357] The people assemble in Gods cause.
- [358] *Rom. 13.*

- [359] God which made man knoweth best what Lawes are moste expedient for his preservation.
- [360] *Deut.* 10.
- [361] *Deut.* 4.
- [362] *Deut.* 28.
- [363] Let your owne consciēces be Iudges in this behalfe
- [364] The contempt of Gods worde is the dore to all licentious wickednes.
- [365] *Num.* 25.
- [366] what rules are to be obserued in resisting the superior powers
- [367] *Psal.* 5.
- [368] *Deu* 32. *Ezech.* 9. *Rom* 12.
- [369] *Psal.* 7. *Iere.* 17.
- [370] A doute which trobleth the people.
- [371] The answer.
- [372] *Num* 13. 1 *Sam.* 14. *Iudith:* 9. *Iudges.* 6.
- [373] *Exod.* 2.3
- [374] *Iudg.* 3.
- [375] A suer signe that God heareth our prayers when he geuith vs a meane to deliuer vs.
- [376] 1. *Mach.* 6
- [377] Sir Henry Isley.
- [378] The Duke of Suffolk
- [379] The Lorde Thomas Graye.
- [380] what moued *M.* wy at to this enterprise.
- [381] How dangerous it is to iudge the cause by the successe. *Iud.* 29
- [382] The condēnation of the Nobles in forsakinge Wyat.
- [383] Gospellers fearinge man more then God are made instrumēts of Satan.
- [384] whither wyat and those that died with him: or the Counselers Nobles and other that yet lyue are traytours.
- [385] Souldiars goinge with their Captayns to vnlawfull warres and leuing their cōtry destitute, are rebells to God and traytours to their country. *Gen.* 9. *Deut.* 5. *Leui.* 24. The condēnation of London in forsakinge wyat.
- [386] *Mat.* 24.
- [387] We oght to be cōtented with Gods worde onely and loke for no newe reuelation.

- [388] The graces of God towardes Englande are most abundant if they would vse the
- [389] It is impossible for the people to peryshe and the Rulers to escape.
- [390] Tyrantes can go no farther then God permittith.
- [391] *Mat. 10.*
- [392] None can lose their lyfe but by Godes appointment
- [393] Shamfull shiftes.
- [394] *Mat. 16.*
- [395] Of such you haue had sufficient profe before your eyes.
- [396] Iudas.
- [397] Spera. Hales. Morgen.
- [398] *Mat. 27.*
- [399] wicked Day of Chichester was the cause of his desperation
- [400] *Mat. 10.*
- [401] The second and laste remedie.
- [402] *Mat 10.* The greate cōfort that Englishe banishhed for Christe sake finde in other
Countryes
- [403] *Mat. 10.*
- [404] *Psal. 84.*
- [405] *Esa. 2.*
- [406] Worldly respects which hinder vs frō God ought to be auoyded.
- [407] The graces of God towardes Englande are most abundant if they would vse the
- [408] *1. Kin. 19* The cōclusion conteyninge the effect of the whole boke.